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FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

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VOL IV.

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THE

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. VII.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the JEWS, *and their Monarchical Government.*

ABOUT this time the good old prophet Samuel died [a], in the 97th or 98th year of his age, greatly lamented by all true Iſraelites, and was buried at Ramah in his own houſe, or rather, perhaps, in his garden. He had judged Iſrael twenty years from Eli's death, and had lived about forty-eight more from his anointing Saul to the regal dignity. As for David, whether he had any intelligence of Saul's relapſe, or whether his own fear ſuggeſted it to him, he removed further from the neighbourhood of Engedi towards the wilderneſs of Paran near to Maon, or Carmel, which was alſo in the tribe of Judea. It ſeems, that David kept his men under ſuch ſtrict diſcipline, that, inſtead of plundering the neighbouring places, as was generally done by ſuch men,

Samuel's death.

Year of the Flood, 1940. Year before Chriſt, 1059.

[a] Ch. xxv. 1, & ſeq.

they were rather a ſafe-guard to them, ſo that it was uſual for them to expect ſome refreſhments from the inhabitants, as a gratification for their watchfulneſs and forbearance. Here then David, according to cuſtom, ſent a civil meſſage to a wealthy Carmelite named Nabal, who was then makeing a feaſt to his ſheep-ſhearers, and deſired him to ſend him and his men ſome portion of his good cheer; but the man, who was rightly called Nabal, being naturally proud and brutiſh, ſent them away with a churliſh anſwer, that he had ſomething elſe to do with his proviſions, than to ſend it to ſuch a company of vagabonds. David, who could not but reſent ſuch ingratitude, was juſt upon the point of making ſome dreadful havock in Nabal's family, but, by good fortune, his prudent wife hearing of it made ſuch haſte to bring him an elegant ſupply of refreſhments that ſhe prevented all further miſchief, and David was ſo charmed with her prudent and modeſt behaviour, that he conceived a real affection for her. Abigail returned to her huſband, and on the next day, when ſleep had diſſipated the fumes of his wine, acquainted him with the danger which his brutiſhneſs was like to have brought upon him; and as he was of too baſe a nature to think David generous enough to forgive him, the dread which then ſeized him did, in few days, break his heart, which as ſoon as David heard of, he ſent for her and married her. As for Michal, Saul's daughter, ſhe had been given to another during his exile [b].

He was forced ſoon after to retire from Maon into the deſart of Ziph, and the Ziphites failed not to acquaint Saul with it; who having by that time forgot all that paſſed at their laſt interview, came out againſt him with 3000 choſen men, and gave him a freſh opportunity of evidencing his innocency. The two armies were encamped, the one by the ſide of the hills of Hachilah, and the other in the wilderneſs over-againſt him. David therefore ſent out ſome ſpies, to know whether Saul was come in perſon, and being informed that he was, he took Abiſhai with him, and came in the dead of the night into Saul's camp, where they found them all faſt aſleep; Saul in his tent, with his ſpear ſtuck into the ground by his bolſter, and Abner his general, with the reſt of his officers, encamped round his tent. Abiſhai began then to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly, that providence had brought his enemy once more into his hand as a victim to the ſlaughter, and that if he miſſed ſo fair an opportunity

[b] Ibid. p. tot.

portunity of ſticking him to the ground with his own ſpear, he might in vain bewail his folly; but David ſoon ſtopped his hand, and contented himſelf with carrying away his ſpear, and the pitcher of water that lay under his head, which he did unperceived by any of Saul's men, God having thrown them all, as the text expreſſes it, into a deep ſleep [c], and ſoon after reached his own camp. Early on the next morning, he got up on the top of a high hill over-againſt them, and having called Saul's general to him, he rebuked him ſharply for being ſo negligent of his maſter's perſon, as to ſuffer his ſpear and cruſe to be taken away by thoſe, who might with the ſame eaſe have taken away his life. Saul, who was ſoon appriſed of it, came out, and, in the mildeſt terms, acknowledged himſelf indebted a ſecond time for his life, to his generous, though much injured, ſon-in-law. David had then a fair occaſion to upbraid him with his injuſtice and cruelty, which he did; however with expreſſions full of duty and humility: he repreſented unto him, how much beneath a king of Iſrael it was, to hunt after a poor harmleſs flea, or a partridge, who meant not the leaſt harm againſt him, and begged of him to deſiſt from perſecuting a man to death, who was not only innocent, but who ſhewed ſuch a tender regard for his life when it was in his power. Saul could not reſiſt ſo ſtrong an evidence of his ſon's ſuperior virtue, which he muſt have admired even in an enemy. But though he ſhewed, at that juncture, all the tokens of remorſe, acknowledged his folly and injuſtice, and promiſed never to ſeek his life any more, yet David had ſo little reaſon to truſt to ſuch forced repentance, that as ſoon as they were parted, though with ſome tokens of the ſincereſt love and friendſhip, he reſolved to go far enough out of his reach [d]. He retired therefore once more to Achiſh king of Gath, deſigning to abide with him, till providence ſhould give a better turn to his affairs. The hoſpitable reception he met with from that prince has been ſeen before *; but here though he found ſo generous a friend and protector, yet an unexpected misfortune befel him from another quarter, which was like to have proved as fatal to him, as if he had fallen into his enemy's hand.

A ſecond inſtance of David's mercy.

DURING his abode at Ziklag, the place which the Gathiſh king had allotted him, which was a year and four months, there repaired unto him ſome of Saul's kindred, and

[c] Ch. xxvii. 12. [d] Ibid. p. tot. * Vid. Vol. II. p. 253.

and multitudes of valiant men and commanders out of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah, and some from that of Gad, which ventured to pass the Jordan to come to him, even at the time when it overflowed its banks (M), besides some of the tribe of Manasseh [e]. With these he used to make incursions into the countries of the Geshurites, Gezrites, and Amalekites (N) unknown to the king *, who was made to believe, that he made them into the land of

[e] See 1 Chron. xii. 1. 15, & seq. * See before, Vol. II. p. 253.

(M) The book of Chronicles observes of these Gadites, that they could handle the shield and the buckler, that their faces were as stern as those of lions, and that they were as swift of foot as the wild roes (93). The same author takes notice, that when David saw such numbers of the Benjamites, especially of Saul's kindred come to him, he was apprehensive they came with a design to surprise and carry him off. It seems even by what he said to them, that in such a case, he was not able to oppose them with his six hundred men. *For*, says he, *if you are come with a friendly design to succour me, my heart shall be knit with yours; but if your intent be to betray me to my enemies, I leave it to God to punish you for your treachery* (94). But they soon dispelled his fears, by assuring him, that they were entirely in his interest, and resolved to share his fortune, and to be under his command.

As to the time of David's abode at Ziklag, though we have followed our English version and archbishop Usher, the original says only, that he continued there ימים וארבעה חדשים days and four months, which some think to imply some days above, rather than a year and four months; because David came thither after Samuel's death, and left it immediately after that of Saul, and they reckon but seven months between the death of those two persons (95).

(N) We beg leave to observe here, against those who condemn David as guilty of a great breach of hospitality, that none of these three nations were Philistines. The two former were the remains of the old Canaanites (96) and the Amalekites, the descendants of Esau (97), and all the three under the divine anathema. Notwithstanding which, David might think it proper to tell the king, that he made his inroads into the land of Israel, that he might think himself the more sure of him; and this is the very reason assigned in the text for his using that pretence (98).

(93) 1 Chron. xii. 8. (94) 1 Chron. xii. 17. (95) Vid. Vol. II. p. 179. not. I. 2 Sam. i. 1, & 7. & Munst. in Sam. xxvii. sub not. 6. (96) Vid. Josh. xii. 5. & xvi. 3. (97) Vid. Vol. II. p. 171. (98) 1 Sam. xxvii. ult.

of Judah; and this gained him ſuch confidence, that he had taken him and his army to go with him againſt Saul [f]; but whilſt they were gone, the Amalekites came and took Ziklag, and burnt it, and carried away all their women, children, cattle, and all the plunder of the place. When therefore they were returned from the Philiſtine camp, from which they had been diſmiſſed by the jealous princes of that nation, and found what a terrible deſtruction had been made of their city, they filled the air with their cries. Their deſtroying of men, women, and children, in all their former incurſions, gave them no room to doubt, that their own had undergone the ſame fate; ſo that their grief and deſpair roſe to ſuch a height, that David was like to have become the victim of it. The men began to talk of ſtoning him, as the cauſe of this miſchief; when he, ſtill confiding in God, called Abiathar to conſult the Lord for him, whether he had beſt purſue after that troop; and upon his being anſwered that he ſhould do it with ſucceſs, he took 600 men with him, overtook, and deſtroyed the Amalekitiſh band, and recovered all that had been taken from them, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

AFTER this ſignal deliverance David's affairs began to take a better turn, and the death of Saul, which happened immediately after, not only rid him of an inveterate enemy, the cauſe of all theſe troubles, but opened a fair and eaſy way to the crown, at leaſt over his own tribe. The particulars of this ſignal defeat, which coſt Saul and his three ſons their lives, and among them the brave and generous Jonathan, need not to be repeated here ‡. One or two circumſtances however preceded it, with relation to that unhappy monarch, which made his condition ſo deplorable and deſperate, that we could not with juſtice omit them. He ſaw himſelf on the eve of being attacked by a powerful army, whilſt a great number of his own, eſpecially the chiefs, were gone over to David, and perhaps he had alſo intelligence of his being come with the Philiſtines againſt him: he had killed all the prieſts except Abiathar, who was alſo fled to David, ſo that he could not conſult the Lord by Urim: Samuel was dead, and not a prophet left to adviſe him. In this ſtreight, he would gladly have ſought for counſel from witches or wizards, but he had long ago baniſhed them all out of his dominions. At length, with much

[f] Ch. xxviii. 2. † See before Vol. 2. p. 180. ‡ Ibid. p. 254.

enquiring, they found him out a woman at Endor, who had a familiar ſpirit, to whom he went diſguiſed in the night; and, having promiſed her ſecrecy, prevailed upon her to raiſe him up Samuel. She did ſo accordingly; but when ſhe ſaw him appear, either in a different manner than ſhe had been uſed to (O), or in ſuch a manner as gave her to underſtand, that it was Saul himſelf that had ſet her on work; ſhe gave a ſhriek, and complained, that ſhe had been impoſed upon. Saul bid her go on, aſſuring her ſhe ſhould be ſafe, and aſked what ſhe had ſeen; ſhe anſwered, gods, angels, or judges, (for the word may ſignify any of theſe) aſcending out of the earth. She deſcribed one, who was an old man covered with a mantle, whom Saul underſtood to be Samuel, and to whom he bowed himſelf to the ground. Here the apparition, or, as the text expreſſes it, Samuel, aſked him the reaſon why he had diſturbed and called him up; and Saul owned to him that the diſtreſs he was in from the Philiſtine army, being deſtitute of council from God, had obliged him to take that way to obtain his advice, what he ſhould do under thoſe difficulties. But Samuel anſwered, *Why doſt thou aſk my advice, ſeeing thy diſobedience to God's commands have alienated him from thee, and that thy kingdom is given to* David? *And now*, continued the viſion, *the Lord*

Saul conſults the witch of Endor.

(O) It is not eaſy to ſay, whether her fright proceeded from the extraordinarineſs of the apparition, or from the fear ſhe was in, that Saul had only ſet her to work, that he might have occaſion to puniſh her for it. The latter ſeems the moſt probable, by what ſhe ſaid to him in her fright, and yet it is not impoſſible, that ſhe was alſo ſurpriſed at the ſtrangeneſs of the ſight. The text doth not ſay how ſhe came to know the king by it; and the notion of the Jews, that the ſpirits, which ſhe raiſed by enchantment, uſed to riſe out of the earth with their heels uppermoſt, and that Samuel came up upon his feet, by which ſhe knew that it was Saul that wanted to conſult him (99), is altogether ludicrous; but if it was the real apparition of that prophet that ſhe ſaw, as we ſhall at leaſt make it probable in the next note that it was, ſhe might eaſily ſuppoſe, that he would not have appeared in that extraordinary manner to any but to the king of Iſrael. For as to the notion that it was all done by legerdemain and ventriloqui on the woman's part, and by ſtrength of fancy and fear in Saul's, we cannot by any means come into it, and ſhall give our reaſons for diſſenting from it in its proper place.

(99) Vid. Munſt. in loc.

Lord is going to give up the Iſraelites *into the hands of their enemies, and thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me to-morrow* (P). At theſe laſt words the frighted king, who had eaten nothing all that day, fainted away, and fell flat on the ground,

(P) There is hardly a paſſage in the Old Teſtament that has been more canvaſſed and tortured, by authors of all ages, than this we are upon; and when a man has read them all, he will be forced to own, that there are difficulties in whatever ſenſe he takes the hiſtory of Samuel's apparition. We have therefore taken that which ſeems the moſt natural and obvious, and ſhall now give our reaſons for preferring it to the reſt.

Firſt then, as to the notion of its being performed by ventriloqui, juggle, or confederacy; beſides that it doth too great a violence to the text, and would be a kind of burleſque upon its author; it is not likely, that a woman, cunning enough to carry on a trade of this nature, would have been ſo impolitic as to give Saul ſuch a dreadful anſwer; though we ſhould grant that ſhe was ſo well acquainted with the bad circumſtances of that prince, that ſhe might foreſee that it was likely to prove the caſe; ſuch people are rather apt to flatter thoſe that conſult them, and the fear ſhe was in, when ſhe knew Saul, would no doubt have put her upon this rather than the former. Add to this, that ſuch a terrible denunciation, would only have proved the moſt effectual means of putting Saul upon any expedient to avoid it, whether by flight, or any other way, rather than by engaging the enemy.

This laſt argument is equally ſtrong againſt thoſe who think, that the devil took the ſhape, and acted the part, of Samuel, unleſs we could ſuppoſe him ſo well acquainted with futurity, that he was ſure Saul would ruſh into his own deſtruction, notwithſtanding he was ſo ſignally forwarned of it. Again, though we grant that he might foreſee, that the enemy would be too ſtrong for Saul and his army, yet he could not neither be ſure that he would ingage them, eſpecially after ſuch a dreadful diſſuaſive, nor, if he did, that he would certainly be killed, he and his three ſons. The Iſraelites had won many a more unlikely victory, and, at the worſt, they might have eſcaped by flight. We need not obſerve farther, how unnatural and abſurd it is to ſuppoſe, that the inſpired writer, would have expreſſed himſelf as he doth, and have introduced the dead prophet as raiſed from the dead, and ſpeaking to Saul, if the devil had been the ſole actor in his ſhape; neither do we think it at all probable, that the devil, if it had been he that ſpoke to Saul, would have played the ſaint ſo far, as to reprove him for his wickedneſs and diſobedience, but eſpecially for making uſe of an art to raiſe him up, which he was too fond of to diſcountenance in ſuch ſevere manner.

ground, and remained ſpeechleſs for ſome time. His men, at length, came and raiſed him up, and the old woman beſought

It is indeed urged here, that there were two falſities in this pretended prophecy, which none therefore but either the father of lies, or a juggling old woman, could be the author of. The firſt is, that the viſion ſays to *Saul, thou and thy ſons ſhall be with me*—Now ſay they, Saul died like a reprobate by his own hands, and could not be, where Samuel was, in the manſions of the bleſſed. But who doth not ſee that it meant no more than *thou ſhalt be dead, or in the other world as I now am*. The other is, that the viſion ſays to-morow, whereas the battle was not fought on the next day, but a day or two after. But though this were granted, it doth not follow, that the word מָחָר Mahar doth poſitively imply here that very next day following, it doth often ſignify ſhortly, and ſometimes hereafter, in proceſs of time; as when Moſes ſays, *when thy children ſhall ask thee* Mahar, *hereafter, what meaneth ſuch a ceremony or feſtival*, and ſo on—We ſhall for once diſpenſe with mentioning the numerous authors of theſe two laſt opinions, to avoid filling up near a whole page with quotations.

Upon the whole then we think, with the far greater number of authors, antient and modern, that it was really Samuel that appeared to the woman, and foretold Saul's death and Iſrael's defeat. This appears likewiſe to have been the opinion of the ancient Jews, from what we read in the book of Eccleſiaſticus (100), where it ſaid, where it is ſaid, that after his death he [Samuel] propheſied, and ſhewed the king his end; that he lift up his voice from the earth in prophecy, to blot out the wickedneſs of the people. This, we have already obſerved, is the moſt obvious and natural ſenſe of the text. We can ſee but two objections that can be made againſt it, and though we have premiſed, at the beginning of this note, that every opinion hath its difficulties, yet we hope we ſhall leſſen theſe ſo far, that they will appear inconſiderable, in compariſon of thoſe we have urged againſt the other two.

The firſt objection is, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the devil has ſo much power over the ſouls of the dead, eſpecially of the ſaints, as to make them appear viſibly at the deſire of a conjurer: to which it may be anſwered, that there is no neceſſity for ſuppoſing here any ſuch extraordinary power in the devil, but rather, that God did cauſe Samuel to appear to Saul, to reprove him for his former, and for this laſt ſin in particular, of ſeeking for helps from wizards, contrary to his expreſs commands; and to bring him thereby, if poſſible, to ſuch a ſenſe of his faults, as might prevent his making ſuch a deſperate exit; and that all this happened

(100) xlvi. ult.

beſought him, in the humbleſt terms that he would take ſome ſuſtenance before he went away, to which after long importunity he conſented. She then went and dreſſed a fatted calf, and ſet it before them, and as ſoon as they had refreſhed themſelves they went their way, and reached their army before break of day [g]. A dreadful battle ſoon enſued, which fulfilled all that had been foretold to Saul, whoſe fear of being taken alive and ill uſed by his enemies, His death.

[g] 1 Sam. xxviii. paſſ.

happened contrary to the woman's expectation, who could not be ignorant that it was above the power of her art to evocate the ſouls of the bleſſed, and wanted only to impoſe one of her familiar ſpirits upon him, and to ſupply the reſt by policy. It is therefore no wonder, that ſhe was ſo terribly ſurpriſed, when, inſtead of one of her imps, ſhe beheld the real apparition of that venerable prophet.

But here it will be objected again, that it is very improbable, that God who had refuſed to anſwer Saul, either by Urim or by prophets, ſhould now do it, at leaſt ſeemingly, by the miniſtry of a wicked woman. But here it muſt be obſerved; 1. That the text doth not imply, that the Lord refuſed to anſwer him by Urim or by prophets, but he had not the means of conſulting by them; for how could he conſult by Urim, when the high-prieſt was with David in the Philiſtine army? 2. Were it true, that God had refuſed to anſwer him in the ordinary ways of Urim and the like, yet it doth not follow, that he might not do it in an extraordinary one, in order to make the greater impreſſion upon him, whoſe character is to have been but too regardleſs of God's commands, when communicated to him by the prophet: he might likewiſe be ſuffered to ſeek for counſel from a witch, to make him ſenſible, what degree of impiety he had brought himſelf into; ſo that God's ſending Samuel to reprove him for it was a ſignal way of diſcountenancing ſuch a wicked and forbidden practice.

However, we do not pretend to remove all difficulties that can be raiſed againſt this opinion, but only to ſhew, that it is attended with fewer, and leſs, than the other two. For this reaſon we ſhall carry our enquiry no farther: whether it were the real ſoul of Samuel, or an angel aſſuming his ſhape: whether Saul ſaw, or only heard him ſpeak; and many others, concerning which we ſhould loſe ourſelves in a labyrinth, almoſt as dark and intricate, as thoſe do, who ſuppoſe, that two ſuch remarkable events, as the death of Saul and his two ſons, and the total defeat of the Iſraelitiſh army, could be foretold ſo poſitively and exactly, either by a juggling woman, or by the devil, or indeed by any but an omniſcient power.

mies, rather than the wounds he received from them (Q), made him rush upon his own sword, to put an end to his unfortunate life. Here the victorious Philistines could not forbear venting their resentment on his dead body and those of his sons; they mangled and hung them upon the walls of Bethshan; which, being near the field of battle, had been probably abandoned by the inhabitants, as many others were after this defeat. But the grateful Jabeshites, remembering how Saul had saved them formerly from losing their eyes and liberty, did soon after send some of their bravest men to rescue them; which was no sooner done, than they gave them an honourable burial, and kept a seven days fast in memory of their deaths[h].

Year of the Flood, 1944. Year before Christ, 1055.

David had been returned from the slaughter of the plunderers of Ziglag about two or three days, when he received the news of Saul's and Jonathan's death by an Amalekite, who also brought him Saul's crown and bracelets. How glad soever David might be to hear of his enemy's death, yet that of his beloved Jonathan touched him to the heart, and the great defeat of the Israelites caused a general mourning and fasting in his whole army. As for the messenger, he, having unadvisedly pretended to have given Saul his last wound at his desire, was ordered to immediate death, for having lifted up his hand against the Lord's anointed. David did greatly mourn the unhappy fate of the father and son, and their deaths inspired his poetic genius with one of the finest elegies that ever were penned, which he caused to be transmitted to future ages[i].

As

[h] Ibid. cap. ult. ver. 4. See before, Vol. 2. p. 255. [i] 2 Sam. i. p. tot.

(Q) Notwithstanding what has been said elsewhere †, of Saul's receiving several wounds before he fell upon his sword, for want of attending more to the original than to ours and other versions; we beg leave to observe here, that in this place and in the Chronicles, where the account of Saul's death is repeated, the root of the verb is חול Chull, which signifies to be in dread, in pangs, and alludes to the travail of a woman, &c. and not חלל Challal, to wound. So that it doth not appear, that he was at all wounded, but only in the extremity of fear, when he saw himself so thick beset with enemies, that there was no way to escape (1).

† Vol. 2. p. 254. (1) Vid. chald. paraphr. Munst. & al. in loc.

As ſoon as they had done mourning for Saul, he conſulted the Lord which way he ſhould ſteer his courſe next; and being commanded to remove to Hebron, he brought thither his two wives, his relations, and army. Here he was again anointed king over Judah by thoſe of that tribe, who came to him in multitudes; whilſt Abner, Saul's general, took his ſon Iſh-boſheth, who was then forty years old, and proclaimed him king of Iſrael at Mahanaim. Thus was the kingdom divided between theſe two, each enjoying his own ſhare quietly, without moleſting the other, during the ſpace of two years (R), the tribe of Judah cleaving to David, and the reſt, at leaſt the moſt part, to Iſh-boſheth. The firſt popular thing David did after this was, to ſend a meſſage of thanks to the inhabitants of Jabeſh-gilead, for the regard they had paid to the bodies of the deceaſed king and his ſons. After which he married Maacha, the daughter of Tolmai, king of Geſhur [k], by whom he had afterwards Abſalom and Tamar [l]. But we cannot think, with our learned Uſher, that he contracted an affinity with that prince to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt his rival *; that being expreſly forbid by the law of Moſes. It is more probable, that he took her priſoner in one of his excurſions againſt that country, as we ſhall ſhew in a following note. At the end of two years, Abner having repaſſed the Jordan with his army, came and incamped on one ſide of the pool of Gibeon; and Joab, the ſon of Zeruiah, David's general, came and incamped over againſt him on the other ſide. Iſh-boſheth ſucceeds him.

HITHERTO there had paſſed no hoſtilities, nor any war being declared between the two monarchs; and their ſubjects on both ſides being all Iſraelites, there was a neceſſity of making ſome kind of hoſtile overture, which might bring on an engagement; the two generals, therefore, bethought themſelves of the following ſtrange one. They agreed

[k] 2 Sam. iii. 3. [l] Ib. ch. xiii. 1. * Annal. p. 35.

(R) At leaſt this ſeems to be the ſenſe of thoſe words, and *Iſh-boſheth reigned two years* (2); for it is plain he reigned much longer, but not peaceably. Much the ſame was ſaid in the beginning of Saul's reign (3). Abner alſo might think it proper to take him to Mahanaim, which was beyond Jordan, that being free from the Philiſtines, he might have time to recruit his ſhatter'd army.

(2) 2 Sam. ii. 10. (3) 1 Sam. xiii. 1. Uſſer. Ann. p. 35.

agreed to ſend twelve brave men out of each army, to meet in a proper place between them, under pretence of performing ſome warlike exerciſe; but they were no ſooner come within reach of one another, than each man took his antagoniſt by the head, and ſheathed his ſword in his body; ſo that they were all killed upon the ſpot. In memory of this bloody feat the place was called Halkath Hatzurim, the field of the ſtrong men. There needed no more to ſet the two armies on fighting, and a dreadful battle immediately enſued, in which Abner's army was totally routed, and himſelf forced to fly for his life. Joab had two brave brothers with him, one of whom, named Azahel, was exceeding ſwift of foot, and he purſued after him with uncommon ſpeed, with a deſign to take him priſoner. Abner was ſoon aware of it, and, turning about, adviſed him once and again to deſiſt from his purſuit, and ſo content himſelf with a priſoner of leſs note; but Azahel ſtill perſiſting, Abner was forced to run him through the body with the hinder part of his ſpear. The ſight of his dead body cauſed ſuch a general ſtop in the flying remains of his army, that he was forced to cauſe it to be removed out of the road, and covered with a garment, that his men might have time to ſhun Joab's victorious hoſt, who were following cloſe at their heels. The purſuit laſted till ſun-ſet, by which time they were got as far as the hill of Ammah, within ſight of Giath, along the wilderneſs of Gibeon. Here the Benjamites rallied themſelves again under Abner, and poſted themſelves on the riſing of the hill, reſolved to make a ſtout defence; but their general, who was weary of fighting, called to Joab, and deſired him to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter of his brethren, whoſe deſtruction could not but cauſe bitterneſs in the end. Joab hearkened to him, and cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat; after which, Abner and his men took the way of Mahanaim, and Joab returned to Hebron. There were but nineteen men killed on David's ſide, beſides Azahel, but Benjamin loſt 360. Azahel's body was carried to Bethlehem, and buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors [m]; and from that time David grew ſtronger every day, and Iſh-boſheth weaker and weaker; but the war between thoſe two did not end but with the death of the latter, which happened ſhortly after.

In the mean time, Abner, who had uſed all his endeavours to ſtrengthen his maſter's party, did ſet ſuch value upon

[m] 2 Sam. ii. paſſ.

upon his own ſervices, that he made no ſcruple to have a criminal intercourſe with one of Saul's concubines, named Rizpah; and when he was reprimanded for it by Iſh-boſheth (S), he reſented it ſo highly, that he ſwore, that he would from that minute become a friend to David, and bring all the tribes under his obedience. He delayed not to make his words good, by ſending meſſengers privately, firſt to David, and then to the elders of Iſrael, to contrive a revolt; after which, he found out the following pretence for going to David unſuſpected. That monarch had ſent to Iſh-boſheth, to deſire of him to ſend him his wife Michal, whom Saul, during his exile, had married to another; and Abner, having obtained an order from him to demand her of her huſband, took upon him to convey her ſafe to David. Whether Iſh-boſheth had any ſuſpicion of him, or not, yet his circumſtances were ſo tottering, that he dared not refuſe him any thing; ſo Abner went, accompanied with twenty men, and preſented Michal to David, and was graciouſly received by him. But as he was returning home, Joab, unknown to David, ſent for him back to Hebron, under ſome friendly pretence, and killed him as ſoon as he was come to the gate of the city, under pretence indeed of revenging his brother Azahel's death; but much more likely to rid himſelf of ſo powerful a rival. As ſoon as David heard of it, he proteſted his innocence of that bloody deed, and vented his reſentment in imprecations againſt the author of it; after which he cauſed Abner to be decently buried, and accompanied his corpſe to the grave, with all the tokens of ſorrow and reſpect [n]. However, as he knew himſelf as yet too weak to diſoblige Joab, whoſe power among the people might eaſily have turned the ſcale againſt him, he was forced to ſuppreſs his grief and reſentment for the treacherous murder of ſo conſiderable a perſon.

Iſh-

[n] 2 Sam. iii. p. tot. See Vol. III. ch. 7. ſect. 4. of the Jewiſh ſepulchres.

(S) It appears, by the ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory, that it was a very high crime, amounting to no leſs than treaſon, to marry a king's widow (4); much more muſt it have been ſo to debauch her, as Abner did Rizpah. So that Iſh-boſheth, notwithſtanding his obligations to that general, could not well avoid reſenting ſuch an affront being offered to the royal dignity, as came little ſhort of an attempt upon his crown.

(4) Vid. 1 Kings ii. 13, & ſeq.

Iſh-boſheth did ſoon hear of his death; and, as he had been the main ſupport of his kingdom, both he and his men began to fear, that David would ſoon be too ſtrong for him. This inſpired two of his captains, brethren of the family of the Beerothites, Baana and Rechab, to conſpire againſt his life, in hopes of recommending themſelves to David by it. They took the opportunity of the heat of the day, when he was lain down on his bed, to come into his houſe, under pretence of fetching their allowance of corn; and to enter into his chamber, where they barbarouſly murdered him; and having cut off his head fled away with it, unperceived, to Hebron, and preſented it to David, congratulating him upon the death of his competitor. It was hardly to be expected, that David, who had puniſhed the young Amalekite with death, for barely pretending to have killed Saul, could forbear expreſſing a much greater horror at this more inhuman regicide, or inflict a milder puniſhment upon the authors of it, whatever advantage his affairs might reap from it. Accordingly he commanded them to be immediately put to death, and their hands and feet to be cut off, and hung up over the pool of Hebron. As for the head of Iſh-boſheth, he cauſed it to be buried in the ſepulchre of Abner, which was alſo in the ſame city [o].

Iſh-boſheth murdered.

DAVID by this time had reigned over Judah in Hebron about ſeven years and half; and when the reſt of the tribes heard of Iſh-boſheth's death, they aſſembled themſelves, and came to anoint him king over all Iſrael, and to pay their homage to him. Theſe are reckoned, in another place [p], to have amounted to the number of 32,000 men and upwards, all ready armed, and expert warriors, out of all the twelve tribes, except part of that of Benjamin, which did ſtill ſtick to the houſe of Saul. David received them with joy, and feaſted them at Hebron during three days; all that time, not only his own and the neighbouring tribes, but even ſome of the more diſtant ones, pouring in plenty of proviſions upon them [q].

David reigns over all the 12 tribes.

ON the next year, David went and beſieged Jeruſalem, a place of ſuch ſtrength, that it had ſtood out till that time againſt the united force of Judah and Simeon. Here Joab ſhewed ſo much bravery and conduct, that he was made head

[o] Ch. iv. paſſ. xi. 1, 2, & ſeq.

[p] Comp. 1 Chron. xii. 23, & ſeq. with

[q] Ibid. xii. ult.

head general of Iſrael [r]: he beat the Jebuſites that defended it, and carried the fortreſs of Sion, or Zion, by aſſault †, which David made his reſidence from that time. He inlarged and fortified it from Millo inward round about, and called it *the city of David*, whilſt Joab rebuilt the reſt of the city, and ſurrounded it with a ſtrong wall [s]; and from that time it became the metropolis of Judea.

But it was impoſſible for him to carry on ſuch a work, without alarming the jealous Philiſtines, who could not be ignorant either of the ſtrength of his army, or of his now reigning over all Iſrael without a competitor. They came, therefore, ſo ſuddenly upon him, that they took Bethlehem, and put a gariſon into it, before he could make any reſiſtance, whilſt he was forced to retire to the cave of Adullam for preſent ſafety [t]. It was here, that, having expreſſed a longing deſire for ſome of the water of the well of Bethlehem, three of his chief worthies ventured thro' the enemy's hoſt, which was encamped along the valley of Rephaim, and fetched him ſome water from thence. However, when they brought it to him, he choſe rather to ſpill it upon the ground than to drink it, ſeeing, as he ſaid, they had procured it at the hazard of their lives [u]. He then enquired of the Lord, whether he ſhould fall upon the Philiſtines; and having received a favourable anſwer, he diſcomfited them ſo effectually, both at this time, and upon a ſecond attempt of theirs, that they were never more able to make head againſt him, or any of his ſucceſſors [w]. David finding himſelf thus ſtrengthened, his army numerous and well diſciplined, under the conduct of more than thirty worthies, who had all ſignalized themſelves by ſome extraordinary exploits, and his enemies ſo thoroughly weakened, made a firm alliance with Hiram king of Tyre, by whom he was furniſhed with cedars and other woods, and with expert workmen, to build him a palace in his own city. He likewiſe increaſed the number of his wives and concubines, by whom he had a conſiderable number of children born at Jeruſalem, beſides thoſe that were born to him

[r] 2 Sam. v. 8. 1 Chr. xi. 6. † See before, vol. 2. p. 212. [s] Comp. 2 Sam. v. 9. & 1 Chron. xi. 7. & ſeq. [t] Ibid. xiv. 9, & ſeq. [u] Ibid. xi. 17, & ſeq. [w] Ibid. xiv. 10, & ſeq. See before, vol. 2. p. 257 & ſeq.

him in Hebron (T); all which did not a little contribute to his grandeur as well as happineſs.

His gratitude.

SUCH a ſeries of ſucceſſes, and the univerſal peace which then reigned through the whole kingdom, inſpired that pious prince with the higheſt ſentiments of gratitude and religion, and with a deſire of making his city the center, as it were, of God's worſhip, by tranſporting the ſacred ark thither, which had continued almoſt fifty years at Kirjath-jearim (V), and placing it in one of the beſt apartments

(T) David is recorded to have had ſix wives in Hebron, beſides Saul's daughter, who was then with another huſband. He is ſaid to have had a ſon by every one of the ſix former; by which is hardly meant that he had but one by each, but that the text mentions only their firſt-born (5). As for Maachah, the daughter of the king of Geſhur, the Jews affirm, that David had taken her captive, and forced her to embrace the Jewiſh religion; becauſe it was forbid by the law of Moſes to contract any affinity with the heathens. Either of theſe is far from improbable, becauſe we read of his making ſome excurſions againſt the Geſhurites during his abode at Ziglag (6); but nothing of his contracting ſuch a forbidden affinity with their king. Neither, indeed, is it likely, that ſo zealous a man, as David was, would have married her before ſhe had renounced her idolatry. But as to what they add, of his forcing her to turn Jew againſt her will, and that the ill hap of her two children, Abſalom and Tamar, the former of whom turned rebel againſt his father, and the latter was raviſhed by David's eldeſt ſon, was inflicted on him as a puniſhment for that violence (7), we ſhall not venture to affirm any thing about it.

How many wives and concubines he took, after he came from Hebron, the text doth not ſay, but mentions only, that he had ten ſons by them; by which the Talmudiſts gather, that he had ſixteen in all, beſides Michal, who being barren, was to be excepted out of that number. Hence they have paſſed it into a law, that a king ought to have no more wives than eighteen (8); and they believe, that all Solomon's miſcarriages were owing to his venturing to exceed that number.

(V) Archbiſhop Uſher reckons, that it was on the firſt ſabbatical year that it was brought from Gilgal to Shiloh, and that it was likewiſe upon ſuch another year that it was removed from Kirjath-jearim to the city of David; and that the 68th pſalm was ſung by the people who accompanied this ſolemn proceſſion (9).

(5) 2 Sam. iii. 2, & ſeq. (6) 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8. (7) Vid. Munſt. 2 Sam. iii ſub. not. 6. (8) Vid. Præc. Negat. ccxxii. † Vid. ſup. vol. 3. ch. 7, ſect. 4. of the laws of the ſecond table; concerning the Jewiſh government, not. (R). (9) Ann. p. 36.

ments of his new palace. He conſulted the elders and chiefs of Iſrael upon it, and being anſwered with the univerſal approbation of the aſſembly, he diſpatched meſſengers through the whole kingdom to invite all the prieſts and Levites, and as many of the people as were ſo diſpoſed, to come to the ſolemnity. The ark was accordingly ſet upon a new cart, and brought from Abinadab's houſe to Jeruſalem, accompanied by David and his court, by multitudes of prieſts and Levites, who ſang and played upon various inſtruments, and by a numerous concourſe of people from all parts of the kingdom. But their joy was ſuſpended by an accident, which filled the king and aſſembly with wonder and fear. The ark was come to Nachon's threſhing-floor (W), when the oxen that drew it, ſtarting at ſomething, were like to have overſet the cart; to prevent which, Uzzah, one of Abinadab's ſons, who drove it, clapt his hand upon the ark in a ſurpriſe, and was for his preſumption ſmitten with immediate death (X). David

(W) Though we have followed our verſion, it ſeems to us more probable, that the word נכון Nachon, is rather a participle than a proper name, and ſignifies ready fitted, or proper, becauſe we find that David ſtopped at proper diſtances to offer ſacrifices; and this ſeems to be one of them; and perhaps alſo might it be either the killing of the victims, or ſomething relating to thoſe ſacrifices, that made the oxen to ſtart. There was moreover a very great irregularity in placing the ark upon a cart; which, according to the law of Moſes, ought to have been carried by the prieſts upon their ſhoulders. This accident, therefore, made him ſo ſenſible of his error, that the author of the book of the Chronicles obſerves, that he acknowledged it to the prieſts at the next removal of the ark, and cauſed them to bear it upon their ſhoulders to his houſe.

(X) This ſudden and ſevere puniſhment upon Uzzah for his indiſcreet zeal, which David himſelf could not forbear being much ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed at (11), has given ſo much offence to ſome interpreters, that they have ſought for a quite different ſenſe of the words, in order to make his crime greater than is commonly apprehended. It is true, that the original runs literally thus, *and* Uzzah *ſent and ſeized the ark, for the cattle ſhook.* From which they would conclude, that he rather offered ſome indignity to it, than endeavoured to prevent its falling. But, beſides that this is contrary to all the antient verſions and to the book of the Chronicles, where this fact is more clearly related, it is certain, that

(10) 1 Chron. xv. 11, & ſeq. (11) 2 Sam. 6.

could not forbear expreſſing a more than ordinary grief at this ſeverity, which made him call the place Perez Uzzah, that is the *breach* or *puniſhment of* Uzzah, and reſolved to have the ark depoſited into the houſe of Obededom, the ſon of Jeduthun [x], ſurnamed the Gittite, probably, becauſe he was a native of Gath-rimmon, a city allotted to the tribe of Levi [y], where it continued about three months. David, finding ſoon after, that God had bleſſed that Levite in an extraordinary manner, ever ſince the ark had been under his roof, reſolved to procure a ſhare of thoſe divine bleſſings by removing it to his own houſe. However, he took care to have it performed in a more regular manner, by preparing a ſumptuous tabernacle for it, by aſſembling the prieſts, and cauſing them to bear it according to God's command, by offering ſacrifices at every ſix paces (Y), and by ſhewing an uncommon joy upon that ſolemn occaſion. For he put on a linen ephod, and danced before

His zeal.

[x] 1 Chron. xvi. [y] See Joſh. xxi. 24, 25.

that if that had been the caſe, David would have expreſſed his reſentment againſt him, and not againſt God for puniſhing him. Uzzah, being a Levite, ought to have remembered, that it was forbid, under pain of death (12), to any, but to the prieſts, to touch the ark; and even theſe were only to touch the ſtaves by which it was carried, which for that reaſon were never to be taken from it. It may alſo be, that Uzzah was the contriver of this new way of carrying the ark upon a cart, inſtead of the prieſts ſhoulders. However, if his puniſhment ſhould ſtill ſeem too ſevere, one may ſuppoſe, that God ſuffered it to be ſo, in order to inſpire the people with a greater reſpect and awe for that ſacred ſymbol of his preſence, than they were naturally inclined to.

(Y) This we take to be the meaning of the text here (13), though it only ſays, that when the bearers had proceeded ſix ſteps, he offered a bullock, &c. But ſome think that Uzzah having been ſtruck dead within ſix yards of his own houſe, David cauſed theſe ſacrifices to be made at the firſt ſix ſteps of the prieſts, to intreat the Lord to be more favourable this time (14). But we find in the Chronicles *, that they repeated the ſame ſacrifices when they came near David's houſe, in thankfulneſs, that God had

(12) Vid. Num. iv. paſſ. & ver. 15. (13) 2 Sam. vi. ver. 13. (14) Vid. Munſt. in loc. * 1 Chron. xv. 26.

before the ark at the ſound of a great number of inſtruments, inſomuch, that Michal, who ſaw the proceſſion through a window, could not forbear deſpiſing and reflecting upon him, for acting, as ſhe thought, ſo far beneath a king of Iſrael. As ſoon as the ark was depoſited in the tabernacle, he offered a large quantity of burnt and peace-offerings; and having feaſted the great concourſe of people who came to the city, he diſmiſſed them to their own homes [z].

THE ark being thus fixed in its repoſitory, his next care was to appoint the claſſes of prieſts and Levites to officiate before it, according to their ſeveral functions. He alſo choſe a number of ſingers and players upon muſical inſtruments to celebrate the praiſes of God in their turns, to ſet ſuch pſalms and hymns as he, or any other inſpired perſon, compoſed, in order to have them ſung upon feſtivals and other ſolemn occaſions. The author of the Chronicles has preſerved us one of them in words at length, which he then compoſed as an euchariſtical canticle, and delivered to the muſicians to be ſung upon the removal of the ark to his houſe [a]; which may be juſtly eſteemed one of the ſublimeſt pieces of poetry extant, whether for its elegancy, or for the ſtrain of piety and gratitude that runs through the whole.

SOON after this, he ſent for the prophet Nathan, to conſult with him about the building of a temple of the Lord, telling him, that he could not, with any eaſe, dwell in a ſumptuous palace, whilſt the ark was only under a tabernacle. The prophet applauded his pious deſign, not doubting, but God would ratify and proſper it; but God, who appeared to him that night, directed him to go to the king, and to tell him, that though his intentions were highly acceptable to him, yet, foraſmuch as he had ſo often

had helped the Levites to bring the ark to the place appointed for it, without any accident.

It may be wondered at, that David choſe to erect a new tabernacle for the ark, inſtead of ſending for that which Moſes had cauſed to be made in the wilderneſs. It may be ſuppoſed, indeed, that the precincture of his palace was not capacious enough for it, but whatever the reaſon be, it is certain, that it continued ſtill, with the altar and all its other ſacred utenſils, at Gibeon, till Solomon, having built his temple, cauſed them to be brought and depoſited in it, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

[z] 2 Sam. vi. p. tot.

[a] 1 Chron. xvi. paſſ.

ten defiled his hands with blood, he did not think him a proper perſon for ſuch a work, but that he would raiſe him up a ſon and ſucceſſor (Z), whoſe reign he would bleſs with a profound peace, with extraordinary wiſdom, affluence, and proſperity, and that he ſhould build him a temple. He added, that it was upon him that he would ſettle the throne of Iſrael unto the end, and proſper him and his ſucceſſors in proportion to their obedience to him; and that even the moſt ſtubborn diſobedience ſhould not bring upon them a total dereliction, but only ſuch fatherly chaſtiſements as might bring them to a filial repentance. David, full of the ſenſe of all theſe gracious promiſes, went and proſtrated himſelf before the Lord, and, in the humbleſt and moſt pathetic terms, acknowledged his extreme unworthineſs of all theſe promiſed mercies, and his reliance on his omnipotent goodneſs for the fulfilling of them in his own good time [b].

FROM that time, he applyed part of his care in makeing preparations for that ſumptuous building, and in laying up for it immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, precious ſtones, woods and other materials. For in thoſe ſucceſsful wars which he had againſt the Philiſtines [c], Moabites [d], Amalekites [e], the kings of Zobah, Syria [f], and Edom [g], of which the beſt account has been given in their ſeveral hiſtories that could be got out of the ſacred records, he

[b] 2 Sam. vii. paſſ. 1 Chron. xvii. paſſ. & alib. [c] See before, Vol. II. p. 257. [d] Ibid. p. 111. [e] Ibid. p. 179 & ſeq. [f] Ibid. 307. [g] Ibid. p. 164. & ſeq. See 2 Sam. viii. paſſ.

(Z) From the words in the text, the *ſeed* or *ſon that ſhall proceed out of thy bowels* (15), the Jews infer, that the crown could devolve neither to Ammon, Abſalom, Adonijah, nor to any of thoſe ſons that were born before this promiſe (16); but as the future is often uſed for the perfect tenſe, according to the genius of the original, the argument is no way concluſive, unleſs we throw into the ſcale the objection which is urged againſt the father, being equally ſtrong againſt thoſe ſons, who, being all warriors, had no doubt, embrued their hands in blood; from which Solomon was to be altogether free. This exception is not indeed mentioned in the book of Kings, but we find it urged in the book of Chronicles, as an argument, why God did not think David pure enough to erect ſo ſacred an edifice to him (17).

(15) 2 Sam. vii. 12. (16) Vid. Munſt. Jun. & al. in loc. (17) 1 Chr. xxii. 8. xxviii. 3.

he got ſuch a prodigious quantity of the richeſt ſpoil, part of which he never failed to dedicate to this deſign, that the wealth which he left his ſon at his death is almoſt beyond belief. His œconomy was not inferior to his ſucceſs; he found, that the keeping of a numerous army would either exhauſt his treaſury too much, or cauſe too great a ſhare of his ſubjects lands to lie uncultivated; to prevent which he appointed twelve bands, each of 24,000 men, with proper officers over them, to ſerve each their reſpective month in the year; after which, they were diſmiſſed to their own private affairs during the other eleven months. He likewiſe appointed twelve expert perſons over his finances (A), under Aſhmaveth and Adoram; and judges in every tribe, to adminiſter juſtice to the people; beſides thoſe of his great council, who had the affairs of religion and ſtate under their care; the former under the two high-prieſts, Zadok the ſon of Ahitub and Ahimelech the ſon of Abiathar (B); and the latter under proper

(A) Theſe are ſuppoſed to have been of two kinds, either ſuch as were exacted from his ſubjects, or thoſe that accrued from his own hereditary lands or conquered dominions. Each kind of tribute, whether paid in money, grain, or other produce, were collected by their particular officers (18).

(B) We have already taken notice, that theſe two were, the one, namely Zadok, of the eldeſt, and Ahimelech of the youngeſt, branch of Aaron's family, and that the high-prieſthood had ſhifted from the one to the other †, but that one of each branch ſhould exerciſe that function at the ſame time, is what is not to be met with either before or ſince. It is probable, that Saul after he had killed all the prieſts in Nob, except Abiathar who fled to David, might ſet up Zadoc to officiate in that dignity in Iſrael, as Eleazar did in Judah, and that when David came to be king of all the twelve tribes, he did not think fit to deprive either of their office, but ſuffered them both to continue in it; but whether alternately, or ſubordinately, whether the one at Gibeon, where the tabernacle ſtood, and the other at Jeruſalem, where the ark was; or laſtly, whether the one in the tribe of Judah, and the other over the other tribes, we will not venture to determine. Certain it is, that they are ſtill mentioned together upon ſeveral other occaſions (19) till the beginning of Solomon's

(18) Ibid. xxvii. 25, & ſeq. 2 Sam. xx. 24, & ſeq. † Vid. ſup. Vol. III. ch. 7. ſect. 4. of the Prieſts, not. S. (19) Vid. int. ad. 2 Sam. 29. xix. 11, & 12. & alib.

officers, among which Joab was general of the army; Jehoſhaphat was chief ſecretary, Serajah recorder, Benajah over the Cherethites and Pelethites (C); whilſt ſome

lomon's reign, when Zadok's competitor was diveſted of his dignity, for having gone over to the party of Adonijah (20).

(C) *It is not eaſy to gueſs who theſe were.* The Chaldee paraphraſt renders theſe words by archers and ſlingers; and the Rabbies underſtand by it, abſurdly enough, ſome the Urim and Thummim, and others the grand Sanhedrim, deriving the firſt word from כרת Careth, to break ſhort, as if they had been גבורתום דברי׳הם men that broke their ſentences ſhort, or ſpoke ſuccinctly and with authority, and the other from פלא Phele, wonderful (21); and if we have no better helps, we may remain in the dark long enough. But we have already obſerved elſewhere, that the Cherethites were Philiſtines *, and we ſhall now give ſome further proofs of it.

When the Amalekites had burnt Ziklag, and David, in purſuit of them, met with an Egyptian; that youth informed him, that they had made an incurſion into the ſouth of the Cherethites and ſo on (22); from which it is plain, that they muſt have been either Philiſtines, or ſome people that dwelt among them, as the Geſhurites did; unleſs we will ſuppoſe with Tremellius, that they were a colony of Iſraelites that took poſſeſſion of that country, after the Philiſtines had been driven out of it, which we ſee no grounds for admitting. For we find the prophet Ezekiel joining the Cherethites and Philiſtines together, either as ſynonymous, or at leaſt cohabiters, in theſe words, *Behold I will ſtretch out mine hand againſt the Philiſtines, and cut off the Cheretims, and deſtroy the remnant of the ſea-coaſt* (23). Another prophet expreſſes himſelf much after the ſame manner, *Woe unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the Cherethites, the Lord is againſt you, O Canaan the land of the Philiſtines* (24). Thus far concerning the Cherethites.

As for the Pelethites, we meet with nothing concerning them, except their being joined with them in this place, and in ſome chapters after, where they are both mentioned as accompanying David when he fled from his ſon Abſalom (25). But whether theſe two people were captives of war, auxiliary troops, or a kind of life-guard, we will not venture to determine.

(20) 1 King. i. 7, 8. ii. 35, & alib. (21) Vid. Munſt. in loc. * Vid. ſup. Vol. II. p. 228. not. I. (22) 1 Sam. xxx. 14. (23) Ch. xxv. 16. (24) Zephan. ii. 5. (25) 2 Sam. xv. 18.

ſome of the king's ſons were ſet over all theſe officers [h] (D).

Gratitude to Jonathan's ſon.

BUT neither the cares of ſtate, nor his uncommon proſperity, could make him forget his affectionate engagements to his late generous friend Jonathan. He ſought out his only ſon Mephibosheth, who was lame of his feet, and under the care of one of Saul's ſervants named Ziba; he ſent for him to court, and after he had ſhewed him all poſſible tokens of friendſhip and tenderneſs, he cauſed all the lands of his royal grandfather to be reſtored to him, commanding Ziba to improve them to the beſt advantage for his maſter, and appointed him a table in his own palace, and among his own ſons; which he enjoyed to the day of his death [i].

HIS gratitude to the king of the Ammonites did not meet with the ſame returns: Nahaſh, from whom David had received ſome ſignal favours, being dead, he ſent a congratulatory embaſſy to his ſon, with offers of mutual friendſhip, but that weak prince, unjuſtly ſuſpecting the ambaſſadors were come upon ſome baſer deſign, treated them in a ſhameful manner and ſent them away. This affront, however, turned to David's advantage; Joab was ſent to revenge it at the head of a powerful army, and that

[h] See 1 Chron. xxvii. paſſ. [i] 2 Sam. ix. paſſ.

(D) The text ſays here, that they were כוהנים Cohanim, which properly ſignifies Prieſts, but which our verſion doth rightly render, Chief Rulers and Princes, in the margin, according to a parallel text in the Chronicles, where they are ſaid to have been הראשונים יד המלך The chief about the king. And it is plain, that in ſeveral other places, particularly thoſe quoted in the margin (26), the word is generally taken in that ſenſe. Several learned Jews indeed, to extol the piety of David, underſtand by Cohen here the diſciples of the prieſts, from which they would infer, that that pious monarch cauſed his ſons to be educated under them (27). If that were true, it is certain, that ſome of them did not much credit their maſters; but the text ſays nothing of it: on the contrary, the author of the firſt book of the Chronicles tells us, that Jonathan, David's uncle, a perſon of conſummate wiſdom, was the perſon who was intruſted with that important buſineſs (28).

(26) Gen. xli. 45. xlvii. 22. Exod. ii. 16. iii. 1. Job xii. 19. & alib. (27) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (28) Ch. xxvii. 32.

that victorious general gained a complete victory againſt the Ammonites and their confederates, and returned to Jeruſalem. The Syrians, however, one of thoſe confederates, came again the next year with a freſh army: Shobach, general of Hadadezer, or Hadarezer, king of Syria Zobea, who was at their head, came and encamped at Helam; but David made ſuch ſpeed over Jordan with a powerful army, and gave him ſuch an overthrow, that they were glad to clap up a peace with him, and to become his tributaries. The Ammonites were likewiſe ſo weakened by theſe defeats, that they would have been glad to have remained quiet; but David was too exaſperated and too ſucceſsful againſt them, not purſue his victory to the utmoſt, by ſending Joab to invade their country, which that general did with that valour and ſeverity, as reduced them to the loweſt ebb *.

Year of the Flood, 1964. Year before Chriſt, 1035.

WHILST Joab was taken up with the ſiege of the metropolis of the unfortunate children of Ammon, a place of ſuch ſtrength that it held out two years againſt him; David, wholly relying on his valour and conduct, was ſolacing himſelf at home, and became unfortunately enamoured with a beautiful woman, whom he had, from his terrace, obſerved waſhing herſelf one evening in her garden. Upon enquiring who ſhe was, he was informed, that ſhe was the daughter and wife of two of his braveſt captains, Eliam and Uriah (E), who were then with Joab at the ſiege; but his paſſion proved too violent to admit of any check from reaſon or religion, or even of a delay. The fruit of their unlawful commerce was her ſudden pregnancy, and the danger

His adultery.

* 2 Sam. x. paſſ. See before, Vol. II. p. 125, & ſeq.

(E) At leaſt we find one Eliam in the number of David's worthies, who was the ſon of Ahitophel (29), and is ſuppoſed to have been her father, and that the affront offered to her cauſed that great politician to join in the conſpiracy of Abſalom. As for her huſband, he is ſurnamed the Hittite, probably, becauſe he was of that nation, and a proſelyte to the Jewiſh religion, though ſome will have it, that he is ſo called, only becauſe he was either born or had dwelt amongſt them, or upon ſome warlike exploit he had atchieved againſt them (30). Joſephus neither mentions this as a ſurname, or as that of his nation, but only ſays, that he was Joab's armour-bearer (31).

(29) 2 Sam. xxii. 34. (30) Vid. Berruyer. Munſt. Jun. & al. (31) Ant. l. 7. c. 7.

danger ſhe was in of being put put to death for it, according to the law of Moſes. The king bethought himſelf of an expedient to prevent the latter, by ſending for her huſband from the ſiege, under pretence indeed of informing himſelf how it was carried on, but in reality, in hopes of his ſpending a night or two with her; but whether Uriah had any ſuſpicion of the wrong done to him, or whether, indeed, he thought it beneath the bravery of a captain to go and ſolace himſelf at home, whilſt his general and fellow-ſoldiers were expoſed to the fatigues of a ſiege; he made this laſt his excuſe for not going home to his wife, and contented himſelf with lying at the gate of the palace, with the reſt of the king's guard. The king, thus diſappointed reſolved to try him a ſecond time; he made him eat at his table, and at ſupper plied him ſo well with wine, that he did not doubt, but he would, in that merry humour, have gone home to his wife; but Uriah, drunk as he was, ſpent that night alſo with the guards; and the king who by this time could not but ſuſpect, that he had ſome more private reaſon for abſenting himſelf from home, reſolved to ſacrifice his life to that of his faithleſs wife. Accordingly, on the next morning, he diſpatched him with a letter to Joab, wherein he ordered that general, who was the fitteſt perſon for ſuch a bloody deed, to expoſe that brave officer to ſome imminent danger, and to leave him to the fury of the beſieged. This was accordingly done; and David having received the news of his death, ſent and acquainted Bathſheba with it, who put herſelf in mourning for him, and was ſoon after ſheltered from danger by being married to the king [k]. We have ſeen elſewhere, the ſucceſs of this long ſiege, and the hard fate of the conquered Ammonites *: all we need to add here is, that what is ſaid there of their monarch's crown, that it weighed a talent of gold, that is upwards of 113 pounds, is rather to be underſtood of its worth than its weight, that is, that the gold and precious ſtones, with which it was adorned, was equal in worth to a talent of gold (F) [l].

And murder.

In

[k] 2 Sam. xi. paſſ.
[l] 2 Sam. xii. 30.

* See before, Vol. II. p. 127.

(F) It were indeed abſurd to underſtand it otherwiſe, for what man could bear ſuch a weight, though we ſhould even underſtand it of the common talent of 60 pounds. as Kimchi doth. Some Jews and others do indeed fancy, that it was only hung over the monarch's

In the interim, God, highly provoked with David for two ſuch heinous crimes, made choice of the prophet Nathan to go and denounce his ſevere judgments againſt him, at the time when that monarch, inſenſible of his guilt, was hugging in his arms the fruit of his adultery. The prophet, who knew his generous and upright heart, in any caſe wherein this new and criminal paſſion was not concerned, accoſted him with a parable of a wealthy man, who had ſpared his own numerous flocks, and ſeized upon an only favourite lamb of a poor neighbour, to feaſt an hungry gueſt. He dreſt his ſtory with ſuch aggravating circumſtances, that the king in anger pronounced ſentence of death againſt the perſon who had been guilty of ſuch an unnatural violence. The words were no ſooner out of his mouth, than Nathan made him ſenſible, that he had pronounced it againſt himſelf, by telling him, with a prophetic boldneſs, that he was the guilty perſon, and much more guilty than that in the parable, in that he had not only defiled the bed of a faithful captain, but had murdered him by an enemy's ſword, that he might take the adultereſs into his boſom. He then recapitulated to him all the aggravations of his double crime; particularly his ingratitude to his divine protector and benefactor, and the occaſion he had given to his enemies to blaſpheme (G). He concluded with

His puniſhment.

monarch's head, like the top of a canopy (32); but this is contrary to the plain meaning of the original, which did not want words to have expreſt that circumſtance, had it been fact. But we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew, that the word משקל Miſhkal, doth often ſignify the value, though properly and generally the weight, of a thing (33).

(G) This expreſſion of the prophet inclines us to think, that David had not been able ſo to conceal his crime, but that it had taken wind among the neighbouring nations, who could not forbear reflecting upon the God of Iſrael, for favouring a monarch who could be guilty of ſuch horrid crimes, as themſelves perhaps were ſtrangers to.

David, however, was ſo ſenſibly touched with his guilt, that he ceaſed not compoſing pſalms, full of the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of humility and repentance. Some of them ſeem even to intimate, that God had ſmitten him with ſome very grievous and painful

(32) Vid. Munſt. in loc. (33) Vid. Bochart. Hieroz. p. 1. Le Scene & Eſſay on a new verſ. pt. 2. Ch. ii. § 6.

with denouncing the effects of the divine reſentment againſt him, that Uriah's murder would prove an endleſs ſource of bloodſhed in his own poſterity, and that his adultery, how private ſoever, ſhould be expiated by the open defilement of his own wives and concubines, by thoſe of his own family, and in the face of the ſun.

THIS terrible ſentence brought David to ſuch a deep ſenſe of his guilt, that his heart, too full of it, could only ſay, *I have ſinned againſt the Lord*; but the ſincere remorſe with which it was uttered obtained an immediate alleviation of the puniſhment. However, the unhappy ſon of Bathſheba was doomed to death, and David tried in vain to obtain a reprieve for him, by prayers, and tears, by faſting, ſack-cloath, lying on the ground, and other marks of repentance. As for the other part of the ſentence, which related to his wives, it was ſoon after fulfilled by his unnatural ſon Abſalom, as we ſhall ſee anon. The child being dead, according to the ſaying of the prophet, David comforted his new wife for the loſs of it, ſoon after which ſhe found herſelf pregnant, and he called the ſon that ſhe then bore to him Solomon, a name ſignificative of his future peaceful reign, to which Nathan added that of Jedidiah, or *beloved of the Lord* [m], ſuch as he proved indeed, at leaſt during the former part of his glorious and ſucceſsful reign.

BUT it proved far otherwiſe with the remainder of that of his father, who, what hopes ſoever he might have conceived, from the birth and promiſed glory of this new ſon, and from his victory over the Ammonites, that his repentance had happily diſarmed the divine anger; never ceaſed feeling ſome of the ſevereſt and moſt ſenſible ſtrokes of it, to the laſt period of his life: not indeed from his enemies without, from whom it doth not appear that he received the leaſt moleſtation, but from thoſe of his own family, even from his own children. Ammon his eldeſt ſon, was ſcarcely

[m] 2 Sam, xii. paſſ.

painful diſeaſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin (34); but it is poſſible, that they may be altogether allegorical, and ſignificative only of his exceſſive grief and remorſe for it. Among his other penitential compoſitions, the 51ſt is ſuppoſed to have been writ immediately after Nathan's ſevere reproof.

(34) Vid. int. al. Pſ. vi. 38. paſſ. lxxvii. 3 & ſeq. lxxxviii. paſſ. cii. 3, & ſeq. & alib. paſſ.

ſcarcely eighteen years of age, when he layed the foundation of all the domeſtic troubles of his too indulgent father, by an unnatural inceſt with one of his own ſiſters. David had had two children by Maachah, the princeſs of Geſhur, Abſalom and Tamar [n], whoſe beauty became the unhappy cauſe of this unlawful paſſion. Ammon was obſerved to pine away ſecretly, aſhamed to diſcover the cauſe of his trouble, when a near relation, Jonadab, the ſon of Shimeah, David's brother, having pumped the fatal ſecret out, not only encouraged him, but furniſhed him with means to perpetrate the deed. According to his helliſh advice, Ammon, pretending that his diſeaſe had now confined him to his bed, obtained an order from his father, that Tamar ſhould come to him, and make him ſome kind of confectionary meat, to pleaſe his palled appetite; which that innocent princeſs readily complied with. But ſhe was ſcarcely entered with it into his bed-chamber, before he, having previouſly ſent all his attendants far enough, laid hold on her, and, in ſpite of all her prayers and remonſtrances, raviſhed her. His luſt thus ſatisfied, he conceived ſuch a diſguſt againſt her, that, not being able to bear her preſence any longer, and finding a juſt and modeſt reluctancy in her to withdraw in that deplorable condition, his barbarity roſe to ſuch a heighth, that he violently cauſed her to be turned out of his houſe by ſome of his ſervants. Her grief and confuſion were now become too great to ſuffer her to think how to avoid expoſing herſelf; ſo that, forgetting every thing but her preſent misfortunes, ſhe only ſought how to expreſs her ſenſe of it by the moſt lively tokens; by tearing her virgin robes, covering her head with duſt, by walking with her arms over her head, and filling the air with her cries. In this manner ſhe went to Abſalom's houſe, who being her brother, both by father and mother, was the propereſt perſon to procure her a redreſs, if any could be had. That prince, who was naturally haughty and revengeful, could not but feel the deepeſt reſentment againſt ſo barbarous a violence; however, as the revenge he meditated againſt the raviſher was of too deep a nature to be preſently executed, he contented himſelf with deſiring his diſconſolate ſiſter to alleviate, or at leaſt to conceal, her grief, ſeeing it was a brother who was the cauſe of it; and to ſpend the remainder of her days in ſolitude with him; which ſhe did accordingly; whilſt he, young as he was, did ſo well conceal his reſentment, that Ammon had not the leaſt ſuſpicion

Ammon's inceſt.

[n] Ibid. ch. iii. 3.

ſuſpicion of it. When the news of this villainous action came to David's ears, he was exceedingly troubled at it, but that was all; Ammon was his eldeſt ſon, and he could not prevail upon himſelf to inflict any other puniſhment on him, than that of his diſpleaſure.

THIS remiſſneſs did but add fewel to Abſalom's hatred, though he did not find a proper opportunity for his deſign till two years after; by which time Ammon's crime might be ſuppoſed to be forgot. The better to conceal his revenge, he invited his father and all his brothers to a ſheep-ſhearing feaſt, which he was to make at Baal-hazor. He eaſily excuſed the king, who declined going, from a principal of oeconomy, becauſe he had only invited him out of formality, and to avoid ſuſpicion; but he inſiſted, in particular, upon his brother Ammon's favouring him with his preſence with the reſt of his brethren, and eaſily obtained his conſent. When they were come to the place, he received them with an air, which ſhewed nothing leſs than his murdering intention; but as ſoon as he obſerved that wine had raiſed their mirth to the deſired pitch, he gave a ſignal to a number of his ſervants, whom he had appointed for the deed, and who immediately fell upon Ammon and ſtabbed him to death; whilſt the reſt of the king's ſon's expecting, perhaps, their turns would be next, made all poſſible haſte to get to their mules, and rode away to Jeruſalem. But before they could reach it, word had been brought to the king, that Abſalom had cauſed all his brethren to be aſſaſſinated. One may eaſily imagine how he received the dreadful news; he rent his cloaths, caſt himſelf down upon the ground, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt violent expreſſions of grief. The ſervants that were about him endeavoured to bear a part in this tragic ſcene, and ſtood round him with their cloaths rent. Jonadab only, the famous inſtrument of Ammon's inceſt, did rightly gueſs, that he alone had proved the victim of Abſalom's revenge. He acquainted the king with his thoughts, which were ſoon after confirmed by the arrival of the reſt of the young princes, who, with tears in their eyes, told him all that had happened. It was a melancholy meeting on all hands; the king mourned for ſome time the loſs of his eldeſt ſon, whilſt his murderer, not expecting the ſame remiſſneſs from him, went and ſheltered himſelf under the protection of his grandfather, the king of Geſhur, where he continued three whole years [o].

Ammon murdered by Abſalom.

[o] 2 Sam. xiii. p. to ſt.

BY

By that time, Joab, obſerving that the king expreſſed leſs grief for his dead ſon, than uneaſineſs for his abſent one, did reaſonably conclude, that if he could work upon him to recal him by any ſtratagem that could but ſave his honour, it would be an acceptable ſervice to them both. To compaſs this, he inſtructed a notable woman, whom he had ſent for from Tekoah, a place not far from Jeruſalem, to addreſs herſelf to the king under the perſonage of a diſtreſſed widow, juſt on the brink of being bereaved of the only ſon ſhe had left, who was in danger of being put to death, for having killed his brother in a fray, by which there would be a final end of her huſband's name and family. The ſtory bore indeed no parallel with that of Abſalom; perhaps the politic Joab had contrived it ſo, to prevent the king's ſuſpecting of it to be a deſigned thing. However, ſhe told it with ſuch pathetic expreſſions of grief, that David, moved with compaſſion, gave her his royal word, that her ſurviving ſon ſhould be ſheltered from all future proſecution. He had ſcarce bound it with an oath, when, according to her inſtructions, ſhe took the liberty, though in the humbleſt terms, to repreſent to him the wrong he did himſelf, by ſuffering his ſon to continue longer in his baniſhment, ſeeing that could by no means recal the dead, whoſe life once gone was like water ſpilt upon the ground, which could not be gathered up again. The king, who by this time perceived the woman's drift, failed not to conclude, that Joab was at the bottom of it; he taxed the woman with it, and ſhe, in the modeſteſt terms, acknowledged it, adding, that the king was as an angel of God, from whom it was impoſſible to conceal any thing. Joab, who was preſent all this while, took this opportunity of falling proſtrate before him, ſeemingly to beg pardon for his ſtratagem, but really to lay hold on his promiſe in favour of Abſalom; and David, as willing to grant as he was to aſk, did immediately order him to fetch him from his baniſhment, but with this condition, that he ſhould not approach the king's perſon, but retire to his own houſe; which was complied with accordingly, for he did not ſee the king for two whole years after his return (H). But being tired at length with living

(H) The text doth here take notice of his exceſſive and inſnareing beauty, which did ſo captivate the hearts of the people to him, that it inſpired him with the firſt ſentiments of his unnatural rebellion.

One

ing ſo long in diſgrace, and having ſent in vain for Joab, once and again, to come to him, he found no other way of bringing him, but cauſing ſome of his adjacent corn to be ſet on fire. Joab ſoon came to him at the news of this unexpected treatment; and, after ſome paſſionate expoſtulations on both ſides, it was agreed, that the king ſhould be applied to in favour of his ſon, which was ſoon after ſucceſsfully done by that general [P]. Abſalom reconciled to his father.

THIS reconciliation could not but convince Abſalom of his father's weak fondneſs for him; but that ungrateful prince ſought only how to make the moſt unnatural advantage of it. He immediately procured a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, horſes, and running footmen, to attract the eyes of the people; and, by an affected popularity, and ſeeming compaſſion for theſe who came to the king for juſtice, and the difficulty of obtaining it from him, it

[P] Ch. xiv. p. tot.

One circumſtance it mentions, relating to the yearly polling of his hair; which, taken in a literal ſenſe, will appear incredible, it being ſaid to have amounted to 200 ſhekels after the king's weight, that is, at leaſt, to three pounds two ounces; but to double that weight, according to ſome, who make the king's ſhekel to have been equal to that of the ſanctuary, that is to half an ounce averdupois. Such a monſtrous quantity of hair, were any head able to bear the weight of it, would rather diſfigure, than be an ornament to it; we think it therefore more probable, that the word שקל Shakal, is here to be underſtood of the value, and not of the weight of it; that is, that it was worth 200 ſhekels, whether half or quarters of ounces of ſilver. Not that we will ſuppoſe that Abſalom ſold them, though even that is not impoſſible (35), but that, whether he gave it to his ſervants, as a perquiſite, or to ſome favourite woman, it was reckoned worth that ſum. Some Jewiſh doctors do tell us, that his hair being exceeding long and fair, was in great requeſt among the great women in Jeruſalem, to adorn their heads with (36).

There is another difficulty in this place (37), where mention is made of Abſalom's three ſons, and of one daughter, named Thamar; whereas it is ſaid, in another place, that he reared up a pillar in the king's dale, to perpetuate his name, becauſe he had no male iſſue. All that can be ſuppoſed is, that they died in that ſhort interval, though no mention is made of their death.

(35) Vid. Le Scene. & Eſſ. on a new verſ. pt. ii. ch. 2. § 7. (36) Id. ibid. (37) 2 Sam. xiv. 27. (38) Ibid. ch. xviii. 18.

it was not long before he gained alſo their hearts, and perſuaded them, that they would be much happier under his government. This he continued doing ſome years (I), after which, finding himſelf ſtrong enough to break out into an open rebellion, and being perhaps afraid, leſt his artifices ſhould at length give the king ſome ſuſpicion of his perfidious deſign, he obtained leave of his too eaſy father to go and perform a pretended vow in Hebron, where he had appointed the chief of his party to meet him; whilſt others, who were diſperſed through the tribes, were ordered to proclaim him king, as ſoon as they heard the ſignal given by the ſound of the trumpet. He took among others 200 men from Jeruſalem, who, being altogether ignorant of his deſign, ſerved only to conceal it the more. At his coming to Hebron, he ſent for Ahitophel (K) from Giloh, his native place; and the defection of that great politician, who had been one of David's chief counſellors, did not contribute a little to increaſe the number of conſpirators. David was then at Jeruſalem, when news were brought to him of his ſon's rebellion; and being afraid of being ſurpriſed in it, and of being the cauſe, perhaps, of its inhabitants being put to the ſword, he left his palace to the care of ten of his concubines, and made what haſte he could out of the city. As ſoon as he came to the next convenient place, he made a halt, to take a melancholy view of the handful of men which followed him, and having obſerved the Cherethites and Pelethites to be

And rebels againſt him.

Year of the Flood, 1976. Year before Chriſt, 1023.

(I) The text ſays forty years (39), but the learned Uſher has ſhewed, that it can be only meant from David's being firſt anointed by Samuel, and not from his reconciliation to Abſalom; for this rebellion happened about four years after it (40). That prelate obſerves, that it was before or about Whitſuntide, by the new fruits and parched corn, which Barzillai brought to David in his flight (41).

We may likewiſe obſerve here, that Abſalom is the firſt who introduced the uſe of horſes in Iſrael; till then the kings uſed to ride on mules, and the greateſt nobles upon aſſes, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the judges.

(K) We have taken notice, in a late note, of the ſuppoſed reaſon of his defection, namely, his near relation to Bathſheba, and his reſentment for the injury done to her by David, which ſhe did not think ſufficiently recompenſed by his marrying her (42).

(39) 2 Sam. xvi. 7. (40) Ann. p. 37. (41) Ch. xvii. 28. (42) Sub. not. E.

be of that number, whom we before obſerved to have been ſtrangers; he addreſſed himſelf to Ittai, who was probably their commander, and told him, that he did not expect that they, who were ſo lately come into his ſervice, ſhould ſhare in his adverſe fortune, and adviſed him to return home with his men, ſince it was not in his power now to reward their fidelity. But that brave officer anſwered him with an oath, that he would never forſake him, whatever might be the ſucceſs of his affairs, as long as he was able to draw a ſword in his defence. The king, who could not but admire ſo faithful a zeal in a ſtranger, deſired him to paſs before him over the brook Kedron, whilſt the reſt of his followers, and the people that came to ſee this ſorrowful ſight, ſhed plenty of tears, to ſee the diſtreſs into which their monarch was driven by his unnatural ſon.

AMONG thoſe that followed the king, were the high-prieſts, Zadok and Abiathaz, at the head of a number of Levites who had brought the ark of God with them. David, however, did not think fit that they ſhould follow him, but commanded them to bear the ark back to Jeruſalem, whence they might ſend him intelligence of all that paſſed there, by their two ſons Ahimas and Jonathan, and aſſiſt him with their counſel, as they were ſeers; that is, as they had the gift of prophecy; whilſt he went and concealed himſelf in ſome of the plains of the wilderneſs, reſolved to ſubmit to whatever God ſhould decree concerning him. As ſoon as the prieſts were departed, David received the melancholy news, that Ahitophel was gone over to his ſon; upon which, he prayed earneſtly to God, to confound whatever counſel that old ſtateſman ſhould give to the conſpirators; and went up ſoon after, he and his ſmall troop, the aſcent of mount Olivet, accompanied by his wives and children, and ſome people that followed him from Jeruſalem. The march was mournful beyond expreſſion: the king, bathed in tears, went up with his head covered, and his feet bare (L), whilſt his ſorrowful retinue expreſt their deep concern for him, by the livelieſt expreſſions of real grief. When they were come to the top of it, and had offered up their prayers to God, pro-

(L) This we have ſhewed elſewhere was a token of the deepeſt mourning, and in this guiſe they uſed to accompany their neareſt relations to the grave (43).

(43) Vid. ſup. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. of their mixed Laws.

vidence ſent him an old friend named Huſhai, who came with his cloaths rent, and aſhes upon his head, reſolved to ſhare in his misfortunes. David, though ſatisfied of his fidelity, did not think fit, however, to take him into his retinue, but rather begged of him to join himſelf to that of his rebellious ſon, where he might do him much greater ſervice, by thwarting the counſels of Ahitophel, and by informing him, by means of the two high-prieſts, of every thing that was reſolved among the rebels. Huſhai readily accepted the office, and acquitted himſelf of it with ſuch faithful zeal, that he proved one main inſtrument of their overthrow [q].

In the mean time, whilſt the ſorrowful monarch was on his march, Ziba, the treacherous ſervant of Mephiboſheth, brought him ſome neceſſary refreſhments; and being aſked where his maſter was, told him, that he was then at Jeruſalem, where he expected to be ſhortly reſtored to the throne of Iſrael. An accident, that followed upon the heels of this falſe report, helped to convince David of Mephiboſheth's ingratitude. He was ſcarce come as far as Bahurim, a village not very far diſtant from that metropolis, when he was met by one of Saul's family, named Shimei, who had the boldneſs to throw vollies of ſtones at him, accompanied with the bittereſt curſes and imprecations, for being the author of Saul's misfortunes, notwithſtanding David was, at that time, ſurrounded by his guards and all his friends. This unexpected indignity did ſo inrage ſome of his captains, that they offered to go and ſmite off his head; but David reſtrained them, by putting them in mind of his more unnatural ſon, who ſought a tender father's life, whilſt this Benjamite expreſt no more than a natural concern for Saul's houſe; adding, that if his curſes came from God, as he knew not but they did, patience and reſignation would more effectually avert them, than ſuch a bloody reſentment. However, the thoughts of his having a double enemy now to ſtrive againſt, and that Mephiboſheth had cauſed a new revolt againſt him; touched him ſo to the quick, that he gave all his lands away to his faithleſs ſervant, which was all that the wretch ſought for by this falſe accuſation.

By this time, Abſalom and Ahitophel were come to Jeruſalem, that city not daring to make any reſiſtance to that hitherto ſucceſsful prince; and here it was, that Huſhai came to congratulate and offer his ſervices to him. Ab-

[q] xv. p. tot.

Abſalom, who knew him to have been a very faithful friend to his father, expreſt ſome ſurpriſe at firſt at this unexpected change; but was anſwered by that politic gentleman, that he thought it high time to abandon the father's intereſt, when providence had ſo openly declared for the ſon, who was, moreover, invited to the crown by the univerſal acclamations of the people; ſo that he had now no more to do but to ſerve him with the ſame fidelity, that he had done his father. Such a ſoothing ſpeech, could not but pleaſe the proud young prince, who admitted him into the number of his counſellors without the leaſt ſuſpicion; and repoſed ſuch confidence in him, that he ſoon after preferred his advice to that of Ahitophel, and loſt thereby the faireſt opportunity of ſecuring the victory and of his father's crown to himſelf. As ſoon as they were well ſettled in the king's palace, a council was called, in which Ahitophel adviſed the prince to rear up a pavilion on the top of the houſe, and to go and lie with his father's concubines in the face of the ſun. This, as we obſerved before, being eſteemed the greateſt indignity that could be offered to a crowned head, that helliſh politician told him, was the moſt effectual means to make his men fight deſperately for him, becauſe they would then look upon the breach as irreconcileable. It could not be expected, that Abſalom, who had already been guilty of fratricide and of rebellion againſt his own father, ſhould ſcruple to add adultery and inceſt to his other crimes: he readily complied with the advice, and thereby fulfilled one part of Nathan's prophecy againſt his adulterous father [r].

Ahitophel's counſel rejected.

THE next thing which Ahitophel adviſed the rebellious prince was, that he might be ſent at the head of 12,000 choſen men, to fall upon David's little army, whilſt they were ſtill weary with their flight; aſſuring him, that as ſoon as the king was taken off, which himſelf engaged to do, all the people would gladly come over to him as one man, and a quick end be put to the war. This counſel was approved both by Abſalom and all the elders of Iſrael; but as it was given in Huſhai's abſence, the prince reſolved to have his advice upon it, and Huſhai being informed of it, and wiſely foreſeeing, that, if it were followed, David muſt be inevitably loſt, omitted nothing to diſſuade him from it. He told the council, that David and his officers were men of too great valour and experience, to

[r] xvi. p. tot

ſuffer themſelves to be thus ſurpriſed: that for ought he knew, they had fortified themſelves by that time in ſome caverns, or among the rocks, whence they would ſally out, like a bear bereaved of her whelps, and fall upon them with ſuch deſperate fury, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſtand the ſhock: that if they ſhould be unhappily beaten back in this firſt enterpriſe, the fame of David's valour would quickly ſpread, and magnify his victory to ſuch a degree, as would inject an univerſal terror into all their army, and give the exaſperated king the faireſt opportunity of quaſhing the conſpiracy. For theſe reaſons, he ſaid, he thought it dangerous to undertake any thing againſt him, till Abſalom had wholly diſheartened his men, by calling together all Iſrael from Dan to Beerſheba, and pouring his troops ſo thick upon them, that neither means nor hopes might be left to eſcape. Thus, added he, if they be hid among the rocks, we ſhall eaſily hunt or ſtarve them out, and if they be retired into ſome ſtrong city, our army will be able to pull it and them with ropes into the next river, till there is neither man nor ſtone left to oppoſe us. This ſwollen and affected ſpeech could hardly have failed being ſuſpected, had not providence ſuffered both the young prince and the council to be blinded with it. Ahitophel was the only perſon who perceived the drift and conſequence of it; ſo that, vexed at the heart to ſee Huſhai's advice preferred to his own, and that David, by gaining ſo much time, would, in all probability, recover his kingdom, he ordered his aſs to be ſaddled, and rode away with all ſpeed to his houſe, where, having ſettled his family affairs in the beſt manner he could, he went and hanged himſelf (M).

He goes and hangs himſelf.

Huſhai, in the mean time, failed not to inform the high-prieſts with what had paſt, and of the danger the king and his men would be in, if they did not go over Jordan that very night. They diſpatched therefore a maid-ſervant to their ſons, Ahimaz and Jonathan, who lay concealed for that purpoſe at En Rogel, with orders, that they ſhould go imme-

(M) The text adds, that he was buried in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors; for the only difference, which the Jews made between thoſe that died a natural or a violent death, was, that the latter, whether they died by their own hands, or by that of juſtice, were not buried till ſome time after ſun-ſet (44).

(44) Vid. Joſeph. de Bell. jud. l. iii. c. 14. & ſup. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. of their mixed Laws.

immediately and inform David of it. However, the avenues of Jeruſalem were ſo narrowly watched, that they were diſcovered by a youth, who gave immediate notice of it to Abſalom. It was not long, before they were cloſely purſued, and forced to hide themſelves at Bahurim, where a kind woman concealed them in a well, by ſpreading a cloth over it with ſome pounded corn, as if ſhe had been drying it in the ſun. The meſſengers, having loſt ſcent of them, returned to Jeruſalem, whilſt the two young prieſts haſted to David's camp, where they informed him of all that had been tranſacted at Abſalom's court. David loſt no time, but croſſed the Jordan, with his little army, in the dead of the night, and on the next morning, when he came to Mahanaim, and took a review of them, he found, that they were all ſafely got thither with him. As ſoon as the news of his arrival had reached that neighbourhood, ſeveral of his friends came thither to him, with a timely ſupply of proviſion for himſelf and his men, with tents, couches, and other neceſſary utenſils. Among theſe were Shobi, the ſon of Nahaſh, an Ammonite; Machir of Lodebar, with whom young Mephiboſheth had been brought up [s]; and old Barzillai of Rogelim, a wealthy Gileadite (N). On the other hand, Abſalom, hearing that his father was removed to this place, came againſt him with an army, under the command of Amaſa, and incamped in the land of Gilead [t].

David, having refreſhed himſelf and his troops, and ſupplied the vacancy of thoſe officers who were gone over to Abſalom, divided his army into three bodies, under the command of Joab and his two brothers, reſolving to appear in perſon againſt his rebellious ſon; but the people ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, alledging, that his life was of too great a conſequence, to be hazarded at a time, when his enemy would prefer his ſingle death before the defeat of his

[s] See, Ch. ix. 4. [t] xvii. p. tot.

(N) Thoſe proviſions were wheat, barley, flour, parched corn, ſeveral ſorts of pulſe, honey, butter, cheeſe, with ſome ſmall cattle. There might be alſo ſeveral other ſorts, though not mentioned in the text, ſuch as bread, wine, dried raiſons, and figs, and ſome others, which we read were brought to David, at other times, by Abigail and Ziba (45).

(45) 1 Sam. xxv. 18. 2 Sam. xvi. 1.

whole army. The king acquieſced to them, and ſtayed at Mahanaim with a ſmall reinforcement; and whilſt the reſt of his men marched out before him, under their reſpective officers, he failed not to give them a ſtrict charge to be very tender of Abſalom's life. A fierce battle was ſoon after fought in the foreſt of Ephraim, wherein the rebel army was diſcomfited with the loſs of 20,000 men, who were killed on the ſpot, beſides a great number of others who periſhed in the wood and in their flight. Abſalom himſelf, mounted upon a mule, was forced to fly from a party of David's men towards the wood, where the bough of a thick oak having taken hold of his buſhy hair, the mule, running with full ſpeed, left him ſuſpended between heaven and earth. Joab, being informed of this accident by a ſoldier, ſtayed only to reprove him for not having diſpatched him, and went himſelf to the place, and run three darts through his body; after which he cauſed the trumpet to ſound a retreat, to prevent a further effuſion of blood. Abſalom's body was taken down, and flung into a large pit, and covered with a heap of ſtones; and the reſt of the rebels were no ſooner informed of his death, than they fled every man to his home. All this while the king ſtayed at the gate of Mahanaim, impatient to hear the ſucceſs of the action; but in his heart more ſolicitous for the life of his unnatural ſon, than for that of his friends, or even for his own; inſomuch, that when he received the news of his death, not able to ſupreſs his tears, he was forced to withdraw himſelf to the chamber over the gate, to hide his extream weakneſs, and give a full vent to his grief [u].

Abſalom, hung by his hair, is killed by Joab.

THIS untimely ſorrow of the king did ſo damp the joy of the whole army, that they retired into the city, more like cowardly runaways, than like victorious ſoldiers. Joab eaſily foreſaw the conſequence of it, and that it would cauſe a general defection; and, as he was naturally bold and haughty, he made no difficulty to go up and upbraid him with his ingratitude to his faithful friends in ſuch inſolent terms, though covered with a ſhew of loyalty and concern, that the afflicted king was forced to ſuſpend, or at leaſt conceal, his grief, and ſhew himſelf to the people with a ſeeming chearful countenance. As ſoon as they heard of his appearing publicly at the gate of the city, not only his own men, but even thoſe who had followed Abſalom, came

[u] xviii. p. tot.

came in crowds, and ſtrove who ſhould ſhew the greateſt affection to him. They remembered, that he had often delivered them from the oppreſſion of their enemies: Abſalom was now dead, and David victorious; ſo that they had nothing now to do, but to regain his favour by a timely ſubmiſſion. As ſoon, therefore, as the king perceived, that all the tribes were ready to bring him back to Jeruſalem, he ſent word to the two high-prieſts, to haſten the elders of Judah to come and accompany him back to his palace, and to promiſe to Amaſa, Abſalom's general, that if he would come over to him, he ſhould be his chief general in the room of Joab (O). Among thoſe that came over Jordan to meet the king, Shimei was one of the firſt; he came at the head of a thouſand men of his own tribe, and, falling proſtrate at his feet, acknowledged his crime, begged that it might be forgiven, in conſideration of his being foremoſt of all the tribes to congratulate him upon his late victory. David's generals did indeed think it a poor recompence for his late indignity to his prince, and were urgent to have him made an example to all Iſrael, but the king willing to ſignalize, as it were, his new reign by an unparalleled clemency, did not only reprove their untimely zeal, but generouſly confirmed his pardon with an oath.

David is acknowledged by all the tribes.

Shimei forgiven.

MEPHIBOSHETH came next to expreſs his joy at the king's return, and to juſtify himſelf from the baſe aſperſions of his treacherous ſervant. He gave him indeed ſome evident

(O) It appears by this, that David had conceived an averſion for Joab; he had indeed done enough to deſerve it, by his inſupportable inſolence, by his treacherous murder of Abner, but more particularly for having dared to kill Abſalom, contrary to his expreſs orders, whom he ought to have brought alive to his father, and left it to him to have puniſhed his rebellion, as he thought fit. On the other hand, Amaſa was a conſiderable perſon, the ſon of David's ſiſter (46), whom, either the fear of the king's reſentment, or a deſire of keeping up his poſt of general, might eaſily induce to raiſe ſome new troubles in favour of Saul's houſe. Upon theſe accounts, David thought it worth his while to bring him over to his intereſt by a generous pardon, and by giving him the command of his army, which would, at the ſame time, effectually ſuppreſs Joab's inſolence. But this laſt, who ſtuck at no baſe action to rid himſelf of a rival, did ſoon after break all the king's meaſures, by the murder of his new-made general.

[(46) Conf. Ch. xvii. 25, & xix. 13.

evident proofs of his gratitude and fidelity, and of Ziba's perfidy, and the king ſeemed outwardly to be ſatisfied with them; but whether he was not really ſo, or that he cared not wholly to reverſe the grant he had made to the ſervant, he ordered the lands to be divided between his maſter and him. Whilſt the king was getting ready to paſs over Jordan, his old friend Barzillai came to accompany him over that river, and to take his final leave of him. David would fain have perſwaded him to have gone with him to Jeruſalem, that he might have an opportunity of rewarding his ſervices; but the good old man excuſed himſelf from it on account of his old age, which had rendered him incapable of taſting the pleaſures of a court; deſiring him, that he would beſtow his favours on his ſon Chimham, who was ready to accompany him thither; which was readily granted.

HITHERTO there had appeared nothing but an univerſal emulation between the tribes, to wipe off the guilt of their late defection, by the greateſt tokens of ſubmiſſion and zeal; but the partiality which David ſhewed for his own tribe, in inviting it to come foremoſt to receive him, raiſed ſuch jealouſy in the other ten, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than a new revolt. The ten tribes, on the one hand, thinking themſelves injured, that that of Judah was preferred to them, in guarding the king homewards, complained in the bittereſt terms, that they had ſtolen him from them, with a deſign to deprive the reſt of their intereſt in him. Judah, on the other ſide, alledged, that their near relation to him entitled them to that preference; which, however, they had made no other advantage of, than that of being neareſt to his perſon, without expecting any gratuity from him. To this the others anſwered, that David, as a king, being equally related to them all, their ſhare in him bore a ten-fold proportion to theirs, for which reaſon they ought to have been the firſt invited, and the neareſt to him [w]. The conteſt grew ſo fierce at laſt, through the obſtinacy of the tribe of Judah, that Sheba, a factious fellow of the tribe of Benjamin, took that opportunity to blow the trumpet, and to gather all the malecontents to him, who immediately diſclaimed all further intereſt in David, and bid open defiance to thoſe that adhered to him; upon which, he ſaw himſelf at the head of all the ten tribes, that only of Judah, which had occaſioned this defection, followed their king from Jordan to Jeruſalem.

A new revolt againſt David.

A 3

[w] Ch. xix. p. tot.

As ſoon as David was come to his metropolis, he ordered his new general to ſet out, and gather what forces he could out of Judah, and to come to him within three days, whilſt himſelf took that time to clear his palace of his polluted concubines, and aſſigned them a ſuitable maintenance and another houſe, where they might ſpend their days in a kind of widowhood, But Amaſa, who met with greater difficulty than he expected, having outſtayed his time, the king gave the command of his guards and of thoſe few troops he had about him to Abiſhai, Joab's brother, another of his generals, who had commanded one third of his army againſt Abſalom, and ordered him to purſue Sheba before he could get into ſome fenced city. It is plain by this, that Joab was then in high diſgrace; however, he went along with Abiſhai, though not as a commander, and by that time they were come to the great ſtone of Gibeon, Amaſa joined them with his troops. Here the treacherous Joab came forth, ſeemingly to welcome him, and, taking hold of his chin with one hand, as if he had intended to kiſs him, ran his ſword through his bowels with the other, and laid him dead at his feet. As ſoon as he removed his body out of ſight, which he found did cauſe a general ſtop of his army; he marched with them directly to Abel-Beth-Maachah, into which he heard the rebel had retired with ſome troops. He had ſcarce began to beſiege that place in form, when a prudent woman ſpake to him from the top of the wall, and deſired him to liſten to the advice of an inhabitreſs of a place, which he knew had always been famed for counſel and wiſdom [x], and to forbear his hoſtilities againſt a mother city of Iſrael; promiſing him, upon that condition, that the head of Sheba ſhould be flung to him over the wall. Joab conſented to the propoſal, and as ſoon as he had received the arch-rebel's head, he raiſed the ſiege and returned to Jeruſalem. This ſucceſsful action, which quaſhed, as it were, a dangerous revolt in the birth, and reſtored an univerſal peace to the kingdom, failed not to raiſe the credit of the diſgraced general among all the tribes, inſomuch, that though he had undertook it without order, yet the king ſaw himſelf forced to expreſs his approbation of it, by reſtoring him to his former poſt, which he enjoyed till that monarch's death [y].

Two

[x] Ch. xx. ver. 18, 19. [y] Ch. xxi. p. tot.

A famine in the land.

Year of the Flood, 1978. Year before Chriſt, 1021

Two years after this [z], began a famine in the land, which laſted three years; at the end of which, David conſulted the Lord concerning the cauſe of this heavy judgment, and the means of averting it. He was anſwered, that it was for the murder of the Gibeonites, whom Saul and his bloody houſe had unjuſtly cauſed to be ſlain (P); upon which he ſent to know what ſatisfaction they required for the wrong, that they might afterward intercede for Iſrael, and remove that judgment from it. The Gibeonites ſent him word, that they deſired neither gold, ſilver, nor any valuable conſideration, but only, that ſeven males of Saul's family might be ſent to be put to death by them, as a retaliation for Saul's cruelty. The king loſt no time, but cauſed them to be ſought out of that unfortunate houſe; but gave expreſs orders, that Mephiboſheth ſhould be ſpared, out of friendſhip to his father. The unhappy victims of the Gibeonites reſentment were two ſons of one of Saul's concubines named Rizpah, who had been formerly debauched by Abner [a], and five ſons of Michal Saul's daughter (Q); and, as ſoon as they were put to death, the famine was ſtayed.

[z] Uſſer. Ann. ſub ann. mund. 2983, & 2986. [a] 2 Sam. iii. 7.

(P) It is not eaſy to ſay, when this ſlaughter of the Gibeonites was committed; the Jews do indeed pretend, that Saul had took into his head, in one of his phrentic fits of zeal, to cut them all off (47), but they give us no authority for it; ſo that the moſt received opinion is, that it happened when he ſlew all the prieſts and inhabitants of Nob; for the Gibeonites, as we have ſeen elſewhere †, were a kind of ſervants to them, employed in ſome of the loweſt and moſt laborious offices.

(Q) Not that which had been given from David to Phaltiel, and was ſent to him again by Iſh-boſheth; for it is obſerved, that ſhe was barren (49), but another of the ſame name, married to one Adriel of Meholah; or rather, as the Jews affirm, and with greater probability, Merab Saul's eldeſt daughter (50), who had indeed been given to that very Adriel (51); ſo that it is ſuppoſed, that Michal is accidentally crept into the text, inſtead of Merah; though the Jews, unwilling to admit that, will have it, that Merab was their real mother, and Michal only by adoption (52).

(47) Vid. Munſt. in loc. ſub not. a † Vid. vol. ii. ſup. p. 201. e. (49) 2 Sam. vi. ver. ult. (50) Munſt. ub. ſup. (51) 1 Sam. xviii. 17, 19. (52) Chald. paraph. Rabbin mult. & al.

Whilſt their carcaſſes were ſuffered to hang in the open air, which was almoſt a whole ſummer, Rizpah ſhewed ſo much concern for them, that ſhe kept them night and day from being devoured by either fowls or wild beaſts; which pious deed ſtruck David with ſuch remorſe, that he cauſed them to be taken down, and buried with thoſe of Saul and Jonathan in Zelah, the burying-place of the houſe of Kiſh. After this, David had four ſucceſſive battles with the Philiſtines, which the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of that nation †; in the firſt of theſe he hazarded himſelf ſo far, that he was like to have been killed by one of their gigantick champions, but was timely ſuccoured by one of his worthies; for which reaſon his officers ſwore, that he ſhould never more expoſe his perſon to ſuch dangers [b]. Theſe victories gave birth to a moſt excellent euchariſtical poem, which that monarch compoſed in memory of his late deliverance, and is now the 18th pſalm [c].

DAVID had not long enjoyed the fruit of his victories, before he brought a heavier puniſhment upon his kingdom, by taking it into his head to have the people numbered. Joab indeed, wicked as he was, did in vain repreſent to him the danger of his diſpleaſing God by it (R); the king would

David numbers the people.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 256.
[b] Ch. xxi. p. tot.
[c] Compare Ch. xxii. with Pſ. xviii.

(R) The text ſays, that the Iſraelites had provoked God's anger againſt them (which is no great wonder, that being generally the returns they made to him, whenever they were bleſſed with any interval of peace and proſperity); and that he ſuffered David to be tempted to this deed; or, as the author of the Chronicles (53) words it, ſuffered Satan to tempt him to it. Not that the thing itſelf was forbidden, on the contrary, they had an expreſs permiſſion from Moſes for it, provided they paid half a ſhekel for every perſon ſo numbered (54). The reaſon, therefore, of God's being provoked with it was, in all probability, becauſe David did it from wrong motives, without any neceſſity, in time of profound peace, after ſo many miraculous deliverances, with a ſeeming confidence in his own ſtrength, and contrary to his continual profeſſions of truſting in God alone. As for that part of the puniſhment which fell ſo heavy upon ſo many thouſands of the people, it is ſuppoſed to have been owing to their neglect of paying the ranſom appointed by the Moſaick law (55).

(53) 1 Chron. xxi. 1.
(54) Vid. Exod. xxx. 12, 13.
(55) Ita. Rabbin. vid. Munſt. Nichol. & al. in loc. & in Exod. xxx.

would be obeyed; and he, with the reſt of the commiſſioners, were forced to ſet about it. Theſe travelled through the land on either ſide of Jordan, and, at the end of nine months and twenty days, brought him the ſum of all the fighting men in the whole kingdom; namely, of Iſrael 800,000 and of Judah 500,000 (S). But before this time, David, having ſome evident tokens of the divine diſpleaſure [d], was ſo far from receiving any ſatisfaction at the vaſt number of his ſubjects, that he was ſtruck with a lively ſenſe of his folly, which broke out in expreſſions of the deepeſt remorſe. On the next morning, the prophet Gad was ſent to him, to chuſe, as a puniſhment for his ſin, either a ſeven years famine (T), or to be three months purſued by his enemies, or a three days peſtilence. The humble monarch owned it to be a hard choice; but, conſidering that war and famine ſeldom fall ſo heavy on the great, as on

[d] See 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

(S) It appears by the book of Chronicles (56), that Joab, though in no other caſe ſcrupulous, went about this work with ſuch an unwilling mind, that he prolonged it as much as he could, in hopes the king would ſee his error, and put an end to it; which it ſeems he did; for Joab came back before he had numbered the tribes of Benjamin and Levi. The account which that general gave here doth likewiſe differ, in ſome particulars, from that of the Chronicles; from which we may probably gather, that Joab was not over exact in his, and that it was afterwards rectified under the reign of Jotham (57). Others think the latter to be the leſs authentick of the two, and to have been corrupted rather than rectified; but it is better to ſay, that Joab, not having finiſhed ſome of the tribes, becauſe he found that God was diſpleaſed at it (58), the reſt were afterwards added to it; which is the reaſon, that the number of Iſrael in the Chronicles doth ſo far exceed that in the book of Samuel; as for the difference in that of the tribe of Judah, the former may alſo be the moſt exact, and the latter only a round number.

(T) The book of Chronicles ſays three years famine (59), ſo that it is likely, the prophet means here ſeven years, including the three years which were ſent upon the account of the Gibeonites; and the next year, which could not be very fruitful through ſcarceneſs of ſeed, the Philiſtine war, and, as Uſher conjectures (60), becauſe the fourth year being a jubilee, there was to be neither ſowing, nor reaping, but for the poor.

(56) 1 Chron. xxi. 6. (57) Conf. 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. v. 17. xxi. 5, 6. & xxvii. 24. (58) Ibid. (59) Ibid. ver. 12. Vid. Munſt. Jun. & al. in loc. (60) Ann. ſub A. M. 2987.

on thoſe of the lower rank, choſe the three days peſtilence, as the more equal puniſhment, and more immediately under the divine direction. No ſooner had David pronounced his choice, than that dreadful diſtemper received the divine commiſſion, and executed it with ſuch amazing ſwiftneſs, that it had deſtroyed 70,000 men before its time was expired. It had then began to fall upon the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, when God was pleaſed to put a ſtop to it at David's prayer; who, beholding the miniſter of divine vengeance (V) ſtanding by the threſhing-floor of Araunah, a prince of the Jebuſites (W), humbly entreated the Lord, that he would ſpare the innocent people, and let his anger fall upon himſelf and thoſe of his court, who bore a ſhare in his guilt. Whilſt he was offering up this mournful ſupplication, the prophet came to him, and commanded him to erect an altar on that ſpot of ground, where he had ſeen the deſtroying angel ſtand; and as David haſted towards the threſhing-floor, Araunah came forward to give him a reſpectful meeting; and as ſoon as he underſtood David's purpoſe of buying it of him, he made him a generous offer both of the floor, the threſhing-oxen, carts, and all the wooden inſtruments that were upon it. David thanked him for his offer, but told him, that it was not fit for the king of Iſrael to offer ſacrifices to God at other peoples coſt; and deſired him to ſet a price upon it. So Araunah ſold him the floor, and all that was upon it, for fifty ſhekels of ſilver (X). David haſted to rear an altar there

which brings a peſtilence upon the land.

(V) the text ſays expreſly, that David ſaw the angel of the Lord that ſmote the people (61), and the book of Chronicles adds (62), that he ſaw him ſtanding between heaven and earth, with his ſword drawn, and that both he and the elders of Iſrael, who were with him, fell on their faces; and that Araunah and his ſons, who were threſhing there, did likewiſe ſee him, and went and hid themſelves (63); ſo that theſe two places compared together will by no means admit of an allegorical ſenſe.

(W) At laſt he is generally believed to have been ſuch by Jews and Chriſtians, from the words (64), *all theſe did* Araunah *the king give unto the king*; for that is the true ſenſe of the original.

(X) The book of Chronicles ſeems again to claſh ſtrangely here with that of Samuel, in making the ſum, which David paid to the Jebuſitiſh prince, amouut to 600 ſhekels of gold. Some rabbies

(61) 2 Sam. xxiv. 17. (62) 1 Chron. xxi. 16. (63) Ibid. ver. 20. (64) 2 Sam. xxiv. 23.

there upon the ſpot, and to offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon it; and a miraculous fire, which deſcended from heaven, and conſumed the victims, ſoon gave them a manifeſt proof, that God was again reconciled to the land [e].

By this time David, who was about ſeventy years of age, had ſo exhauſted his ſtrength and natural heat, by a continual ſeries of wars, fatigues, and misfortunes, that no cloaths could keep him warm; ſo that his ſervants were forced to ſeek him a young beautiful virgin to wait upon, and cheriſh him, and lie in his boſom. His declining ſtate made Adonijah, who was now his eldeſt ſon, being next in birth to Abſalom, begin to look upon himſelf as already inveſted with the regal dignity. He got a ſumptuous equipage of chariots, guards, and running-footmen, whilſt David, out of a natural fondneſs for his children, beheld it without ſhewing any diſlike. It plainly appears, that young prince knew already, that his father deſigned Solomon to be his ſucceſſor; and it was to prevent it, that he made what haſte he could to get himſelf proclaimed. To this end, he leagued himſelf with Joab and Abiathar, and with them invited all his brothers, Solomon excepted, with a conſiderable number of his father's officers and of the elders of Judah, to a ſumptuous feaſt, which he had prepared at Zoheleth, in order to be proclaimed king of Iſrael there.

Adonijah's conſpiracy.

His

[e] 2 Sam. xxiv. p. tot.

bies have fancied, that every tribe paid fifty ſhekels, which made it amount to 600. But were that true, as it is not, becauſe David reſolved to be at all the charge himſelf, 600 ſhekels of ſilver would make but the 12th part of 600 ſhekels of gold, for that is the proportion theſe metals did bear to one another. Some learned men (65), obſerving that the words keſſeph and ſhekel, did often ſignify money and value in general, think, that the firſt ſum was 60 ſhekels of gold, and the ſecond 600 ſhekels of ſilver, amounting in value to 60 ſhekels of gold; ſo that either ſum anſwers to 547 pounds Sterling (66). But we think, that they remove the difficulty beſt, who ſuppoſe, that the 60 ſhekels of ſilver were paid only for the floor, oxen, and wooden inſtruments; and the 600 ſhekels of gold, for all the adjacent grounds, which were the place which David had choſen to build the temple upon (67).

(65) Villalpand, in Ezek. Bochart. Hieroz. tom. i. lib. 1. c. 38. & al. (66) Vid. Le Scene. & Eſſay on a new verſ. pt. ii. c. 2. (67) Munſt. Jun. Calm. & al. in loc.

His deſign, however, was ſuſpected by Nathan, Zadok, and ſome of David's worthies, who were in young Solomon's intereſt; the prophet, therefore, went and adviſed Bathſheba to go and inform the king of it, and to put him in mind of his promiſe in favour of her ſon. Whilſt he was ſtill ſpeaking, Nathan came, as it had been preagreed, and gave the king an account of Adonijah's feaſt, company, and of the deſign of it: deſiring to know, whether it was done with his conſent. The king, ſurpriſed with this report, ordered immediately Solomon to be ſet on his mule, and to be carried to Gihon, accompanied with his guards, with Zadok, Benajah, and ſome others of his chief officers, there to be anointed king; and then to be brought back, and ſeated upon the royal throne, and there proclaimed his ſucceſſor by the ſound of the trumpet. Solomon proclaimed.

The king's commands were executed with ſuch ſpeed, that Adonijah and his company had not the leaſt knowledge of it, till they were alarmed with the univerſal ſhouts of the people, who cried, Long live king Solomon. Jonathan, the ſon of Abiathar, came ſoon after to them, and gave them an account of the whole ceremony, aſſuring them, that it was all performed by the king's expreſs order, who had teſtified an uncommon joy, at ſeeing his favourite ſon ſeated upon his throne before he left the world, whilſt the air was filled with the acclamations of all the people. This unexpected news ſtruck them with ſuch amazement, that they all fled with the utmoſt ſpeed; and Adonijah, ſeeing himſelf forſaken, and expoſed to the reſentments of David and Solomon, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar. Solomon, being informed of it, ſent him word, that if he behaved himſelf for the future like an honeſt man, he would not hurt a hair of his head; but aſſured him, that his next diſloyal attempt would certainly be puniſhed with death. This meſſage brought Adonijah upon his knees to the new king; after which, he was ordered to retire to his own houſe [f].

David, now finding himſelf near his end, aſſembled the heads of all the tribes, his generals, and chief officers, with the prieſts and Levites, and acquainted them with his old deſign to have built a magnificent repoſitory for the ark of God, had not the prophet told him, that this work was reſerved for Solomon's peaceable reign. Notwithſtanding which, he told them, he had made great preparations for David's ſpeech to his officers

[f] 1 King. i. paſſ.

it, and laid up immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, copper, iron, and other materials (Y); all which, together with the plans and models of that edifice, the order and diſpoſition of the ſeveral branches of the divine ſervice, the courſes of the prieſts and Levites, of the muſicians, ſingers, and porters, the deſign for eſtabliſhing judges and courts of juſtice, with many other religious, civil, and military regulations

(Y) The book of Chronicles ſays, that the gold, which was that of Ophir, amounted to 3000 talents; and the ſilver, which was of the pureſt ſort, to 7000 talents; as to the baſer metals, they are ſaid to have been without number (68).

Prideaux obſerves * two things concerning the immenſe quantity of gold, which David dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; the firſt is, that it was that of Ophir; from which he concludes, that he muſt have eſtabliſhed a navigation in his time, without which it cannot be conceived, how he could have heaped it up to that degree; for as for that which he got out of the ſpoils of war, and his public revenue, it makes an article by itſelf, excluſive of theſe 3000 talents.

His next obſervation we ſhall give in his own words, as they ſtand in the note under the former. "This ſum, ſays he, is ſo "prodigious, as gives reaſon to think, that the talents, whereby "this ſum is reckoned, were another ſort of talents, of a far leſs "value than the Moſaic talents, of which an account is given in "the preface. For what is ſaid to be given by David [1 Chron. "xxii. 14, 15, 16. & xxix. 3, 4, 5.] and contributed by his "princes [xxix. 6, 7, 8.], toward the building of the temple at "Jeruſalem, if valued by theſe talents, exceeded the value of "eight hundred millions of our money, which was enough where-"with to have built all that temple of ſolid ſilver."

What ſeems to prove our author's laſt remark is, that thoſe talents are only mentioned in the Chronicles, which were undoubtedly written after the return from the captivity. This appears, 1. From its mentioning of Cyrus's decree for rebuilding the temple, and, 2. From its carrying the genealogy beyond Zorobabel, who was one of the chiefs that returned from Babylon: ſo that they might, by that time, be uſed to compute, either by Babyloniſh talents, which were ſomewhat above half the value of the Moſaic one, or perhaps by the Syrian, which is but a fifth of this. We need not to add, that the difficulty ſeems as great, with reſpect to the prodigious quantities of ſilver, braſs, and iron, which, if computed by the large talent, amount to ſuch an incredible ſum, that one will be at a loſs to gueſs how it could be diſpoſed of in that building, and yet leave room enough for ſo much timber and ſtone.

(68) 1 Chron. ult. ver. 4. * Connect. book 1.

regulations [g], he now reſigned up to him, to be perfected and improved as his wiſdom ſhould direct him. He deſired them to aſſiſt him in ſo deſirable a work, and that thoſe, who were deſirous to contribute towards that building, ſhould bring their free-will offerings into the treaſury. He concluded with exhorting both his ſon and the reſt of the aſſembly, to continue ſtedfaſt in the ſervice of God, ſeeing that was the only condition upon which they muſt hope for happineſs. This ſpeech ſtirred up ſuch a ſpirit of magnificence in the rich men of Iſrael, that they outvied one another in the richneſs of their preſents towards the building of the temple; ſo that David had the pleaſure to ſee an incredible quantity of gold, ſilver, copper, and other metals (Z), beſides precious ſtones, marble, porphyry, and other rich materials, brought from all parts of the kingdom. The ſight of ſo much wealth, brought in with ſuch readineſs and alacrity, did as it were revive the monarch's poetic muſe, and made him break out into an euchariſtical rapture, full of the deepeſt gratitude to God, and good wiſhes for the proſperity both of his ſon and of his kingdom, which were ſeconded with a hearty and univerſal Amen, and accompanied with ſolemn ſacrifices and other tokens of joy. On the next day, the king ordered 1000 oxen, 1000 rams, and the ſame number of lambs, to be offered up, beſides the daily ſacrifices, and a proportionate quantity of meat and drink offerings, with which the aſſembly was feaſted all that day, with a magnificence worthy ſo great and good a monarch [h]. In this aſſembly Solomon was anointed a ſecond time by Zadok, received the homage of all his brethren, and of all the chiefs of Judah and Iſrael, and was proclaimed king through all the tribes; Zadok was at the ſame time declared ſole high-prieſt, for his ſtrict adherence to Solomon [i], and Abiathar reduced to the ſecond rank, for his defection to Adonijah.

AFTER this, the king ſent for his ſon to give his laſt inſtructions; and firſt of all he put him in mind, that all David's laſt inſtructions to Solomon.

[g] 1 Chron. from Ch. xxiii. to xxix. paſſ. [h] Ch. xxix. paſſ. 1 King. ii. 1, & ſeq. [i] 1 Chron. xxix. p. tot.

(Z) Theſe offerings are ſaid to have amounted to 5000 talents, and upwards, of gold, 10,000 talents of ſilver, of braſs 18,000 talents, and 100,000 talents of iron, beſides precious ſtones, marble, wood, and other coſtly materials (69).

(69) 1 Chron. ult. ver. 7.

the gracious promiſes, which God had made to him and his poſterity, were only conditional, and depended wholly upon their obedience to his laws, ſo that they muſt expect their proſperity to riſe and fall in proportion to their obedience. He then proceeded to recommend to him the family of the good old Barzillai, and thoſe other friends, who had ſtuck to him in his adverſe fortune, and charged him to expreſs a grateful ſenſe of their friendſhip; as for Joab, added he, thou knoweſt how many vile actions he has been guilty of towards me, and how treacherouſly he imbrued his hands in the blood of two brave generals, Abner and Amaſa, after I had taken them into my ſervice and friendſhip. I was not then in a condition to puniſh him for it; but I need not tell thee what to do, thou knoweſt but too well, that he has forfeited his life, and on how many accounts he is unworthy of it. Shimei doth not leſs deſerve a violent death, for his horrid curſes and indignity to me, when I laboured under the deepeſt affliction; but as he took an opportunity to acknowledge his crime, at a time, when I thought it more proper to forgive than to puniſh it, I ſealed then his pardon with an oath; but thou, who art not under the ſame obligation, mayeſt, if thou thinkeſt fit, inflict ſuch a puniſhment as his crime deſerves. The king died ſoon after, in the 70th year of his age, after having reigned ſeven years in Hebron over the houſe of Judah, and thirty three over all the twelve tribes. He left an immenſe treaſure behind him, beſides that which he had dedicated to the ſervice of the temple; and was buried in a ſtately tomb (A), in that part of the city,

His vaſt riches and burial.

(A) We have had occaſion to ſpeak heretofore of this ſtately tomb, and of the immenſe treaſure that had been laid up in it, by him and his ſucceſſor, according to the Jewiſh hiſtorian *. The Jews have added many fables concerning that monarch, too extravagant to be inſerted; the reader may gueſs at the reſt, by that which follows, They tell us, that David, foreſeeing that he ſhould die on the Sabbath, begged of God, that he might die on any other day, becauſe on that he could neither weep for his ſins, nor order any thing concerning his burial. All he could obtain was, that he ſhould die towards the cloſe of the Sabbath; whereupon, the devil, who owed him a ſpight, and had tried part of that day, in vain, to divert him from reading the law, that he might take that time to diſpatch him, bethought himſelf, at

* Vid. ſup. Vol. iii. Ch. vii. Sect. iii. near the end. Ch. vii. Sect. iv. of cuſtoms, learning, ſepulchres, &c.

city, which he had cauſed to be built, adjoining to the old Jebus, or Jeruſalem [k]. The author of the Chronicles adds, that his hiſtory was penned by three contemporary prophets, Samuel, Nathan, and Gad [l]. His zeal, piety, and repentance are likewiſe celebrated in ſeveral places of the Old and New Teſtament; but that which raiſes his character above all the reſt is, that the promiſe of the Meſſiah, which had been made to Abraham, Jacob, and Judah, was fixed to that monarch's poſterity. Accordingly, the ſacred genealogiſts have given us the two lines of it, in which his birth was joined, namely that of Nathan, from whom his virgin mother was deſcended, and that of Solomon, from which was ſprung Joſeph his reputed father [m].

Year of the Flood, 1984. Before Chriſt 1015.

SOLOMON, being ſeated on the throne, delayed not to fulfil his father's laſt injunctions. Adonijah obliged him to go the ſooner about it by an action, which, though owing perhaps to a youthful indiſcretion, could not but render him ſuſpected of ſome further deſign, in concert with the turbulent Joab. We have lately obſerved, that it was looked upon as a treaſonable deſign againſt the regal dignity to marry, court, or to debauch any of the king's concubines; notwithſtanding which, Adonijah, obnoxious and diſgraced as he was for his late attempt upon the crown, was raſh enough to make uſe of Bathſheba's interceſſion, to obtain the king's leave to marry Abiſhag, the young Shunamitiſh

[k] 1 King. ii. 1. & ſeq. [l] Ub. ſup. ver. 29. [m] Compare Math. i. 1, & ſeq. & Luk. iii. 23, to 31.

at length, to go and ſhake ſome of his apple-trees, which made the king haſten down a wooden ladder to go and catch the thief; but, in the mean time, Satan pulling it from under him, broke his neck with the fall. The conſequence was, that his corps was to remain there till the Sabbath was over, in danger of being devoured by his own dogs. They conſulted their Sanhedrim what muſt be done in that caſe, and were anſwered, that they ſhould ſtrew a good quantity of bread round his body, which pleaſing the dogs better than his fleſh, they left it untouched till ſun-ſet, when it was lawful to remove it to a ſafer place (70.) The Mohammedans have not been behind-hand with the Rabbies, in ſtuffing his hiſtory with monſtrous extravagancies; the reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee them in the author quoted in the margin (71).

(70) Vid. Bartolic. Bibliot. Rabbin. Baſnag. Hiſt. Jud. & al.
(71) D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. ſub. voc. David.

virgin, who had been the cheriſher of David's old age; aſſuring her, that he deſired no other recompenſe for the loſs of a crown, which belonged to him by right of primogeniture. Bathſheba, glad perhaps to find, that her ſon's rival would be ſatisfied at ſo eaſy a rate, made no difficulty to promiſe him her intereſt, not doubting of ſucceſs. Solomon, who expected nothing leſs than ſuch a requeſt from her, received her with all the marks of honour that were due to a queen and a mother, and had already promiſed to grant her ſuit; but when he heard the purport of it, he was ſo inraged at his ambitious brother, that he ordered him to be put to immediate death. Joab alarmed at the news, went and took ſanctuary at the horns of the altar, and there met with the puniſhment of his crimes, and was ſucceeded in his poſt of general by Benajah, who had been before appointed his and Adonijah's executioner. The next in guilt was Abiathar, who had been one of the chiefs of Adonijah's conſpiracy; but the king contented himſelf with diveſting him of his ſhare of the high-prieſthood, and confining him to his own territories at Anathoth, in conſideration of his having carried the ark before his father, and been a ſharer in his afflictions. The king then ſent for Shimei, and told him, that though he thought him worthy of death, yet, out of regard to his father's promiſe, he would put it in his power to ſave his life, by confining himſelf within the walls of Jeruſalem; but he aſſured him, at the ſame time, that if ever he ſtirred out of it, without his leave, his diſobedience ſhould coſt him his head. The old man, glad to come off ſo well, thanked the king for his unexpected clemency; but venturing ſome years after to tranſgreſs his orders, and to ride out after two run-away ſervants, he was put to death for it at his return [n].

Adonijah and Joab put to death.

Solomon did not think it enough, that he had rid himſelf of two ſuch powerful enemies as Adonijah and Joab; he ſought to ſtrengthen himſelf ſtill more by marrying the daughter of the king of Egypt (B), who was then one of the

[n] 1 King. ii. paſſ.

(B) Theſe kind of alliances were indeed forbidden by the Moſaic law (72); but it is ſuppoſed, that Solomon cauſed that princeſs to be inſtructed in, and to embrace the Jewiſh religion before he married her; becauſe we do not find, that God did reprove him for it in that intercourſe, which he had ſoon after with him, but

(72) Deut. vii. 3.

the moſt powerful princes about him, and Pharaoh gave her for dowry the city of Gezer, which he had taken from the Canaanites and burnt down to the ground; but which being rebuilt by Solomon became a very conſiderable place°.

HITHERTO the people uſed to reſort to ſeveral high places, to offer up their devotions and ſacrifices; but the moſt conſiderable was Gibeon, becauſe the tabernacle, altar, and all the other ſacred utenſils, except the ark, were there. Whilſt therefore the temple was building, Solomon uſed likewiſe to repair thither upon all ſolemn occaſions, with a magnificence ſuitable to his dignity. Here, having at one time offered a thouſand ſacrifices, the Lord appeared to him in a dream, and promiſed to grant him whatever he ſhould aſk. The young monarch, conſcious of the weight of his kingdom and the ſtubbornneſs of his ſubjects, begged only for ſuch a degree of wiſdom, as might enable him to govern with that prudence and ſagacity, as became a king of Iſrael: which modeſt requeſt was ſo pleaſing to God, that he not only gave him ſuch a ſhare of wiſdom and knowledge, as had never been poſſeſſed by any mortal, but ſuperadded to it, a promiſe of ſuch other earthly bleſſings, as he had ſo judiciouſly overlooked. It was not long, before he gave his people a proof of his excellent wiſdom and diſcernment, in the method he took, to paſs a right judgment between two women, both contending for a living child, Solomon's choice of wiſdom.

° Ibid. Ch. ix. 16.

but, on the contrary, ſeemed well pleaſed with what he had hitherto done. It is true, that he is ſaid afterwards to have been inticed to idolatry by his ſtrange wives (73); but they were thoſe whom he married towards the latter end of his reign, after he had, as it were, forſaken God. But Pharaoh's daughter ſeems to be excepted out of the caſe, unleſs we will ſuppoſe, that ſhe relapſed to her former idolatry, when ſhe ſaw him immerſed in it.

However that were, he is generally believed to have compoſed the 45th Pſalm, and the book of Canticles, as an epithalamium upon his marriage with that princeſs. As for her dowry, the city of Gezer, it had formerly belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and had been given to them by the Levites (74); but had been retaken by the Canaanites, and now, by her means, returned and continued in Iſrael.

(73) 1 King. xi. 1, & ſeq. (74) Vid. Joſh. xxi. 21.

and diſclaiming the dead one with ſuch equal ardour, that it was thought impoſſible to adjudge the infants to their right mothers. But he ſoon found out an expedient to make nature itſelf unravel what reaſon could not, by ordering the living child to be divided by a ſword between them, which ſo alarmed the real mother, that ſhe choſe rather to reſign him up whole to the pretended one, than have him butchered before her eyes [P]. After this, the aſſembly could not be at a loſs where to aſſign the living child, nor what judgment to make concerning their young monarch's wiſdom, which was ſo much the more ſurpriſing and extraordinary, as he was then, at moſt, but twenty years of age, according to the chronology of our bibles and the learned archbiſhop Uſher †.

A pregnant proof of it.

His magnificence.

It became no leſs conſpicuous in the choice he made of his officers, and in the order and magnificence of his court, the proviſions for his houſe (C), the number and richneſs of his tables, chariots, horſes, ſtalls (D), and equipage; in the

[P] Ibid. Ch. iii. p. tot. † Sub Ann. M. 2971. & 2991.

(C) Theſe proviſions are ſaid to have amounted every day to thirty meaſures [each meaſure containing about eight buſhels and a half] of fine flour, double that quantity of common flour, ten fatted, and twenty paſture, oxen, and an hundred ſheep; beſides veniſon, poultry, wild-fowl, fiſh, pulſe, fruit, herbs, and other eatables, which were ſent to him from all parts of the kingdom, under the direction of twelve officers, who took their turns, each in his reſpective month, and out of his reſpective canton (75).

(D) There is a conſiderable difference in the number of his ſtalls, between the book of Kings and that of the Chronicles; the former reckons them forty thouſand, and the latter but four thouſand (76), which laſt is preferred to the former, as the moſt reaſonable, becauſe Solomon is ſaid to have had but 1400 chariots (77); for if we allow four horſes to a chariot, which is double the number that chariots of war uſed to have, it will make in all but 5600, at which rate, there muſt have been more than ſix ſtalls to one horſe, contrary to common cuſtom, which allows ſeveral horſes to one ſtall (78). Some other authors take another way of reconcileing

(75) 1 King. iv. 7. & ſeq. (76) Conf. King. iv. 26. & 2 Chron. ix. 25. (77) Ibid. i. 14. 1 King. x. 26. (78) Vid. Lud. Capel. Bochart. Pool. Synops. Le Scen. Eſſay on a new verſ. p. 2. ch. 7.

the ſettling of his cuſtoms and finances (E), and the regulating of his guards and his army (F); which, added to the vaſt number and valour of his ſubjects, and his immenſe riches, gave him ſuch a powerful ſway, that he lived in the profoundeſt peace, plenty, and grandeur of any prince in his time; beloved by his friends and allies, who were conſtantly pouring the richeſt preſents upon him; feared by his enemies, receiving large tributes from ſeveral crowned heads (G), and reſorted unto, from all parts of the world, for his excellent wiſdom and magnificence, which brought in a continual concourſe of ſtrangers to his metropolis, and enriched

ing the difference, which we cannot dwell upon (79). Theſe horſes, whatever their number was, were to be furniſhed with barley, ſtraw, and other provender, by the ſame twelve commiſſioners, we mentioned in the laſt note (80).

(E) Solomon was the firſt that brought chariots and horſes into uſe in Iſrael, at leaſt to any quantity: theſe he ſent for out of Egypt; not only for his own uſe, but for ſeveral neighbouring kings, who were obliged to pay him ſix hundred ſhekels for every chariot and four horſes, and a hundred and fifty for every ſingle horſe. He had likewiſe abundance of yarn, linen, and other commodities out of Egypt, which he ſold to his ſubjects and merchants at a certain price (81); all which brought him a vaſt revenue, beſides his navy, of which we ſhall ſpeak anon.

(F) What ſtanding army he kept, the ſcripture doth not tell us, and as he was in peace with all the world, and was either loved or feared by his neighbours, he did not ſeem to have needed a great one. But beſides the number of his chariots and horſes, mentioned in a former note, the text ſays, that he had 12,000 horſemen (82), which ſome take to have been rather ſaddle-horſes, and others his life-guard. However, it is certain, that this multiplying of chariots and horſes was expreſly forbidden by the Moſaic law (83), whatever ſalvo he might find out to evade it, in a time of the profoundeſt peace. Theſe he did not keep all at Jeruſalem, but diſpoſed of them in ſeveral of his ſtrong cities, reſerving only a convenient number about his perſon, either for guards or grandeur (84).

(G) The text ſays, that his dominion reached from the river Euphrates, or even beyond it, to the Nile, or borders of Egypt, and that all the kings of thoſe countries were tributary to him (85).

(79) Vid. Calm. Com. in 1 Reg. 4. 25. Munſt. Jun. & al. ibid. (80) Ibid. ver. 27. 28. (81) 1 King. x. 28, 29. (82) Ibid. ver. 26. (83) Vid. Deut. xvii. 16. (84) 1 King. x. 26. (85) Ibid. iv. 24. 2 Chron. ix. 26.

enriched it to ſuch a degree, that gold and ſilver ſeemed to have loſt their intrinſic value, by their extraordinary abundance. The very revenue which his navy brought him in, excluſive of his cuſtoms, amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix talents of gold. All this while his Iſraelitiſh ſubjects, not only enjoyed the ſweets of peace and plenty, but alſo of an univerſal freedom. There were no other ſlaves during his reign, except the poor Canaanites, and ſome captives of other nations [q].

Hiram's embaſſy and treaty with Solomon.

Of all the princes that ſought his friendſhip, Hiram, king of Tyre, David's old friend and ally, was the firſt that ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate his acceſſion to the crown, and to offer his ſervice to him, as he had formerly done to his father. Solomon returned the embaſſy, and acquainted him with the deſign of his building the temple, deſiring him to ſend a ſufficient number of workmen, to join with his artificers, for the work; particularly, ſome that were well ſkilled in working in gold, ſilver, and other baſer metals, precious ſtones, ſcarlet, crimſon, and other fine dyes, all which was readily granted by the Tyrian king; in conſideration of which, Solomon agreed to furniſh him yearly with 20,000 meaſures of wheat, and 20,000 barrels of fine oyl for his houſhold, beſides the ſame quantities of barley, wheat, wine, and oyl, which he engaged to give to his ſervants that did the work. On the other ſide, Hiram was to ſend the cedars, fir, and other woods upon floats to Joppa, there to be delivered to Solomon's ſervants, and thence brought to Jeruſalem. He ſent him alſo a man of his own name, a Tyrian by birth, who was a ſecond Bezaleel, and was ſuch an excellent workman in all kind of metals, ſtones, carving, engraving, embroidery, tapeſtry, and in making all ſorts of fine cloaths, that Hiram honoured him with the title of father. Him Solomon made overſeer over all the artiſts, whom David had formerly procured out of Tyre and Sidon. Theſe two princes made likewiſe an alliance together, which only ended with their lives (H) [r].

To

[q] 1 King. iv. 20, & ſeq. 2 Chron. ix. paſſ. [r] Ibid.

(H) Joſephus aſſures us, that the letters which paſſed between them were ſtill preſerved in the archives of Iſrael and Tyre (86); he adds likewiſe, out of Dio and Menander, that thoſe two kings uſed

(86) Ant. lib. viii. c. 2.

To carry on this ſtupendous work with greater eaſe and ſpeed, Solomon cauſed an account to be taken of all the Canaanites, and other foreign ſlaves, that were in the land, and it was found to amount to 153,600; 70,000 of whom he appointed to carry burdens, 80,000 to hew timber and ſtone in the mountains, and the remaining 3,600 he appointed to be overſeers over them [s]. Beſides theſe ſtrangers, over whom he appointed ſome of his chief officers to overſee the work, he levied 30,000 men out of Iſrael, whom he appointed to work in Lebanus one month in three, 10,000 every month, under the inſpection of Adoniram; theſe were likewiſe imployed in hewing wood, marble, and other ſtone, which was afterwards wrought by the Tyrian maſons and carvers, and thence conveyed to Joppa by water [t]. Whilſt theſe were preparing, Solomon, who had been ſtill adding immenſe quantities of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other rich materials to thoſe which David had prepared before his death, did put them into proper hands, to be wrought into an almoſt infinite variety of ornaments. And the vaſt number of hands imployed, and the diligence of the overſeers and workmen was ſuch, that he was able to lay the foundations of this vaſt ſtructure in the fourth year of his reign, which was the ſecond after David's death, and the 480th after the exod [u]. This great work was begun on Monday the ſecond

The building of the temple.

[s] 2 Chr. ii. 17, 18. [t] 1 King. v. 9. [u] Ibid. vi. 1.

uſed to puzzle one another with riddles, and that the nonſolvent was obliged to pay ſome conſiderable forfeit to the propoſer. So that Hiram, having once received ſuch a one as he could not ſolve, was forced to pay Solomon a large ſum; which he, however, made him to refund ſoon after, by getting one Abdemon a Tyrian to invent another, which proved too hard for that wiſe monarch (87). There is nothing improbable in all this; but what he and other learned Jews add, by way of appendix, to what the text records, concerning his extraordinary wiſdom, deſerves notice, though it were but for its abſurdity; for he makes one part of his knowledge to have conſiſted in the deepeſt receſſes of magic, in charms, evocation, and ejection of demons, and ſuch-like witcheries, in which he was not content to be the experteſt man living, but took the pains to propagate that art, by writing ſeveral books upon that worthleſs ſubject (88). Credat Judæus.

(87) Lib. cont. Ap. p. 2. (88) Antiq. ub. ſup. vid. & Bartoloc. Bibliot. rabbinic. ſub voc. Salom.

cond day of the month Zif, which answers to the 21st of
The building finished. our April [w], being the second month of the sacred, and eighth of the civil, year; and was carried on with such prodigious speed (I), that it was finished in little more than seven years; if not in that magnificent manner, in which we have seen it represented in a
Year of the Flood, 1978. Year before Christ, 1021. vast number and variety of plans, and by some late models exposed to public view; yet, at least, in such rich and sumptuous manner, as did easily excel any thing then extant of that kind. What is still more surprising is, that every piece of it, whether timber, stone, or metal, was all finished before it was brought to Jerusalem, so that there were no other tools wanted or heard, than what were necessary to the joining of them to each other.

And here it will be doubtless expected, not only, that we should give our readers an exact description of that wonderful edifice, but perhaps also, that we should make some improvements upon those authors, who have gone before us, and discover new ornaments and excellencies, which they had overlooked. This is, indeed, no more than they pretend to have done with respect to one another, especially of late years, not from any greater insight they have gained into the sacred language and writings, but from what they have fetched either out of the description of the prophetic temple of Ezekiel, or from that of Josephus, or from what the Jewish rabbies have been pleased to

[w] Vid. Usser. Ann. sub an. A. M. 3001.

(I) This foundation, which took up the whole group of mount Moria, did likewise cost an immense labour to level, because it consisted of several gibbous eminences, all of them solid rock, except the surface, some parts of which were to be considerably lowered, and others raised in proportion, in order to bring them to that capacious area; insomuch, that Josephus says, a man could hardly believe his own eyes, when he beheld the stupendousness of that work, the very contriving of which was enough to have crased any brain, but that of Solomon (89). It will, indeed, appear very surprising, how such a foundation could be laid, and the materials for the building could be in such a forwardness, in so little a space as four years, as to have been finished in the seventh year after its foundation. But we see no reason against supposing, that David, who had also sent for a great number of Tyrian workmen long before his death, had already set them to this work, to prepare stone and timber, and to level the ground.

(89) Ant. ub. sup. vid. sup. Vol. ii. p. 376.

to ſuperadd out of their own heads, in order to raiſe this ſacred fabric to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and richneſs. The truth is, whilſt thoſe paper architects can have their work and materials at ſo cheap a rate, it is next to impoſſible to keep a luxuriant fancy within due bounds, and not to act the panegyriſt, rather than the hiſtorian, in the rearing of this ſtately building. This is therefore what we would carefully avoid, though at the hazard of being taxed with running into the other extreme, whilſt we ſtrike off their three evidences, as far as they jar with, or exceed, the account, we have of it in the books of Kings and Chronicles.

For, after all, who has aſſured thoſe authors, that the temple of Ezekiel, which was only ſeen in a viſion, and was, for ought appears, only a type of that ſpiritual one under the goſpel, did bear a conſtant analogy with that of Solomon, with reſpect to its members, dimenſions, ſymmetry, and the like? Who knows not, that that of Joſephus, allowing it to have been equal in beauty and magnificence to that author's deſcription of it, had received ſuch conſiderable additions and improvements from time to time, as might eaſily render it quite different from, not to ſay vaſtly excelling, that of Solomon? Laſtly, what diſcoveries can we hope for in this reſpect from the Talmudiſts and Jewiſh rabbies, who lived ſo many centuries after its final deſtruction, but what are of the ſame ſtamp with thoſe they have made with reſpect to religion; mere pious fables and forgeries, calculated to raiſe the honour of their nation? And if Ezekiel, Joſephus, and the rabbies muſt be ſet aſide, where ſhall we find an author that has done ſo, or a deſcription of this edifice, that has not borrowed more from them, than from the ſacred hiſtorians? For theſe reaſons, we had once reſolved to ſpare our readers the charge of a new draught or deſcription of it, ſeeing we could offer them nothing new or authentic, without being at the pains of delineating it afreſh, according to the account we have of it in the books of the Kings and Chronicles, without any farther regard to the others, than as they helped to explain a doubtful paſſage, or ſome obſcure terms, ſuch as muſt unavoidably occur in great plenty, in deſcriptions of this nature, written at ſuch a diſtance of time, and in a language ſo little known, as the Hebrew now is.

But whilſt we were deliberating, whether we ſhould undertake ſo laborious a taſk, we were agreeably informed by a curious gentleman, a friend and encourager of this hiſtory,

ſtory, that having ſeen all the various deſcriptions of that edifice, and being diſſatisfied with their borrowing ſo much from thoſe authors we excepted againſt; he had ſome years ago prevailed upon a learned clergyman of his acquaintance, to make ſuch a delineation, as we have been ſpeaking of, out of the two ſacred books above-mentioned. He then favoured us with a ſight of the plans, and gave us time and leave to examine and compare them, and their proofs, with the original text; and when he found how much we approved of them, and that they could not but be very uſeful and acceptable to the curious, he not only made us a generous offer of the whole, to be communicated to the world, but gave us ſome opportunities of receiving farther ſatisfaction from his learned friend, touching any difficulties that might occur. However, as his demonſtrations from thoſe ſacred books, curious and exact as they are, would too ſenſibly interrupt the thread of our hiſtory, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers, if we join them with the plans of the city and temple in that ſuccinct and explanatory method, in which he has been ſince prevailed upon to adapt them to this work, that ſo both may at one view be compared, either with each other, or with any of thoſe deſcriptions that have hitherto appeared in the world (K). As for the elevations of that edifice, we

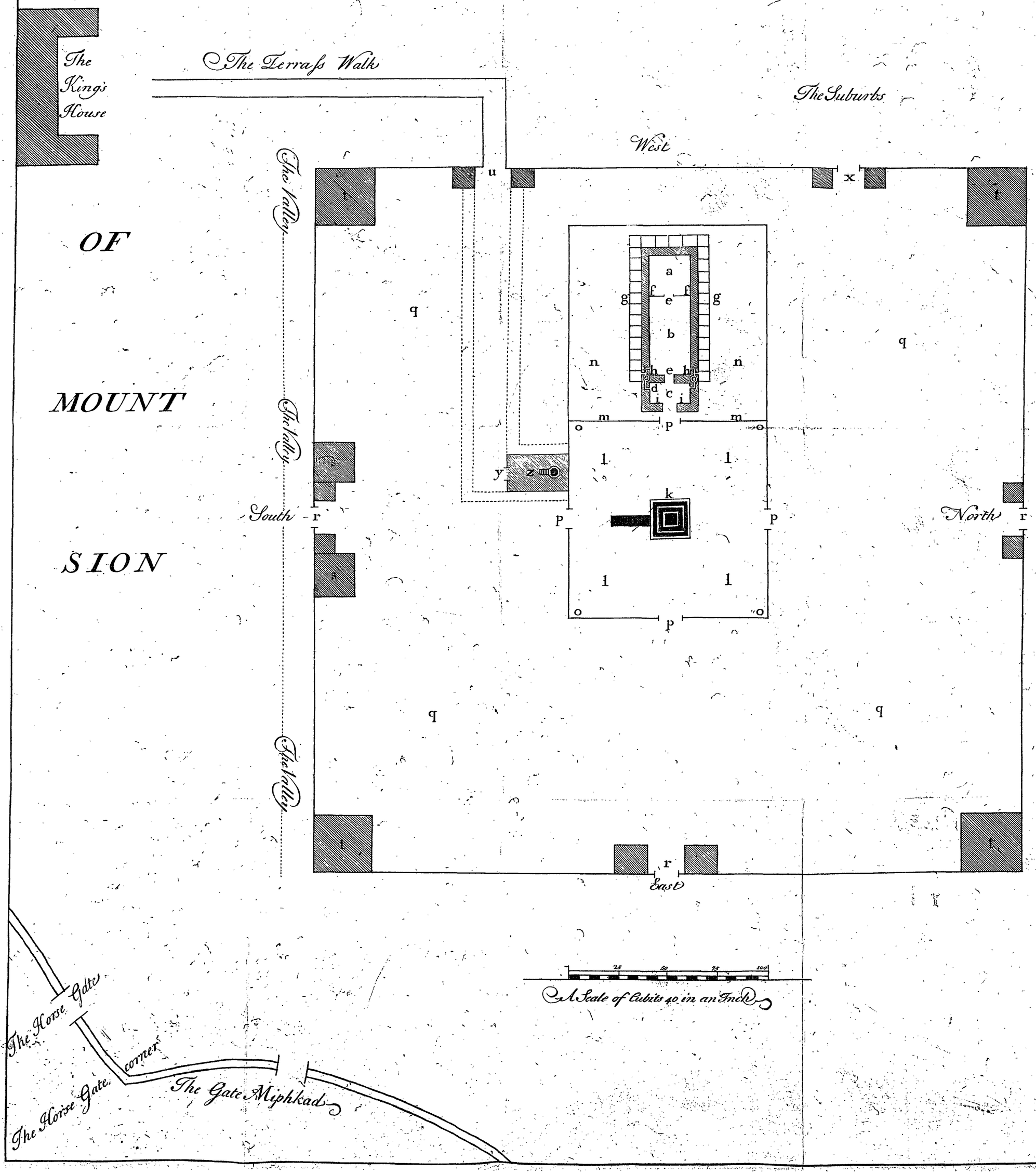
(K) It will not be amiſs, however, to obviate two objections which may be made againſt theſe new delineations; the firſt is, that it is more than probable, that the ſacred hiſtorians have omitted ſeveral particulars in their deſcriptions of that building, which, though perhaps of leſs conſequence, are yet of ſuch a nature, that one cannot well frame a juſt idea of the whole without them. This both our friend and we do readily grant, and therefore are far from giving this as a complete and perfect plan of the whole; all that is pretended is, that it contains all that the ſacred hiſtorians have mentioned of it, without having recourſe to Ezekiel, Joſephus, or the Talmudiſts, for a ſupply of what they have omitted. And we think, it cannot be unacceptable to the curious, to ſee how much thoſe, who have followed the laſt mentioned authors, have added to what we find in the text; and to be able to diſtinguiſh what is authentic, from what is not ſo, by comparing this with theirs.

The next objection is, that the tears, which the antients of Iſrael ſhed at the ſight of the ſecond temple, when they ſaw how far ſhort it was of the firſt †, ſeem to argue, at leaſt, that that of Solo-

† Ezra iii. 12.

PART OF MOUNT SION

A PLAN of the TEMPLE of JERUSALEM, Built by KING SOLOMON as it is found recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles.



The Explanation

- a The Oracle or most Holy Place
- b The Sanctuary or Holy Place
- c The Porch
- d The Wall
- e The Door of the Oracle; The Door of the Sanctuary
- f The Veil or Partition
- g The Chambers about the Temple
- h The Stair case
- i The Two Pillars
- k The Altar of Burnt Offerings
- l The Court of the Priests
- m The Wall between the Courts
- n The New Court
- o The Walls of the Priests court
- p The Doors of the Priests court
- q The Great Court
- r The East, North & South Gates of the Great Court, with the Ward Rooms on each side of each of the said Gates
- s The Houses call'd Asuppim
- t Other Houses in each corner of the Great outer Court
- u The Gate Shallecheth
- x The Gate Parbar
- y The Entry of the King
- z The Kings Throne

Chap. 7.

The Explanation at Large of SOLOMON's *Temple, according to the Sacred Hiſtorians.*

FOR the right underſtanding the deſcription in the foregoing plate, we ſhall lay down the following preliminary obſervations;

I. *Firſt*, The temple of Solomon being our chief and proper object, we give the plan or ground-plot of it (which we declare to be our only taſk) whole and complete, juſt as we conceive it to have been: but Jeruſalem we repreſent only with an eye to thoſe parts which bore ſome relation to the temple; ſuch as the palace on the ſouth, and the ſuburbs to the weſt, the valley between both, the horſe-gate towards the eaſt, and the like.

II. *Secondly*, WE pretend to no other knowledge of the temple, but what we have from ſcripture, in terminis, or the clear ſenſe of it; and where that fails, we only beg to be allowed the uſe of criticiſm, and reaſonable or plauſible conjecture; for beyond theſe we have no other evidence. How great ſoever the learning of ſome moderns may be, much greater, we own, than any we pretend to, yet what they aſſert has no weight, unleſs they can bring ſuch manner of proof as that which we ourſelves intend to uſe. Whether they, or we, beſt ſtand the teſt, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, that will be at the pains of perufing theſe ſheets with ſome attention, and of comparing our plan with any other now extant. As for antient authors, we have none to produce beſides Joſephus, and other Jews, rather of a later date than he. Now all we might learn from them, that has no foundation in holy writ, to us is no evidence at all. Much they knew, or pretended to know, from tradition, but that, we preſume, is not to be depended upon. We know no monuments they had beſide thoſe we have ourſelves: And the Hebrew tongue, properly ſo called, being a ſort of dead language at the time theſe authors writ, it may be well doubted, without ſinning againſt modeſty, whether they, who had no other books to learn it by than thoſe that are now in uſe, could underſtand it better than thoſe that ſtudy it at preſent. Nay more, it might be ſhewn, we dare ſay, that Joſephus underſtood not

ſome

ſome of thoſe few Hebrew words he pretends to explain in his Hiſtory of the Jews (A).

III. *Thirdly,*

(A) This is the more to be wondered at, becauſe Joſephus boldly aſſerts, at the end of his Jewiſh antiquities (1). That there were none of his countrymen ſo perfect in that ſort of learning as he was. But we are not alone in our opinion of him; though the late editor of his works, taking his bare word for it, ſets him off in the margin (2) as a very learned hebræan: Bochart (3) and Huetius (4), not to name any more, have openly declared themſelves quite oppoſite to that eulogium of Joſephus by Dr. Hudſon, Some indeed have tried to bring him off upon a ſuppoſition his writings were interpolated; which is not unlikely in ſome inſtances (5), and truly he himſelf ſhould not be charged with the blunders of either his tranſcribers or tranſlators. We ſhould think what is read in his manuſcripts (6) that the Hebrews called the ark Heoron, and many ſuch other ſtrange names (7), is no fault of the hiſtorian, but of thoſe that copied his writings, and the ſame we judge of the tranſlations. The French one, though much valued, ſays, *The ark was made of an incorruptible wood, the* Hebrews *call* Heoron; and truly ſo the Latin has it, which the French exactly followed, though pretending, in the title, the tranſlation was made from the Greek original; and Roger L'eſtrange here treads in Dandilly's ſteps heartily. However, to us it is probable, that Joſephus, being about to give in Greek the word in Hebrew for the ark, he wrote ἡ δὲ ἄρων, or as Dr. Bernard of Oxford would have it (8), ἡ δὲ ἔρων. Now pronounce it either way, Aron with the Hebrews, or Eron with the Chaldæans, the word itſelf ſignifies a Trunk, as was the ark, and Joſephus is right enough, though others have wronged him in relating his words. But what ſeems thereabouts (9) to be Joſephus's own fault, is the interpretation of what his manuſcripts and editions both call Chethomene; which, he ſays, ſignifies a linen coat, becauſe it is Chethon we call linen: now begging his pardon, Chetoneth, the Hebrew word, or Chethoneh, as the Chaldæans pronounce it, may alſo be a coat of wool. Not to obſerve

(1) Lib. xx. c. 10. p. 903. (2) Joſephus in hebræis litteris verſatiſſimus. (3) Hieroz. lib. ii. c. 9, p. 154. (4) Dem. Evang. Prop. iv. p. 175, 199. (5) Vid. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 7. p. 112. De Veſt. Sacred. & V. 8. 213. etym. Samſon. (6) Lib. iii. c. 6. p. 110. (7) ἑώρων, ἱερώνυμον, ἱερωνυμία, ἐρευνυμία, ἱερὸν. (8) In loc. ed. Sheld. p. 166. 4. (9) Ubi ſup. Numb. 2.

III. *Thirdly*, We do admit of Ezekiel as a divinely inſpired prophet; and therefore what he has ſaid or written ought to be received by us as moſt true. But then we take it, he has not given us a deſcription of the temple of Solomon, but of quite another; a prophetic or emblematical temple, that never exiſted but in the revelation that was made to him, and the repreſentation he has ſet down in his prophecy. He himſelf ſays [a], *In the viſions of God brought he me into the land of* Iſrael——*and ſaid unto me, Behold with thine eyes, for to the intent that I might ſhew unto thee art thou brought hither. Declare all that thou ſeeſt to the houſe of* Iſrael——and much more to the ſame purpoſe. Now it does not ſeem probable at all, that there wanted ſo much care and ſolemnity to ſhew the prophet a temple he had himſelf ſeen a hundred times over and over; he, as it is well known, being a prieſt [b], who had there officiated, and had no need of divine inſpiration to tell his countrymen the Jews, what moſt of them could not well be ignorant of, or rather were well inſtructed in. And, if it ſhould be urged, that this might well be forgotten in a captivity

[a] Ezek. xl. 2,—4. [b] Ezra i. 3.

ſerve the Chethoneth of many colours Joſeph wore (10), or that that hanged like a robe about Thamar (11), poſſibly were not of linen, thoſe, moſt ſurely, our firſt parents were cloathed with, are ſaid (12) to be of ſkin. Accordingly, we are told, thoſe of the prieſts were of linen (13), on purpoſe, that they ſhould not be thought of ſome other ſtuff. But finding Chethon, or Kethan, for linen, in the vulgar language of Jeruſalem, Joſephus thought Chethoneth in holy writ to ſignify a coat of linen; which indeed does not look ſo ſtrange as the etymology he ſeems to give (14) of Jeruſalem, being a compound of the Greek Hieron, a ſacred thing, and the word Solyma, unleſs this alſo be an interpolation. And the ſame one might ſay concerning Bezetha, which Joſephus (15) makes to ſignify the New City, when no ſuch thing can be made out of that word. But if it be worth while to gueſs at it, בצת Baſath, as it is a root, or radical word, ſeems to be preſerved in that well known derivative among the Turks, viz. Boſtangi,

(10) Gen. xxxvii. 3. (11) 2 Sam. xiii. 18. (12) Gen. iii. 21. (13) Exod. xxviii. xxxix. paſſ. (14) Antiq. lib. vii. c. 3. p. 287. (15) Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1223.

tivity of 70 years (B), I will readily allow it, and all that can be drawn from this conceſſion, provided it be proved, that any uſe was made of this ſo ſolemn a deſcription, in their building of the temple, after the return from the captivity; but ſo far was it from it, that at the ſight of the ſecond temple many tears were ſhed, this ſecond temple built by Zorobabel being much inferior to that they had ſeen of Solomon's building [c]; and what then, if compared with that of Ezekiel? for this temple (and that is the thing we dare rely upon) had no proportion as to its meaſures with that other of Solomon. Whether any body has ever apprehended Solomon's temple to have been of each ſide above 500 cubits (C), we do not know: but that would be nothing to Ezekiel's, which was 500 reeds [d], that is to ſay, 3000 cubits, for it is well known, that a reed was ſix cubits (D), ſo that here is a difference as of ſix to one in their capacity

[c] Ibid. iii. 15. [d] Ezek. xliii. 15. 20. [e] Ibid xl. 5.

ſtangi, a gardener; and among the Rabbins in Buſtan, a garden. So that it is not unlikely, that part of Jeruſalem, that lay northward of the temple, viz. Bezetha, before it was built into ſtreets, was the gardening place for the city, and kept its ancient name, as is ſtill cuſtomary among ourſelves in ſuch like occaſions.

(B) This revelation was made to Ezekiel in the 20th year of the ſaid captivity, and but the 14th after the taking of Jeruſalem by the Babylonians (16).

(C) The temple may well be taken for the whole ground on which it ſtood, with all its courts, and truly that name muſt be taken in this latitude, in our tranſlation of the goſpel; in Greek it is ἱερον, which might be properly turned into Engliſh by a conſecrated place, or ground (17); and the Jews, who commonly call it Har habbaith, mountain of the houſe, ſay it was a ſquare of 500 cubits (18).

(D) What theſe cubits were, has been obſerved chap. 7. of this hiſtory (19), to be almoſt equal to 22 inches, which is not improbable. Some indeed would increaſe the cubit to a greater length, and others reduce it to ours of 18 inches, which yet could not affect our argument, becauſe which ſoever of the divers hypotheſes

(16) Ezek. xl. 1. (17) Matth. xxi. 12. Mark xi. 16. Coll. 17. & al. paſſ. (18) Tract. Midd. c. 2. cui tit. הר־בית. (19) See before, vol. 3. ch. 7. ſect. 4. under the article of things conſecrated to God. Vid. Cumberland's Eſſay on weights and meaſures, p. 39, &c.

capacity or encloſure, which is impoſſible to be thought or ſaid of one and the ſame temple. But you will ſay, it might be the ſame except the encloſure: I anſwer, No, becauſe the mountain had no proportion to ſuch a one, no not by any jettees, or other ways you can imagine; for the ſquare being 2000 reeds, will not give you leſs than 12000 and odd cubits, or about 4500 paces. Now Jeruſalem itſelf was never ſo large (E); how then can we ſuppoſe the temple to have been ſo, that was but part of that city? Beſides, Joſephus [f], in the dimenſions he gives us of Herod's temple, that he had himſelf ſeen, and was by far the largeſt of the three; does not exceed 4 ſtadia, or 500 paces. In a word, never any real temple, built upon Moria, was any thing near ſo big as that temple Ezekiel ſaw and delineated by inſpiration.

[f] Antiq. xv. ult. p. 702.

hypotheſes be the nearer the truth, it makes no difference here in the main, the cubit not being conſidered in itſelf, but comparatively to the meaſuring reed, ſaid to be (20) ſix cubits by a cubit and a hand-breadth, or, according to the Septuagint, ſix cubits and one hand-breadth beſides.

(E) Though we know what he does relate out of Hecateus, who, in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, makes the circuit of Jeruſalem almoſt 50 ſtadia πενήκοντα μάλιστα (21) σταδίων τὸν περίμετρον, which indeed Joſephus does not correct, though he himſelf does not reckon this renowned city's largeſt extent to have been above 33 ſtadia, τῆς πόλεως δὲ ὁ πᾶς κύκλος σταδίων ἦν τριάκοντα τριῶν (22.) Now a ſtadium, as is well known, being 125 paces, 23 ſtadia will produce 4125 paces, which would reduce the whole extent of the city to three ſtadia, 375 paces leſs than that of the temple. There is indeed a book written in Dutch (23) by the learned Camp. Vitringa, wherein he undertakes to make void this our argument, by obſerving, That the 2000 reed are to be underſtood only of ſo many cubits, as the Septuagint have expreſſed it in their tranſlation; and to make it anſwer in the Hebrew text, he ſuppoſes the word there (24) to ſignify, by an ellipſis, cubits of a reed, that is to ſay, ſuch cubits, as ſix of them make up one reed. But whether this will ſatisfy we muſt leave to the judgment of our readers.

(20) Ezek. xl. 5. (21) Ap. Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib. 1. p. 1348. (22) Jos. cont. Ap. Bel. Jud. lib. 5. c. 4. p. 1223. (23) בקנה Bikneh, with a reed; or with the meaſuring reed. Ezek. xlii. 16; &c. (24) Den Tempel Ezechiel's, cap. xli.

IV. A fourth obſervation, very neceſſary to be attended to, is the true ſituation of Jeruſalem, as to its two principal parts, well known by the names of two mountains, viz. Sion and Acra [g], on which ſtood the upper and lower city; for Sion was a good deal higher or loftier than Acra. They roſe like two huge heaps one againſt another, with a valley between them, by which they were ever, and are ſtill, parted, though not, as it is eaſy to imagine, without ſome very great alteration in their particular form or figure. The temple was built upon mount Moria [h], which was either part of mount Sion, or a hill of leſs compaſs near it. That Moria ſtood to the eaſt is not diſputed; but whether Sion was on the ſouth or the north has been a queſtion among the learned. This an eye-witneſs could eaſily have determined, if any one had favoured us with a map exactly drawn, or anſwered the queſtion in expreſs terms: For all this, we could try to clear it by the help of the ſacred monuments, which, thanks to the learned Reland [i], would prove an eaſy taſk, but too prolix for this performance; and therefore we chuſe to refer to that author for a full ſatisfaction about it. However, it is pretended, that Iſaiah [k] leaves room to think, that Sion lay northwards of the lower city: For, ſays the king of Babylon, as he is introduced ſpeaking by the prophet, *I will ſit upon the mount of congregation in the ſides of the north.* But it is not ſaid here mount Sion lay on the north of Acra; what is ſaid ſeems to be, that the conqueror would eſtabliſh his dominion where was the king's palace, bordering upon the ſouth of the temple, and ſituate on the northern ſide of mount Sion. There the Babylonian thinks himſelf ſecure, and in full poſſeſſion of the city. But ſays the prophet to him, alluding to the valley bordering upon mount Sion, towards Acra, *Thou ſhalt be brought down to the ſides of the pit.* This ſituation of Sion, which might be further proved from Joſephus [l], beſides our judicious traveller the Rev. Mr. Maundrell [m] and the Paris citizen Anthoine Regnault [n], we

[g] Vid. Jeroſ. Deſcript. ap. Joſeph. Bell. Jud. lib. v. c. 4. p. 1221. coll. & 1235. [h] 2 Chron. iii. 1. comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. & 1 Chron. xxi. 18. —— 28. xxii. 1. [i] Vid. Palæſt. illuſtr. p. 839. [k] Cap. xiv. ver. 13. [l] Ubi ſup. p. 1222. & 1230. [m] A Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 67. 76. 78. 86. 99. 100. [n] Diſcours du voiage d'ontremer au S. Sepulcre, 1573. p. 47. 92. 140, &c. Add Le Bruyn. Voiage au Levant, tom. ii. c. 53. 55.

we did insist upon, because very great men [o], have appeared on the opposite side, who by their uncommon learning may draw others into the same error.

V. The fifth observation will give us the true situation of the temple. 'Tis known that when the Hebrews did worship, they turned themselves towards the most holy place or temple [p]. Now we learn from what Ezekiel saw, that it lay westwards of its door or entry. His words are very plain, *Behold*, says he [q], *at the door of the temple were about five and twenty men, with their backs towards the temple, and their faces towards the east; and they worshipped the sun towards the east*; therefore the front of the temple was *turned towards the east* (F); and this is confirmed by Josephus [r], who so far must be right, the temple having at first been in the same situation he saw it in afterwards.

VI. Lastly, Though our proper enquiry be into what appears to us to be strictly true, as to this matter of Solomon's temple, yet we do not pretend, that all that is true of it has been said by us, because it is possible, many things about it may have been omitted by the sacred historians, and therefore, as has been intimated, cannot in any wise be said by others. Neither do we aver, that all we intend to say is exactly true or certain. Once more we must be so plain with our readers, as to let them know, that we do not pretend to give demonstrations, but probable

[o] Drus. ad voc. N. T. voce Sion. Lightfoot, Cellarius, Calmet. [p] 1 Kings viii. 48. Psal. cxxx. 12. Dan. vi. 10. & pass. [q] Ezek. viii. 16. [r] Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 342.

(F) Theodoret, it seems, gives a very good reason for it, viz. That as the Israelites were commanded to worship God alone, they might have the sun behind their backs, turning themselves towards the tabernacle, and not adore the sun, but his maker; and truly when the custom prevailed among the Christians of turning their faces towards the east in their worship, the Pagans did upbraid them with adoring the sun (25). But the author of the apostolical constitutions knew well how to put it in another view, for the holy apostles are introduced by him, saying, προσευχέσθαι δὲ κατὰ ἀνατολάς, κ. τ. λ. (26).

(25) Solem credunt Deum nostrum, says Tertull. Apol. cap. xvi.
(26) Lib. vii. c. 44.

conjectures. And if our weak endeavours are not satisfactory, we should be very glad by them to put others upon gratifying the world with a scheme more accurate, wherein all things appearing better connected, might also better answer, or be more agreeable to the several passages or texts of holy writ here under consideration. All then we do engage on our part is, carefully to distinguish between those things we have a full proof of, and those things wherein we only try to make some near approaches towards the truth; and upon this foot will now be explained the several particulars in the plan before us, according to the indication of them by the letters in the margin, for the greater conveniency of finding out whatever may seem to want a review, or deserve to be more narrowly looked or inquired into.

a. We begin with the Oracle (G), where God did speak from between the cherubim [s]; accordingly it is called the *Oracle of his Holiness*, or as it is otherwise translated, *His Holy Oracle* [t], towards which the Israelites turned themselves when they did worship [u]; and this was a square room of 20 cubits, as appears from 1 Kings vi. 2, 20. 2 Chron. iii. 8.

b. The holy place, or Sanctuary, 40 cubits long and 20 broad, as is plain from 1 Kings vi. 2, & 3. where it is also called

[s] Exod. xxv. 22. ult. Psal. xcix. 1. [t] Psal. xxviii. 2. [u] See before, Vol. 3. ch. 7. sect. 4. under the article of the mercy-seat and ark of the testimony. & comp. Psal. xxviii. 2.

(G) In Hebrew, דביר Debir, as if one should say Locutorium, or speaking-place. For there it was that God used to speak, or give his orders, or instructions, to his lieutenant, if one may so call the judge or prince, and to the high-priest, his first minister. Besides, it was called the oracle of the house, and most holy place, Heb. holy; or, as the Septuagint (27), holies of holies, and as it is translated (28) concerning the tabernacle the holiest of all (29).

The Septuagint have kept the Hebrew word reading it δαβειρ or δαβιρ, except in one place, where it is translated ναὸς, or temple.

(27) Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89. (28) 1 Kings viii. 6. Psal. xxvii. 28. (29) Hebr. ix. 3.

called the *Temple of the Houſe.* For the Houſe (H) might properly be the name of the two apartments [w], but that of the Temple (I) the proper name [x] for the ſecond apartment: However, *the length of both theſe together, being the Houſe and* (K) *Temple of God* [y], *was ſixty cubits*, 1 Kings vi. 2.

c. BEFORE the Sanctuary ſtood a *Porch. Twenty cubits was the length thereof, and ten cubits was the breadth thereof*, as is ſaid ver. 3. and ſo far we have a certainty from the books of Kings and Chronicles. To which we might, if needful, add the authority of Joſephus [z] and numbers of others.

d. As for the wall between the porch and the temple, any one ſees it ought to be there admitted, though never mentioned in ſo many words by the ſacred hiſtorians. We ſay it appears to have been of great uſe, not only better to ſuſtain the building, but alſo to ſeparate the temple from the porch belonging to it; that ſo this temple might ſtand wholly by itſelf and alſo be ſhut up when there was occaſion for it.

[w] 1 Kings vi. 5, & paſſ. [x] Ibid. ver. 17. [y] Pſal. v. 5. comp. xxviii. 2. [z] Pag. 342.

(H) הבית Habbaith, or בית Baith, an Houſe (30), by way of excellency. It was the houſe of God, and in ſome ſenſe that of the Iſraelites alſo, wherefore they ſay (31), *Our holy and beautiful houſe where our fathers praiſed thee.* However, the houſe of the Lord is indifferently taken for the whole, or part off, the building.

(I) היכל Hecal is properly a palace, witneſs the [hecal] palace of Ahab (32); and by this name ſeems to be called the different parts belonging to the tabernacle (33). The Septuagint tranſlate it ναὸς moſt frequently, and ſometimes οἶκος.

(K) Well might it be called ſo, when it was the place of his reſidence among the Iſraelites. So ſays Solomon (34), *I have ſurely built thee an houſe to dwell in; a ſettled place for thee to abide in.* And therefore the Jews have given the name of Shekinah to this habitation not improperly, for there was God's ſymbolical preſence upon the ark (35), or, as it were his throne; and there alſo was a real preſence conſpicuous by its operations, I mean by the oracles which God delivered there.

(30) 1 Kings viii 16. (31) Iſaiah lxiv. 11. (32) 1 Kings xxi. 1. (33) 1 Sam. i. 9. iii. 3. (34) 1 Kings viii. 13. (35) 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. Pſalm. lxxx. 1.

e. BUT further, our conjecture is ſtrengthened by this plain inference, that the temple had doors. Thus it is ſaid [a], *For the entering of the oracle he made doors* [b], —— *ſo alſo made he for the entering* (L) *of the temple poſts of olive-tree,* ——*and the two doors were of fir-tree.* Now a door ſeems to ſuppoſe a wall, where-ever a wall appears to be neceſſary, as was here. And ſhould it be objected, that the oracle had a door as well as the ſanctuary, though we do not conceive any wall between them, it might be anſwered, That there is nothing upon record concerning ſuch a wall (M); that we ſee no neceſſity for one; and laſtly, that there might be ſomething elſe in lieu of it.

f. FOR a very rich and ſtrong veil was made to ſeparate the moſt holy from the holy place [c], the ſame we ſuppoſe, as St. Matthew calls the *veil of the temple* that *was rent in twain* when *Jeſus yielded up the ghoſt* [d]. Joſephus [e] poſitively tells us, that Solomon made a partition wall, different from the veil; but this is not ſo clearly expreſſed in the ſacred books. The tranſlation indeed ſays [f], *He made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle:* and accordingly we may underſtand, that there was both a partition and a veil, the partition being fixed, and the veil hanging before it, ſo as to be moved like our curtains. But we do not warrant, that this is the true ſenſe of the Hebrew (N), which

[a] 1 Kings vi. 31. [b] Ibid. 33, 34. [c] 2 Chron. iii. 22. [d] Matth. xxvii. 50, 51. [e] Ant. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 343. [f] 1 Kings vi. 2.

(L) The word in Hebrew is פתח Petach, the ſame as for the oracle above, and therefore entring ought to be kept in Engliſh, not door, as in our tranſlation; although Petach, an entring, is in other places tranſlated a door, by a true analogy.

(M) This muſt be underſtood of holy writ, wherein no mention is made of any ſuch wall, though indeed our tranſlation ſays, as to the door of the oracle; "the lintel and ſide poſts were a fifth "part of the wall." But thoſe laſt words are not in the Hebrew, and truly another interpretation is given in the margin, viz. that they were five ſquare; however, the reading in the text may well be admitted relatively to the height of the oracle, ſo that this is meant, that the lintel, &c. were five cubits high.

(N) ויעבר ברתיקות Vajehabber Beratikoth, or, according to the keri, Beratoukoth, which is verbatim, he made paſs with chains, ſuppoſing ratikoth to be chains, for that word occurs in no other text but this, and may be as well tranſlated bars, or bolts

which is rather, *He placed chains (bars or bolts) croſs the oracle*: However, there was a door to it, as we have ſeen already. And although we may eaſily conceive a door without a wall, properly ſo called, we muſt ſuppoſe ſome ſuch thing as a partition. Beſides, what bolted this door, or went acroſs before the oracle, was of gold, and therefore not the veil itſelf. At leaſt the Hebrew text allows us to ſay the oracle was ſhut up with golden bolts. Yet whether there was a partition beſides the door of each ſide [g], or whether the door itſelf ſerved inſtead of a partition, we ſhall not determine (O), but conclude this article by ſaying, that the doors of the porch are mentioned as ſuch in one paſſage [h], and called the doors of the houſe of the Lord in another [i].

g. WHAT we are now to conſider are the chambers, built againſt the wall of the houſe round about, both of the temple and the oracle, the nethermoſt ſaid to be *five cubits broad, and alſo five cubits high* [k]; but of their length we find nothing in the books we refer to. It ſeems they were ſquare rooms: Joſephus tells us [l], they were thirty in number all about the temple, which, it may be, he took from that of Ezekiel [m], who ſays, *The ſide chambers were three*,

[g] 1 Kings vi. 31. [h] 2 Chron. xxix. 7. [i] Ibid. xxviii. 24.
[k] 1 Kings vi. 5, 6. [l] Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 342. [m] Ezek. xli. 6.

or any thing equivalent. Hence then it ſeems, Joſephus (36) took, "the in and the outſide of the temple was all lined with "cedar, and that the cramping of the cedar together with ſtrong "chains, (ἁλυσεσι, not irons, as L'eſtrange has it) was a great "ſtrength and ſecurity to the building." However, *pro materiâ ſubjectâ*, to make paſs with chains; or as it might be tranſlated without the particle (37), to make chains paſs, ſeems to be nothing elſe but to chain, or tie with chains, to bolt, or bar; unleſs the word veil be ſupplied to fill up the gap of this expreſſion, well underſtood at that time, though afterwards, being obſcure and obſolete, it was omitted by the Septuagint. The Vulgate ſays, he faſtened the ſhelfs with nails.

(O) It will hardly be expected we ſhould here take particular notice of thoſe ſacred veſſels and utenſils that adorned this holy houſe, viz. the ark, and cherubims, the table of ſhew-bread, the golden candleſticks (38), and the altar of incenſe; ſince we could hardly add any thing, that is needful concerning them, to what hath already been obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory.

(36) Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 343. (37) Coll. Lament. i. 17. Pſal. lv. 18. (38) See 1 Kings vii. 49.

three, one over another, and thirty in order: So that thirty being multiplied by three, according to the number of ſtories in the firſt book of Kings, thoſe chambers will amount in all to ninety, that are called the nethermoſt, the middle, and the third. And ſuch a number may eaſily be placed about the houſe, ſuppoſing them to have been each of five cubits length, as well as height, for in the breadth they differed from five to ſix, and from ſix to ſeven; the reaſon of which is there given. Upon this ſcore they will undoubtedly appear ſomewhat ſmall, and ſo indeed Joſephus [n] calls them. However, if their uſe was well known, that might give ſome light into this matter. But concerning their uſe, we find only [o], that *Joas was hidden in the bed-chamber* (P) belonging to the temple. Taking it then for granted, that they were chiefly or frequently intended to lye in, we may venture to ſay, that they were ſufficient for that purpoſe, eſpecially thoſe of the middle and third ſtory. Beſides that, the bed-chambers among the Jews were generally upper rooms, as has already been obſerved in this Univerſal Hiſtory [p].

One thing more remains to be attended to about the temple, properly ſo called. It is ſaid [q], *The door for the middle chamber was in the right ſide of the houſe, and they went up with winding ſtairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.* Where we may well imagine an opening was left in the thickneſs of the wall for a pair of ſtairs, to go up to the ſecond ſtory of the chambers about the temple,

[n] *βραχεσιν οἰκοις* ubi ſupr. [o] 2 Kings xi. 2. [p] See before Vol. iii. Ch. vii. Sect. iv. of Sepulchres & ſeq. [q] 1 Kings vi. 8.

(P) In Hebrew, חדר Heder or Cheder, and ſeems to be underſtood of one of the three ſtories about the temple (39), where might be the beds for the prieſts in waiting. and among thoſe rooms, or chambers, one, or more, eſpecially reſerved, or ſet apart for the high-prieſt; which alſo ought therefore to have been a retired place, and not eaſily acceſſible but to himſelf and conſort, with thoſe they truſted. Theſe rooms we find alſo called inner-parlours (40). where for parlours the Hebrew hath Chadarim, and there diſtinguiſhed from the lower apartments, Ganſakim, (the treaſuries in our verſion), and from the upper-rooms. So as we have here the ſeveral parts of the Jaziah (41), it ſeems, by their proper names.

(39) See 1 Kings vii. 25. (40) 1 Chron. xxviii. 11. (41) 1 Kings vi. 5.

temple, and alſo a paſſage from the temple to the porch, for there might be ſeveral occaſions that required the miniſters of the temple to go up to thoſe chambers, as well as in and out of the temple, of which we ſuppoſe a detail is not here expected.

We are now come to the Porch, where we meet with thoſe celebrated columns, or pillars, Solomon adorned it with. It is ſaid [r], *He ſet them up in the porch of the temple*, and [s] *he made before the houſe two pillars*, and [t] *he reared up the pillars before the temple*; which expreſſions taken together ſufficiently ſeem to imply the pillars were before the temple in its porch. But it is not quite ſo eaſy to aſſign the height of them. In one place it is ſaid of Solomon [u], *He caſt two pillars of braſs of eighteen cubits high apiece*. In another [x] we read, *He made two pillars of thirty-and-five cubits high*. This ſeeming inconſiſtency between the two ſacred hiſtorians we ſhall preſently reconcile; only we will firſt beg leave to take notice, that this is an inſtance of their not combining together, of their not being corrected or amended by one another. Now let us only ſuppoſe the pedeſtal or baſis of the columns to have been 17 cubits high, this added to the 18 cubits (1 Kings vii. 15. Jer. lii. 21.) for the ſhaft, will, added together, make exactly 35, the number mentioned 2 Chron. iii. 15. Laſtly, taking from 1 Kings vii. 16, five cubits, being the height of the chapiter, we ſhall have the true height of the pillars, viz. 40 cubits. It is true, that in another place [y] the height of the chapiter is ſaid to have been three cubits; but here we apprehend we have the dimenſion of the chapiter only, ſtrictly ſo called, Cotherith in the Hebrew, or crowning, which is expreſſed to have been three cubits; and there is left to be underſtood *the wreathen work on it round about*, which was two cubits more; both which ſums added make that of five, the number ſet down before by the ſame author. We can ſay but little concerning the thickneſs of the ſhaft of thoſe pillars, only that *a line of twelve cubits did compaſs either of* (Q) *them round about* [z], and therefore the diameter

[r] 1 Kings vii. 15. [s] 2 Chron. iii. 15. [t] Ibid. ver. 17.
[u] Kings ubi ſup. [x] Chron. ubi ſup. [y] 2 Kings xxv. 17.
[z] 1 Kings vii. 15.

(Q) Some will ſay, the Hebrew differs from our tranſlation, for what is here either of them, is there (השני Haſheni) the ſecond, and we acknowledge this is a ſeeming, though no real, difference.

ter was four cubits, which is the proportion of 12 for the circumference. But it may be further obſerved, that one of the pillars was to be ſeen on the right of the porch, and called Jachin, and the other on the left called Boaz [a]. Now Jachin ſignifies he ſhall eſtabliſh, and Boaz, ſtrength is in him. By which it ſeems Solomon would give to underſtand, that he depended only on an Almighty power for the continuance and duration of this temple. But by way of conjecture one might ſuppoſe, there was an inſcription in ſome ſuch ſenſe upon the baſis of each of the pillars, that on one beginning with the word Jachin, and that on the other with the word Boaz; from whence the pillars might have their denomination; as we ſee the books of Moſes called by the firſt word they begin with *. Laſtly, as to their ſituation; we take it they ſtood before the temple [b], in the porch of the temple [c]: So ſays our tranſlation, which we chuſe here to follow (R).

GOING

[a] 1 Kings vii. 21. * See before Vol. iii. Ch. vii. Sect. iv. firſt note A. [b] 2 Chron. iii. 17. [c] 1 Kings vii. 21.

ference. It is ſaid, *Eighteen cubits was the height of the firſt column, and a line of twelve cubits did encompaſs the ſecond*, which is an elliptical expreſſion, where, in a period, one branch of it not expreſſed, is underſtood by what the other expreſſes (42). So here the height of the firſt column gives you the meaſure of the ſecond, and the thickneſs of the ſecond the meaſure of the firſt. But this not being agreeable to our ſtile, another turn ought to be took, which is uſual and intelligible in our way of ſpeaking.

(R) One reaſon is the difference to be obſerved between the two particles in the texts of Chronicles and Kings. In that it is עַל־פְּנֵי All-pene, which cannot otherwiſe be tranſlated than by Before. But in this it is לְ Le, which may be tranſlated ſeveral ways, and eſpecially by In; ſo you read Lerouach (43), in the cool of the evening; Lekiſſe (44), in the throne; and ſuch like expreſſions (45). Beſides, the Vulgate has in porticu, and the Septuagint do not much differ as to the ſenſe: They tranſlate, *he ſet up the pillars τῦ αἰλαὰμ of the porch*; which ſeems to imply, that the pillars were an appurtenance of the porch, and therefore very properly placed in it. Joſephus, as to this, ſays only (46), Solomon placed

(42) Vid. Prov. x. 1. Iſai. xxxii. 3. Deut. xv. 12. Pſalm cxlii. 4. Conf. Jerem. lii. 21, 22. (43) Gen. iii. 8. (44) Pſalm. ix. 4. (45) Pſalm xvi. 10. Dan. ii. 1. Os. v. 12. Zephan. ii. 15. (46) Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 344.

GOING now out of the porch, we muſt take notice firſt of the altar ſtanding before the porch [d], or before the houſe [e], as in the Hebrew, not improperly tranſlated the fore-front of the houſe: and there it ſeems to have ſtood in the middle of the court (S), of which court afterwards. This altar for burnt-offerings did anſwer to one of the ſame uſe in the tabernacle, whereof we have ſpoken at large [f]. What remains for us to obſerve is, only the new altar, which was *in length two cubits, and as many broad, beſides ten cubits high* [g]; and ſince no ſteps were allowed in the tabernacle to go up to the altar [h], it ought to be ſuppoſed, there were none for that uſe in the temple, but only an eaſy aſcent up to the altar.

OF the court itſelf we muſt own it is our opinion, that it went at firſt all about the temple. Thus was the court about the tabernacle, an oblong ſquare, *the length thereof being an hundred cubits, and the breadth fifty every where* [i]. Now as we find no dimenſion given of the court in

[d] 1 Kings viii. 64. coll. 2 Chron. vii. 7. xv. 8. [e] Ibid. xv. 8. [f] Vol. iii. ch. vii. ſect. 4. of things conſecrated to God. [g] 2 Chron. iv. 1. [h] Exod. xx. 26. [i] Ibid. xxvii. 9. 12.

placed one of them on the right poſt of the porch, and the other on the left. The French and Engliſh tranſlations add, at the entrance of the porch. We have declared our opinion to be that they were within; but after all, if one likes them better without, we would not much oppoſe it, ſince ל may ſignify At, as where it is ſaid of Zabulon (47), "He ſhall ſtand ל at the haven of the "ſea;" or For, as in the very ſame expreſſion, viz. לְחוֹף our own interpreters have taken it elſewhere (48), ſaying, for the porch.

(S) In the tabernacle, the altar of burnt-offerings was to be placed (49) before the door, and at a convenient diſtance *, ſo that our tranſlation ſeems to be very right in ſaying by (50) and at (51) it, which could not be well otherwiſe, the court being of a ſmall compaſs. But as that of the temple was much larger, the altar might here ſtand in the middle of the court, and this further appears from its relation to the King's Seat, which was in the midſt of the other courts, and before this altar, as will be ſeen hereafter (52).

(47) Gen. xlix. 13. (48) 1 Kings vii. 12. (49) Exod. xl. 6. * See before, Vol. iii. ch. vii. ſect. 4. of the ark and mercy-ſeat. (50) Levit. i. 5. (51) Ibid. v. 7, 8. (52) Notes Y & Z.

in the temple, all we can well do, to go ſomewhat by a ſcriptural rule, is, to make this laſt court twice as big as that in the tabernacle, becauſe it ſufficiently appears king Solomon kept pretty near to that proportion in the building of the temple itſelf. Again, as in that oblong Square the tabernacle ſtood weſtwards, and that by that means the court had on the eaſt two third parts or more of the whole ſpace, we conceive, the court in the temple, as Solomon at firſt built it, to have been much the ſame.

BUT a wall is placed here on the weſt ſide of the court before the porch, for which no warrant will eaſily be found in that part of ſcripture that was to be our guide in our preſent enquiry, and therefore does not ſeem to be built upon any ſure foundation; but yet what we have to ſay for it may be ſeen in the next note (T).

A NEW court is plainly mentioned in ſacred hiſtory. Thus we read [1], *That Jehoſophat ſtood in the congregation of Judah, and Jeruſalem in the houſe of the Lord before the new court* (V). That here by the houſe of the Lord is underſtood

[1] 2 Chron. xx. 5.

(T) By ſaying this we would not be underſtood to deny there might be ſuch a wall in Solomon's time, for we read (53) concerning the houſe he built for his queen, *The great court round about was with three rows of hewed ſtones, and a row of cedar-beams:* As *for the inner court of the houſe of the Lord, and for the porch of the houſe.* Inſtead of As, our tranſlation renders Both, the Hebrew ו We, whoſe ordinary ſignification is and. But in the way of a compariſon, (as it plainly appears to be here uſed) if we conſult our tranſlation in other places (54), it would, we think, be more properly rendered by As. However, the wall, for the porch of the houſe may, it ſeems, be underſtood of this wall that ſtood before the porch of the temple, though others, with ſome probability, underſtand it of a porch before the queen's houſe.

(V) The name given by the Septuagint to this court deſerves ſome attention: They call it αυλην της σκηνης, the court of the tabernacle; which, well underſtood, ſeems to be a very proper name; for the houſe in Solomon's building did anſwer the tabernacle of Moſes, and here and there equally was the Shekinah, or inhabitation, of the divine majeſty, to which St. John alſo ſeems to have an eye, when he ſays, the λογος word εσκηνωσεν εν ἡμιν dwelt among us. Now

(53) 1 Kings vii. 12. (54) 1 Sam. xii. 15. Prov. x. 25.

derſtood the whole compaſs of the temple, with its ſeveral courts, wants no proof, after what has been ſaid above [m]. But what that new court is, we are now to conſider. Some will have it to have been the court of prieſts repaired, as indeed the altar was, by king Aſa [n], and therefore called the *New Court*.

But though, by the analogy of the temple with the tabernacle, the court of prieſts ſeems to have been round about the holy and moſt holy place, and not divided by a wall; yet afterwards ſuch a wall being found convenient to be made between the altar and the porch, that part of the court about the temple becoming now a ſort of a court by itſelf, might be called the new court, the old name, viz. the court of the prieſts, remaining with that part where ſtood the altar. Now weether this will be judged a rational conjecture muſt be ſubmitted to the reader.

We have a few words to add concerning the other, but undoubted, wall of the court of prieſts. It is ſaid [o], Solomon *built the inner-court with three rows of hewed ſtone, and a row of cedar-beams*. It is elſewhere [p] called the court of prieſts, and bore the name of the inner, becauſe of another round about it. But what theſe rows were, is not ſo eaſy to explain. Some indeed do not ſpare buildings that coſt them nothing, and of theſe rows make ſo many ſtories; but whether the ſingle Hebrew word, Tur, i. e. row, will uphold ſuch a heavy building, we very much doubt: To us there appears no more than a kind of parapet wall, of ſome four or five foot high, (conſiſting of three rows of ſtone, one upon another, and a fourth of cedar beams over them) ſufficient to keep off the people from, being an hinderance in the court of prieſts, but low enough for the Iſraelites without to ſee all the prieſts were doing within.

One

[m] Note C. & al. [n] 2 Chron. xv. 8. [o] 1 Kings vi. 36. vii. 12. [p] 2 Chron. iv. 9.

Now this ſituation of the New-Court being allowed, we may, by it further explain and fix the place where Zechariah, the high-prieſt's ſon, was killed. It is ſaid this happened in the court of the houſe of the Lord (55), between the temple and the altar (56), which muſt be as he came out of the temple, into this New-Court, towards the wall before the porch.

2 Chron. xx. 5. (56) John i. 14.

ONE thing remains to be conſidered, which is the ſeveral entries into the court; for though we ſhould not find any mentioned, as they are ſufficiently [q], they muſt, in the nature of things, have been there, and we therefore place them where we find it moſt proper, viz. over-againſt the gates that are ſaid to have been in that court where the people did meet for their ſolemn devotions.

Now this court (X) was called the *Great Court* [r], becauſe of its bigneſs, comparatively to that of the prieſts, which was a good deal leſs; both of them being ſaid to be the *two courts of the houſe of the Lord* [s]. And that Solomon himſelf did build the one as well as the other, we read in theſe words, *Furthermore he made the court of the prieſts, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with braſs.* Joſephus, not thinking this metal valuable enough, has made a tranſmutation of it into ſilver [t], and has, at no other expence than his fancy, built a large court upon a mount raiſed on purpoſe 400 cubits high. It is eaſy to preſume he has ſpared neither columns, nor porticoes, nor all the embelliſhments a fruitful imagination could prompt him to adorn it with (Y).

HASTE

[q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. [s] 2 Kings xxi. 5. [t] Antiq. lib. viii. c. 3. p. 346.

(X) The Septuagint call it αυλην ιερα, where ιερον ought not to be taken for hecal commonly rendered, as has already been obſerved (57) by another Greek word, but never, as we know, by ιερον. This laſt word, as made uſe of both by them and Joſephus (58), does ſignify either the whole of the building, or ſome outpart of it, and is properly a ſacred place, or conſecrated ground; the court of Iſrael being its proper court, as it encompaſſed round about immediately that of the prieſts, and mediately the temple itſelf and oracle.

(Y) His words are, "Beyond this partition was another ſquare "court (gr. ιερον) or building, with large porticoes or galleries "about it, and four ſtately gates that opened eaſt, weſt, north, "and ſouth, the doors all plated and inlaid with gold. This "place was common to all the people.——— The erecting of "this outward building was ſo ſtupendous an undertaking, that "no tongue can expreſs the difficulties of raiſing it, and a man "would

(57) 1 Chron. xxix. 4. Coll. Ezik. xlv. 19. (58) Antiq. viii. c. 3. p. 346.

r. HASTE we now to fix the gates. There were three on three ſides of the temple, eaſt, north, and ſouth; beſides two on the weſt ſide. Theſe gates were kept by wardens, truſted with power and authority, who had under them numbers of Levites; for we read [u], Among theſe were the diviſions of the porters, even among the chief men, having wards one againſt another, to ſerve in the houſe of the Lord; and they caſt lots, as well the ſmall as the great, for every gate. We have nothing remarkable to ſay concerning the north and eaſt gates; but juſt by that to the ſouth, we find the houſe of Aſuppim [x], and what this houſe was is not eaſy to determine; however, as this belongs properly to our ſubject, we ſhall make our beſt endeavours towards a diſcovery that way.

s. THE radical verb Aſap ſignifies to add, aſſemble, or gather together, and the ſeveral nouns derived from it keep all this primitive ſenſe; ſo that it is to be preſumed, it is alſo preſerved in the word Aſuppim; but as this idea is indefinite, we muſt try to fix it by the uſe of this word, to be found only in the place already quoted, and a little lower [y], and in Nehemiah [z]. In the firſt quotation, the tranſlation is word for word the houſe of Aſuppim, but the ſenſe ſeems rather (Z) to imply each of the two houſes, for

[u] 1 Chron xxvi. 12, 13. [x] Ibid. ver. 15. [y] ver. 17.
[z] Chap. xii. ver. 25.

" would have much ado to believe his own very eyes that ſaw it. " Such hollows, ſuch depths to be filled up, as a body would " hardly have looked upon, or but ſo much as fancied, without " turning his brain; 400 cubits to be brought up to a level with " the top of the mountain, only to make the work regular and " the ground even. This port was encompaſſed again with a " kind of double cloyſter, and two rows of pillars to ſupport it, " every pillar being cut whole out of the rock; the doors were " all ſilver work, &c.

(Z) According to an uſual way of ſpeaking in ſcripture; as where we read, *The fool hath ſaid* (59). *How ſweet thy word* (60). *Let us lurk for the innocent* (61). *The wicked flee* (62). *She, that is, the woman, ſhall be ſaved* (63). For, by what follows, the ſenſe appears to be each or either of the things and perſons mentioned. See above, letter O.

(59) Pſ. xiv. 1. (60) cxix. 103. (61) Prov. i. 11.
(62) xxvii. 1. (63) 1 Tim. ii. 15.

for ſo many there were under the direction of Obed-edom and his ſons. In the ſecond text, the tranſlation ſays, *toward Aſuppim two and two*, (adding the word *and*, which is not in the Hebrew) and as far as can be judged, the true ſenſe is this, There were four Levites truſted with the care of the Aſuppim, two to the one, and two to the other. This ſeems to be confirmed by the third paſſage, that in Nehemiah, for one reads, according to the Hebrew, *Porters keeping the ward at the Aſuppim of the gates.* In the verſion it is *at the threſholds*, and in the margin *treaſuries*, or *aſſemblies*. It would have been better to have preſerved in the tranſlation the Hebrew word Aſuppim, which, though a proper name, is there a caſe governed. And if the three above-mentioned paſſages are carefully compared together, it will plainly appear, that there were near the gate we have been ſpeaking of, two houſes, or diſtinct apartments, one on each ſide of this gate, where either the prieſts or the levites, or it may be both orders, aſſembled at times, either about buſineſs relating to the temple, or depoſited all things of uſe in that conſecrated place, ſince gathering and aſſembling are equally an apt tranſlation of the word Aſuppim. Beſides, we find in holy writ, that there were ſuch apartments or houſes within the incloſure, or precinct of the temple, or its courts. So, for example, *Jeremiah* [a] *brought the Rechabites into the houſe of the Lord, into one of the chambers, where he did put before them pots full of wine*, and ſo on. This room, which, for that very reaſon, we may ſuppoſe to have had ſome extent, did belong to the offspring of Igdaliah, a man of God, that is to ſay, a prophet; and its ſituation is ſaid to have been next to the chamber of the princes, or chief men, which in the temple can be underſtood only of the prieſts, or chiefs of the levites. Beſides, it is ſaid, that this chamber was *above the chamber of Maaſejah, the keeper of the door.* It was an upper room. And it is well known, that about buſineſs of moment they met in ſuch rooms among the Jews, which was ſtill a cuſtom in the time of the apoſtles [b]. Let that be as it will, there are ſeen here in the ſame houſe large rooms, different or diſtinct both in relation to the uſes they were put to, and the perſons that occupied them, whether they met or lodged in them, in order to be of ſervice to the temple, or its miniſters; or whether in particular the lower part, or ground floor of theſe houſes ſerve

[a] Chap. xxxv. 2, &c. [b] Acts 1. 13, & paſſ.

ferved as ſtore-houſes, or treaſuries, which, it ſeems, may be gathered from what is related elſewhere [c], *That Amaziah took all the gold, and the ſilver, and all the veſſels, that were found in the houſe of God with Obed-edom* (A).

t. It will be pertinent enough, before we go to the other gate, to put here together what we have more to ſay concerning the other apartments we have delineated in this court of the people. Upon which two things are very diſtinctly to be conſidered, the firſt relates to the form and particular ſituation of theſe apartments, and this we muſt frankly own we are ignorant of. But as it was abſolutely neceſſary to place them ſome where, we have diſpoſed of them, in the plaineſt manner we could, to the four corners of the temple, leaving to every one to fix and repreſent them as may be thought moſt proper. The ſecond thing we have to ſay about theſe chambers is concerning their real exiſtence, of which there is no room to doubt. For ſetting aſide what has juſt now been inſtanced of the Aſuppim, and apartments mentioned by Jeremiah; and ſuppoſing them to be different from thoſe we are now ſpeaking of, it is plain from holy writ [d], that *David gave to Solomon the pattern of the courts of the houſe of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treaſuries of the houſe of God, and of the treaſuries of the dedicated things*; and this order was executed, for [e] *Ahijah was over the treaſuries of the houſe of God, and over the treaſures of the dedicated things* (B). To this it may be added, that in the temple of Zorobabel, in Nehemiah's time, when to be ſure there had been no thoughts of exceeding Solomon's temple, *Eliaſhib* [f] *the prieſt having the overſight of the chamber*

F 2

[c] 2 Chron. xxv. 24. [d] 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. [e] Ibid. xxvi. 20. [f] Nehem. xiii. 4, 5.

(A) Not ſurely the ſame Obed-edom, who, from the foundation of the temple, had been chief warden of the Aſuppim, with his ſons under him, but one of his family, or poſterity, who now was in the ſame employment or office; either bearing the ſame name, or going by it in that his public capacity, or as ſucceſſor to him. Somewhat like we ſee in the names of Iſrael, Judah, David, &c.

(B) It may be not unworthy taking notice, that the ſame word אוצרות Ozroth, is equally in both texts, though it be differently tranſlated, viz. Treaſuries and Treaſures.

ber, or rather of each chamber (C), *of the houſe of God, had prepared for Tobiah, one allied unto him, a great chamber, where afore-time they laid the meat-offering, the frankincenſe, and the veſſels, and the tythes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, and the offerings in the courts of the houſe of God.*

We would have theſe laſt words to be attended to, becauſe theſe chambers ſhould be carefully diſtinguiſhed from thoſe already mentioned [g], which immediately joined the temple. For beſides that theſe laſt, as has been ſeen [h], were very ſmall, and did not ſeem to have been capacious enough for thoſe uſes the others were put to; the difference of their names makes it probable, that theſe chambers were different. Thoſe about the temple are called Jaziah (D), and thoſe in the courts Leſhacoth, and they were the chief porters that were over thoſe chambers, or, as in the margin, ſtore-houſes and treaſuries of the houſe of God [i]; and very large they ought to have been indeed, ſince in one of them the chamber of Gemariah, in the higher

[g] Supra Litt. g. in marg. [h] Ibid. [i] 1 Chron. ix. 26.

(C) According as has been obſerved above, though it may be the four Hebrew characters there לשכת are not rightly punctuated for Liſhcath, in the ſingular, a chamber, but ought to have been ſo for Leſhacoth, in the plural, chambers. Yet, one way or other, the ſenſe is much the ſame.

(D) יציע we take to have been ſomewhat like the Italians coridore, which ſome derive from currere, where one may run in, round about an houſe, as you have ſome furniſhed with bed-rooms in our hoſpitals and colleges. And truly the Hebrew word comes up to that notion, for יצע jazah, is to lay, and יצוע jazuah, a bed, Pſal. 132, 139. However, in the jaziah, belonging to the temple, the rooms were of a ſmaller ſort, but לשכות Leſhacoth, the larger ſort of them, like our dining-rooms, parlours, or halls. And indeed in that emblematical temple of Ezekiel, where all is repreſented, in the height of grandeur and bigneſs, far above that of Solomon's temple, there is no mention of any ſuch thing as jaziah, but in its ſtead, ſo many Leſhacoth. Yet it may be objected, that David gave to Solomon the pattern of the court of the houſe of the Lord, and of all the chambers, Leſhacoth, round about (64). True they were ſuch rooms, but not joining to the houſe, as the jaziahs which Solomon built againſt it (65).

(64) 1 Chron. xxviii. 12. (65) 1 Kings vi. 5. 10.

higher court (E), which was that we are about, Baruc did read the words of Jeremiah in the ears of all the people [k], which cannot well be underſtood but of a conſiderable number there met together (F).

u. LET us now conſider the gates to the weſt, which deſerve a particular attention. Thus ſays the ſacred hiſtorian [l], *To* Shuppim *and* Hoſah *the lot came forth weſtward with the gate* Shallecheth, *by the cauſey of the going up, ward againſt ward,* and [m] *at* Parbar *weſtward, four at the cauſey, two at* Parbar. As to the firſt at ſouth-weſt, the name may be applied, according to its etymology, to what comes out like a projecture, as we call it from the Latin, or a jutting or leaning out in a building. The word is found only in two places of ſcripture, this of Chronicles, and another [n], where it is ſaid of oaks, whoſe *ſubſtance* is in them *when they caſt their leaves,* ſays our verſion, but the Hebrew be-ſhallecheth, where the particle be ſtands for in, and Shallecheth, we ſhould think to be, what is riſen, or above ground, for here ſuch trees very well ſtand or ſubſiſt (G).

HOWEVER, when the name of Shallecheth is given to the gate we are ſpeaking of, we ſee it at the ſame time joined to a cauſey. This was a jettee, bank, terraſs, or bridge, that led up to the temple. And here, it ſeems,

[k] Jerem. xxxvi. 10. [l] 1 Chron. xxvi. 16. [m] Ibid. ver. 18. [n] Iſaiah vi. 13.

(E) This is an expreſſion that occurs but once, and is therefore the harder to be underſtood; though of itſelf a plain one, which ſeems to be in relation to a court that ſtood lower. But it may be, no more is intended than thereby to ſignify the great court. However, if higher, muſt be taken in the proper ſenſe; to us it appears, 'tis the new court that is here called the higher, becauſe thereon was the temple, in the eaſt of the hill, where, it is commonly ſuppoſed, was its top.

(F) It may be ſaid indeed, he might read it out of a window or balcony, which we are not willing to oppoſe; but then we do further remark, that this chamber, out of which he read, was at the entry of the new gate, ſuppoſed to be the eaſtern, and near it, in either courts, might be large apartments.

(G) This, to us, appears to be the true notion the Hebrew text gives of what we have ſeen rendered by the word Subſtance, which is מצבת Mazebeth, the ſubſiſtence, properly, or ſubſiſting of a thing, wherefore it ſignifies a pillar and monument Gen. xxxv. 14. 20.

ſhould be placed the miſhad, made for the temple by the king [o]. The tranſlation calls it pillars in the text, but in the margin rails, (Heb. a prop) and in another place it bears the name of [p] Meſilloth, rendered by terriſes in the text, but in the margin ſtays, (Heb. high-ways) the ſenſe of all which comes to one; for the ground without the temple ſeems to have been very uneven, and in order to make the coming to it not only commodious, but delightful, Solomon contrived an avenue over the valley, one end of which anſwered the gate Shallecheth, and the other the palace, over-againſt the ſouth-ſide of the temple, to the north of mount Sion. It is in this diſpoſal or order we are to conſider what is called [q] *his aſcent, by which he went up into the houſe of the Lord*; which aſcent was built by Solomon in ſo coſtly a manner, that it was looked upon with admiration by the queen of Sheba. Thus have we aſſigned a cauſe why this gate ſhould be called Shallecheth; and as there was the greateſt concourſe of thoſe about court, and in general from the high city, here were two diſtinct guard-houſes, parallel to one another, one under Shuppim, and the other under his co-partner Hoſah.

x. But the ſecond to the weſt, towards the north of the temple, was for the inhabitants of that part of the city that has ſince been called the lower: and this gate was called Parbar (H,) the way from it leading to the ſuburbs named in ſacred hiſtory Parvarim [r], from which this gate ſeems to derive its name, but ſlightly altered, the b and v conſonant being capable of permutation, as is eaſy to be ſeen in moſt languages, both antient and modern. Now as the temple might be more expoſed on that ſide than any where elſe, and there was a very great concourſe of people, the out-let of the road near the gate was guarded by four Levites, and the gate itſelf by two more. But now let us return to the temple by the terraſs-gate.

y. Here we find the covert for the ſabbath, and (z) the king's entry adjoining to it; for we read in ſacred hiſtory [s], that *king* Ahaz *cut off the borders of the baſes, and removed*

[o] 1 Kings x. 12. [p] 2 Chron. ix. 11. [q] Kings ubi ſupr. ver. 5. Ch. v. 4. [r] 2 Kings xxiii. 11. [s] 2 Kings xvi. 18.

(H) Which word the Targum does expound by that of בראּ barr, i. e. without; and this ſenſe of it ſeems very probable, ſince Parbar had its iſſue, or out-let, into the then out-parts of Jeruſalem.

removed the laver from off them, and took down the ſea from the brazen oxen that were under it, and put it upon a pavement of ſtones: and the covert for the ſabbath that they had built in the houſe, and the king's entry without, turned he from the houſe of the Lord, for the king of Aſſyria. We preſume ſomewhat of a commentary on this paſſage, as to the two things here mentioned, will not be unacceptable to the reader.

We muſt firſt form to ourſelves an idea of this covert, called in Hebrew Miſac, or, as the Maſorites read it Muſac; which pronunciation is not of great concern, for this word is to be found only in this place, the ſignification of which it is no eaſy matter to aſcertain. Sacah is to cover, and Maſac a covering or veil. As for the thing itſelf, we muſt look for what may relate to it among thoſe things built by Solomon in the temple. At the time of its dedication one finds [t], *he had made a brazen ſcaffold*, (in Hebrew it is Kior) *of five cubits long, and five cubits broad, and three cubits high, and had ſet it up in the midſt of the court, and upon it he ſtood*, and ſo on. Here it is eaſy to imagine a raiſed up place, where ſtood the king. It might be in the ſhape of a hemiſphere, or hollow veſſel, almoſt like the concha, or triumphal car of the Romans; but whatever might be this Kior, it muſt of neceſſity have reſted upon, or been ſupported by, a pedeſtal or column. This the Vulgate, following the Septuagint, expreſſes by the word baſe, inſtead of the Hebrew Kior. Much the ſame figure therefore would have been made uſe of, both in the text and tranſlations, where the whole takes its denomination from a part of the throne. We ſhall try to diſtinguiſh every one of them that made up this royal ſeat.

Firſt, We take notice of the baſe or column; for it is ſaid of Joas, when he was proclaimed king [u], *He ſtood upon the pillar*: this is the true meaning of the Hebrew [x], the ſame turn of expreſſion already made uſe of in relation to Solomon, although in the tranſlation it is by a pillar; and, what is very remarkable, the text adds Camminſhphath, according to the manner, that is, as the kings were uſed to do in the temple, in their uſual place or throne. According to this, Joſiah, in order to renew the covenant [y], *ſtood upon the pillar*, according to the text; and this ſame pillar the king ſtood upon is, even in our tranſ-

[t] 2 Chron. vi. 13. [u] 2 Kings xi. 14. [x] עמד אל עמוד Homed al-hamoud. [y] 1 Kings xxiii. 3.

lation [z], called *his place wherein he ſtood.* It is plain to be ſeen this place was very fit and proper for the king, who appeared there at the head of the Iſraelites, in their court, in the midſt of which the ſacred hiſtorian has fixed the throne [a] *before the altar* [b]. But it will not be amiſs to obſerve, that the king did not ſtand or ſit there, when he came to the temple in the form of an humble ſupplicant to the God of Iſrael, or to aſk his council; for in this caſe, it ſeems, the kings were mixed and confounded among the crowd of their ſubjects. At leaſt it is ſaid of Hezekiah [c], after he had received the threatening letter of the Aſſyrian king, *He went up into the houſe of the Lord, and ſpread it before the Lord, and prayed,* &c. where no mention is made of his ſtanding upon the pillar. And we are the more apt to judge he did not, for that Jehoſophat before him [d], when, in fear of the Moabites and Ammonites, he had proclaimed a faſt, *He ſtood in the congregation of Judah and Jeruſalem, in the houſe of the Lord, before the new court, and there prayed.* There the king would not appear upon his throne, but went as near to the temple as he could, which, in our opinion, is intimated by his ſtanding before the new court; for we have ſeen this court was immediately next to the temple, whereas the court of the prieſts, properly ſo called, before which ſtood the throne, was further off. However, the throne was the ordinary ſeat upon all ſolemn occaſions, when the king appeared before the altar. And there alſo it was young Joaſh was ſeated, in all the pomp of a king, at his inauguration. So the hiſtorian ſays [e], *The king ſtood upon his pillar at the entring in, and the princes and the trumpets,* &c. Our tranſlation here again is *ſtood at his pillar*, but we do not chuſe to vary where the text is uniform.

Secondly, Upon this pillar was a ſort of alcove, or ſmall gallery, made, as we have hinted above, much in the ſame ſhape as our pulpits. This reſted on the central point of its convex ſide upon the pillar: There the king might either ſit or ſtand, and turn himſelf about to the temple, altar, or conſecration, as he had occaſion, as is obſerved of Solomon at the conſecration of the temple [f].

Thirdly, The Kior ſeems to have been covered, as is at preſent the throne of our kings, and for this reaſon it was

[z] 2 Chron. xxxiv. 31. [a] Ibid. vi. 13. [b] Ubi ſup. ver. 12. [c] 2 Kings xix. 14. [d] 2 Chron. xx. 5. [e] Ibid. xxiii 13. [f] 1 Kings viii. 14. 2 Chron. vi. 3, 12, 13.

was called Muſac, which may be explained by canopy or cloth of ſtate, this third part denominating the two firſt.

But it is not eaſy to conceive, for what reaſon, to the idea of covering is joined that of Sabbath. The word Sabbath properly is reſt, and figuratively the ſolemn day on which one did reſt. If you take it in the firſt ſenſe, it muſt only be underſtood, that the Muſac covered the place where the king reſted, or ſat down (I), every one elſe ſtanding [g]: if you take it in the ſecond ſenſe, it may imply, that the Kior, or throne, was covered with the Muſac, or cloth of ſtate, only on the laſt day of the week, the day of reſt or ſabbath; and then it was laid up till the next ſabbath-day, unleſs ſome high feſtival intervened that required the king's preſence in the temple.

It may give ſome air of probability to this ſecond conjecture to take notice, that the Muſac was ſurely a very rich and valuable piece of work, ſince Ahaz made uſe of it with a deſign to glut the avarice of the king of Aſſyria, whom he had very imprudently called to his aid againſt the king of Damaſcus [h].

It will now be proper to ſhew the agreement between what we have been ſpeaking of and the King's entry without. In order to do this, it will be needful to conſider what is written in the New Teſtament concerning Solomon's Porch: Chriſt uſed to walk then in the temple [i], the apoſtles were all with one accord there alſo [k], and all the people ran together unto them in the porch that is called Solomon's [l]. Now that this king had built ſuch a porch Joſephus acknowledges [m], but placeth it eaſtward, which ſeems to be an error, unleſs he meant that it went up eaſtward, which is true in our opinion. However, the authority of St. Luke and St. John is ſufficient to make us conclude, that among the ſeveral porticoes the temple was adorned with in their time, one in particular was looked upon as Solomon's. A ſure ſign that it was ſuppoſed he had built one, which ſufficeth for our purpoſe.

We

[g] Ubi ſup. ver. 3. [h] 2 Kings xvi. 7. [i] John x. 23. [k] Acts v. 12. [l] Ibid. iii. 11. [m] Antiq. lib. xx. c. 8. p. 899, & B. I. lib. v. c. 5. p. 1225.

(I) The ſeventy interpreters ſeem to have taken it in this ſenſe. For they tranſlate the covert of the ſabbath by τὸ θεμέλιον τῆς καθέδρας, the foundation of the chair, or ſeat.

We ſhall not here undertake to deſcribe exactly the ſtructure, nor even the ſituation, of that built by Solomon. It only appears in general, that it might reach or extend itſelf from the gate, where ended the terraſs by which the king went up from his palace to the temple, and that it was carried forwards in a ſtrait line as far as over-againſt the Muſac; but then to go to the Muſac joining to the wall of the court of prieſts, one muſt turn to the left, and that turning will preciſely be the Mebo, or King's entry. It is to be ſuppoſed, the porch from the gate Shallecheth, as far as this entry, might be a common paſſage for the uſe of the public as well as of the king; but from the turning to the throne, as has already been obſerved, it was the king's entry properly ſo called; which conſequently was adorned and inriched much more magnificently than the reſt. For which reaſon Ahaz made uſe of it, as well as of the covert of the ſabbath, to buy the aſſiſtance of the king of Aſſyria. Not that we are to think, that Ahaz deſtroyed the whole building, which was not neceſſary; but, as we read of Hezekiah [n], that *he cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which he had overlaid, and gave it to the king of* Aſſyria, now the ſame did *Ahaz, Taking away a portion out of the houſe of the Lord* [o], viz. *The king's entry and covert for the ſabbath*, juſt as Hezekiah did the reſt aboveſaid.

But what may be of more weight in this enquiry is, that this hypotheſis of the ſituation of the Muſac, or royal throne, will clear up a circumſtance in Joaſh's inauguration, otherwiſe very difficult to be underſtood [p]. It is well known, that that prince, by Jehoiada's means, having been proclaimed in the temple, the noiſe was heard by Athaliah in her palace; upon which ſhe in haſte ran to the temple by the terraſs-walk, which for her was the readieſt and ſhorteſt way (K). She went in at the gate Shallecheth, and croſſed what

[n] 2 Kings xviii. 16, [o] 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. [p] 2 Kings xi. ——— 2 Chron. xxiii.

(K) We confeſs no place of ſcripture gives the ſituation of this palace, ſo as to fix it exactly. However, it is probable, the ground it ſtood upon was called the middle city, as we have it in the margin of our tranſlation, though in the text, middle court (66). The truth of which is, what is written in the Hebrew calle

(66) 2 Kings xx. 4.

what we have called the portico, or porch of Solomon, at leaſt that part of the court, where ſtood in arms the Levites, according to the directions of the high-prieſt [q]. They, ſeeing the queen, but having no particular orders concerning her, did let her advance, ſo that ſhe drew nearer; and coming as far as the King's entry, or directly over-againſt it, it is ſaid [r]. *She looked*, and *behold the king ſtood upon his pillar at* [s] *the entering in, and the princes and trumpets by the king.*——Then *Athaliah rent her cloaths, and ſaid, Treaſon! Treaſon!* Hereupon the high-prieſt, Jehoiada, ordered the commanding officers to have her forth of the ranges [t]; which, according as their armed Levites were poſted, could not more conveniently and with greater ſurety be done, than in opening the ranks towards the gate of Aſuppim, which was over-againſt the king's entry to the ſouth (L). By this gate then Athaliah was thruſt out of the

[q] Kings ubi ſup. ver. 5. 11. [r] Ibid. 14. [s] Chron. ubi ſup. ver. 13. [t] Kings ubi ſup. 15. & Chron. ubi ſup. 15.

called ketib, is העיר hahir, the city; but what is read according to the Maſorites, called keri, is חצר hazer, or chazer, a court. Now ſuppoſing, as is likely, the true reading to be hahir, this ſhews where the palace ſtood; for nothing could well be called the middle city, but what had weſtward the top of mount Sion, whereon was built the higher city, or city of David. And then at the foot of this mount, on a plain, or level ſurface to the eaſt, you meet with the palace of Solomon, though not in a low place; for to the north, a large valley lay betwixt it and the temple, ſtanding itſelf upon that other hillock called Moriah. Further it does appear (67), the palace ſtood in the eaſtern part of Jeruſalem, where was the court of the priſon, the water-gate, and the horſe-gate that led to the palace, whoſe front looked up to the temple, both places having an eaſy communication by the celebrated terraſs, or aſcent, of which before.

(L) Being divided in three parts, the Levites had three different poſts joining to one another (68); one third part was to guard the King's houſe, or apartment, next to the temple, ſouthward; another to be at the gate of Sur, or turning, which ſeems to be that of Aſuppim, whereat the king turned to his throne. It is indeed

(67) Nehem. iii. 25.——28. Conf. 2 Kings xi. 16. & 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. (68) See 2 Kings xi. 5. &c. 2 Chron. xxiii. 4. &c.

the temple immediately, and the better to hinder her from returning to her palace, they conducted her towards the fields, through the eaſtern gate of Jeruſalem, called, Miphkad, or priſon gate [u], then turning to the right by the corner [x], down to the horſe gate [y], eaſtward of the palace, thereabouts ſhe was killed. Soon after the high-prieſt brought the king from the temple to the palace, by the way of the gate of the guard (M), and thence through the great or high gate of that palace [z]. This we reckon is the true ſenſe; though ſome would underſtand by this high gate a gate of the temple; but there was no ſuch gate in the temple till the reign of Jotham, of whom it is ſaid in expreſs terms * *He built the high gate of the houſe of the Lord*; which is generally taken to be that towards the eaſt (N). But let this ſuffice, poſſibly have we launched out too

[u] Nehem. iii. 31. xii. 3. 9. [x] Jerem. xxxi. 40.
[y] 2 Kings xi. 16. 2 Chron. xxiii. 15. Nehem. iii. 28.
[z] 2 Chron. xxiii. 20. * Kings xv. 35. & 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

indeed called by another name, but very like it in the Hebrew, viz. the gate of Sippim, where our verſion has doors or threſholds. The laſt was at the gate beyond the guard, or runners (69), which ſeems to be that of Shallecheth. For the king coming to the temple through this gate, any one may ſee, that there was their proper ſtation in the avenue. It is alſo called the gate of foundation, becauſe of the projecture there made with the terraſs, as has been obſerved.

(M) So ſays the firſt of the ſacred hiſtorians (70), meaning, as we take it, the gate that before has been called the gate beyond the guard, viz. Shallecheth, or ſouth-weſtern gate. But if one had rather, that the gate of the guard here, which is ſomewhat different from the other, ſhould ſignify the ſame with the high gate in Chronicles, where the guard of the king's houſe ſtood; this will make no variation in the main; for as it is rightly ſuppoſed to have been in the front of the palace, it was the firſt gate they met with coming from the LORD's to the King's houſe over the terraſs, or aſcent.

(N) This we do remark, becauſe Ezekiel (71) ſpeaks of the higher gate that lieth toward the north, the ſame, it ſeems, with that which Jeremy (72) calls the high gate of Benjamin, which was בבות bebeth in, or by, the houſe of the LORD.

(69) See of them, 2 Sam. xv. 1. 1 Kings i. 5. xiv. 27.
(70) 2 Kings xi. 19. (71) Cap. ix. 2. (72) Cap. xx. 2.

A PLAN of the CITY of JERUSALEM

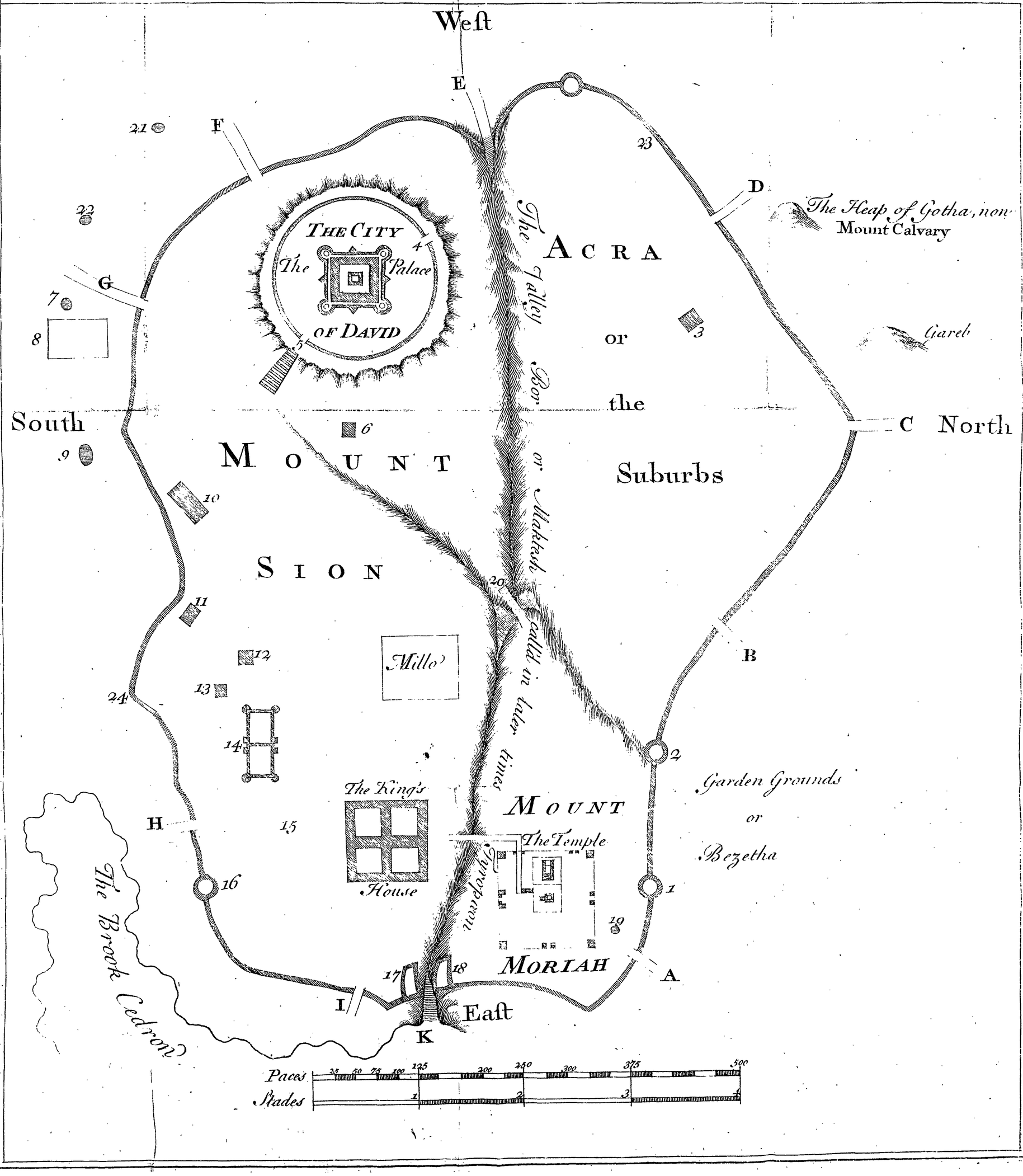
according to the Description thereof in the Books of the

OLD TESTAMENT *but more especially in that of* ***NEHEMIAH.***

The Explanation

A *The Sheep-Gate*
B *The Fish-Gate*
C *The Old Gate, or Corner-Gate*
D *The Gate of Ephraim*
E *The Valley Gate*
F *The Dung Gate*
G *The Gate of the Fountain*
H *The Water Gate*
I *The Horse Gate*
K *The Gate Miphkad*
1 *The Tower of Meah*
2 *The Tower of Hananeel*
3 *The Governor's House*
4 *The Gate from the City of David towards the Valley*
5 *Another Gate from the said City against the Stairs*
6 *The Sepulchre of David*
7 *The Pool of Shiloh*
8 *The King's Garden*
9 *The Pool made by Hezekiah*
10 *The House of the Mighty, or the Guard House*
11 *The Arsenal or Armory*
12 *The High Priest's Palace*
13 *The House of Azariah*
14 *The Mattarah or State Prison*
15 *The Place where Ezra read ye Law*
16 *The Tower of Ophel*
17 *The Station of the Nethinims*
18 *The Money-changers Hall*
19 *The Pool by the Sheep Market called Bethesda*
20 *The middle Gate in the Valley*
21 *The Dragon's Well*
22 *The Kings Pool*
23 *The Broad Wall*
24 *The Miczoah, or turning of the Wall*

NB. *See the particulars of the Temple in the foregoing Plan of it.*



too far, and ventured upon too many conjectures; but we hope the reader will do us the juſtice to acknowledge we have kept our word, in carefully diſtinguiſhing between probable opinions and things of greater certainty.

I beg leave to conclude the whole with one remark. It is allowed, that the main ſcope of the ſacred writings was not ſo much to ſatisfy our vain curioſity, as to inſpire us with the love of all chriſtian virtues; and therefore, though we may juſtly expect that every thing which relates to this latter, which is the eſſential of religion, ſhould be delivered with all poſſible clearneſs, it would be abſurd to expect the ſame ſatisfaction about the former. Thoſe leſs important points, many of which are well worth enquiring after, make a branch of chriſtian philology, in which every man, being forced to ſupply the want of evidence with probable conjectures, is intitled to differ from others, whenever he thinks his own better grounded. But though in points, like this I have been upon, it be almoſt lawful to err, yet thoſe are more excuſable who keep a conſtant regard to the ſacred original above all things, than thoſe who manifeſtly depart from it, to follow their own fancies, or the fabulous accounts of the Jews. Now, as I have drawn the greateſt part of my light from the former, I am ſenſible, that thoſe who have been converſant with all the pompous deſcriptions we have extant, will be ſurpriſed to find this of mine come ſo vaſtly ſhort of the boaſted magnificence of that ſacred building. But here I deſire it may be remembered, that as this was deſigned to contain no more than could be met with, or fairly deduced from the ſacred writings, ſo the reader will at leaſt reap this benefit from it, that he will now be better able to judge what is, or is not, authentic in other plans of this ſtructure, than he could have been without it.

A Deſcription of JERUSALEM.

AFTER the account we have given of the holy city's great ornament, *the Temple of* SOLOMON, we have thought it would not be unacceptable, for a more comprehenſive view of the whole, to ſubjoin a deſcription of the city itſelf, according to the ſacred hiſtorians.

IT is a general ſuppoſition, though, as we preſume, without any ſolid argument to ſupport it, that Melchiſedek's Salem ſtood in the ſame place, where afterwards was built

built the city, the ſubject of our preſent enquiry (A). We will not, at this time undertake to decide the queſtion, but ſhall only take notice of the habitations of the Canaanites, who dwelt here and in the adjacent parts, being called Jebus and Jebuſi [a]. David having taken from them the mountain, upon the top of which was their ſtrong hold, made it his place of reſidence [b], and this is commonly called Zion, or the city of David [c]. Under Solomon the name of Jeruſalem either firſt began, or firſt got the better of the other; but there being no ſure reaſon aſſigned for this, nor any determined ſignification affixed to the name (B), we will dwell no longer upon theſe uncertainties, but enter into the matter in hand, by conſidering Jeruſalem.

Its Origin and Names.

In

[a] Joſh. xv. 8. xviii. 28. Jud. xv. 10. [b] 2 Sam. v. 7. 9. [c] Pſ. xlviii. & paſſ. 1 Chron. xi. 5.

(A) What is generally alledged, that the tabernacle was in Salem (1), proves only, that it was the ſhortened or abridged name of that city, like that of Solyma. Some even have ſaid Solymus for Hieroſolymitanus (2).

Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem.

(B) ירושלים, according to the pronunciation of Maſorites, Jerouſhalaim; but to that of the Chaldee, in holy writ, Jerouſhelem; which is much the ſame as the Greek ἱερουσαλημ, and our Jeruſalem. This word, in all likelihood, is compounded and derived from Shalem, or Shalum, peace; and, as ſeveral are of opinion, from jarah, to fear; or raah, to ſee; or jaraſh, to inherit or poſſeſs; or from Jerus, altered from Jebus, by a mutation of letters. We read in Joſephus (3), that by ſome it was thought Homer had called this city Solyma; and that truly the Temple was called, in Hebrew, Solyma, i. e. ſafety or ſecurity. St. Jerom lays this to the Jewiſh hiſtorian's charge in very hard words (4); and, as it ſeems, with ſome juſt ground. For, in another place, the ſame hiſtorian (5) tells us, that Melchiſedec was the firſt that built the temple, το ἱερον; and that after he had built it, he called it ἱεροσολυμα, which was before named σολυμα: where that ſtrange etymology is again ſeen; not to mention other groſs errors, which give us room to think this paſſage is very much falſified (6). This may have happened to ſeveral others, which, it is to be hoped, will be reſtored by Mr. Whiſton, in the tranſlation he intends to publiſh.

(1) Pſ lxxvi. 3. (2) Valer. Flac. lib. 1. Argonaut. (3) Ant. vii. p. 287. (4) Quod Abſurdum eſſe peregrinæ linguæ mixtura demonſtrat. De Loc. Hebr. (5) Bell. Jud. vi. p. 1292. (6) Conj. above temple, p. 1. A.

Holineſs.

In regard to its holineſs. We muſt not imagine this attribute has been given to it by the rabbies only, or by the legend of the ſhekels, which is Jeruſalem the holy [d]. Iſaiah [e] tells us, that the Iſraelites called themſelves of the holy city. Nehemiah twice qualifies it by that title [f], all which doth ſufficiently ſhew it was generally called ſo. In the new teſtament [g] the ſame title is ſeveral times given to it. Beſides, it is well known that in the Pſalms it bears the name of *City of God* [h]; in the Prophets [i] we read, that it ſhall be called the *Throne of the Lord*; our Saviour himſelf calls it the *City of the great king* [k], as being hallowed and conſecrated in a particular manner by God's reſidence in the temple. The rabbies [l] add, that there was a penalty forbidding the leaving a dead corpſe in it the ſpace of a night, and that the importation of dead mens bones was unlawful; notwithſtanding this, in it were contained the tombs of the royal family [m]. It is further added by the rabbies, that within its walls were not to be ſeen gardens, trees, dung, or lime-kilns, or even cocks. In it no houſes were to be let; and this, I think, means only, that the inhabitants were obliged to exerciſe hoſpitality by entertaining their brethren, on whom it was incumbent to reſort from all parts to Jeruſalem on the days of the great feſtivals (C).

Extent.

It is no eaſy matter preciſely to determine the extent of this city in its different changes. Its moſt antient ſtate of perfection was under the flouriſhing reign of its founder's ſucceſſor, I mean Solomon; in whoſe time this city, before embelliſhed by his father David, appeared in its greateſt luſtre and beauty, and there is no great likelihood, that it was

[d] ירושלם הקדושה See the Jewiſh ſhekel in vol. iii. ch. vii. ſect. 4. after the Hebrew Alphabet. [e] Iſ. xlviii. 2. [f] Nehem. xi. 1. 18. [g] Math. iv. 5. & paſſ. [h] Pſ. xlvi. 5. [i] Jerem. iii. 17. coll. Ezek. xxxviii. 35. Joel iii. 17. Zach. viii. 3. [k] Matth. v. 35. coll. Pſ. xlviii. 3. [l] In Gemara Bava Kama & libro Siphra ap. Reland. [m] Vid. Joſeph. Ant. vii. p. 331. fin. conf. Nehem. iii. 16.

(C) Of this ſome have thought an imitation ſeems to be given in the goſpel (7), where Chriſt will have a room made ready for him to eat the paſſover.

(7) Matth. xxvi. 17.

was enlarged by thoſe that came after him. The general and indeterminate deſcriptions, to be found in the authors of thoſe times, will not permit us, as we have juſt now hinted, to ſettle with any exactneſs the bounds of it. We will, however, venture to ſuppoſe its circumference, at firſt, to have been about ſeven or eight ſtadia, or a Roman mile. It was certainly twice, or probably three, times, as large under Solomon. After the captivity, this city being rebuilt, took up much the ſame ſpace as before; as may be gathered from Nehemiah's [n] deſcription of the ruins of the city, and its condition after it was repaired. This deſcription of Nehemiah we ſhall take particular notice of, and at the ſame time ſhall not let that of Joſephus [o] paſs unheeded. According to this hiſtorian, the whole circumference of Jeruſalem was 33 ſtadia [p], which is about four miles and 125 paces. But Hecateus, who has deſcribed it ſuch as it was in his time, under Ptolemy Lagus [q], gives it no leſs than 50 ſtadia *, probably including the outparts, which properly did not belong to it; for there is no reaſon to believe, that there was any conſiderable decreaſe, from the time of Hecateus to that of Joſephus, ſo that we muſt ſtand to the meaſure of the laſt of theſe: we will only add, that Hecateus's aſſertion, that there was in Jeruſalem one hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants, is very probable (D).

Situation. THE ſituation of this capital city of Judæa has always been extremely advantageous. The agreeable variety of riſing

[n] Chap. ii. iii. & xii. [o] Bell. Jud. vi. 4. cui tit. Ιεροσολυμων εκφρασις, p. 1221. [p] Ibid. p. 1223. Nº iii. [q] Diodor. Sicul. lib. i. * Apud. Joſeph. c. Apion. p. 1348.

(D) His words are, ἡν οικεσιμεν ανθροπων περι δωδεκα μυριαδες, twelve myriads; now a myriad is 10,000; and 120,000 inhabitants may ſeem rather too few for ſuch an extent as had Jeruſalem of four miles. We ſee that in the ſiege periſhed, according to Joſephus (8), 1,100,000 men, μυριαδες ἑκαϛον και δεκα, beſides 97,000 taken priſoners during the war; and that this may gain more credit Joſephus adds, as an undoubted proof, that in Cteſias's enrollment on Eaſter-day were reckoned 255,600 lambs. Now there was not leſs than ten men to each lamb; ſo that the number of thoſe that were purified according to the law, beſides the reſt, muſt have been two millions, five hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand.

(8) De Bell. Jud. lib. ult. p. 1291.

rising grounds with which it was encompassed [r], the fruitful meadows that lay between, interspersed with clear rivulets and wholesome streams; the hills on which it stood, which rose gradually one behind another, and looked like a natural amphitheatre, made up as pleasing and delightful a prospect as can well be conceived.

Of these hills the two largest, Zion and Acra, were directly opposite to each other; on Morija, whose compass might be about three quarters of a mile, Solomon built the temple. Of the two first we will take a more distinct view, beginning by mount Zion.

This hill, as has already been shewn [t], bounded to the south the whole circumference, and reached from west to east. The western side was highest, and bounded by the valley of Hinnom (E) as the eastern by that of Jehoshaphat [u], which, it is thought, joined the other towards the south [w]. Here were several springs, particularly that of Gihon [x], or Shiloh [y] which ran very plentifully with exceeding

[r] ירושלם הרים סביב לה. Ps. cxxxv. 2. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 3. 4. [t] See above Temple, descript. p. vi. [u] Joel iii. 2. [w] Kimchi in loc. [x] 1 Kings i. 33. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. [y] Isai. viii 6. Joan. ix. 7.

(E) גיאהנם Ge-hinnom, so it is called (9) in Joshua, where Hinnom is a man's name. In another place (10) it is the valley of the sons, or children, of Hinnom; and it is said, that in this valley was Topeth, where the children were made to pass through the fire in honour to Moloch. Upon this account, it is thought this place took its name from the tears the children shed whilst burning, and from the noise of the drums which were kept beating, in order to drown their shrieks. But the text in Joshua shews, that the valley did bear this name long before it was put to such an use, if ever it was put to it at all. At least, if we believe Maimon, and other rabbies, the children were made to pass through the flame only, as being, by that ceremony, consecrated to the idol (11). However, in later times, the carrion was thrown into this valley (12); and, when it did not waste away fast enough, frequently burnt. This has given room to fix up the word Geenna, (which represents in Greek and Latin the Hebrew word) the notion of hell-fire (13).

(9) Josh xv. 8. (10) 2 Kings xxiii. 10. (11) Seld. de Diis Syris, Synt. i. cap. 6. (12) 2 Kings ubi sup. (13) Matth. v, 21. 29, & 30, pass.

ceeding good water (F). To the north, Zion, had another valley, that lined it from one end to the other, named by Joſephus [z] the valley of the Cheeſemongers; probably the ſame as that diſtinguiſhed in Zephaniah [a] by the epithet of the Mactheſh (G), tranſlated by the Septuagint *την κατακεκομμενην*, that was cut into or made hollow (H).

Acra. ACRA (I), with the ſaid valley to the ſouth, ſtood to the [b] north of Zion; its declivity was equal on every ſide,

[z] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi. [a] Chap. i. ver. 11. [b] Ubi ſup. in Ecphraſi.

(F) *Πηγην γλυκειαν τε και πολλην* are the words of Joſephus (18). Others have thought, that Shiloh was a rivulet of Gihon, and it is true, that that word ſignifies ſent, according to the etymology given of it in the goſpel (19); where it is alſo called pool.

(G) Which word ſignifies a morter, or any hollow thing. Thus the מכתש בלחי, which ſo ſeaſonably refreſhed thirſt, is univerſally rendered the hollow of the rock lechi, ſo called from its reſemblance to a jaw-bone, or from the ſlaughter he had made with it there (20).

(H) In the ſame manner, 2 Sam. xxiii. 20, habbor, (in our tranſlation a pit, in which Benajah, in time of ſnow, ſlew a lion) litterally the pit, was probably a known place, ſo named from its cavity and hollowneſs, and may very well be the deep valley here mentioned. What ſeems to favour this conjecture is, that Benajah was one of David's mighty men, or captains. Now, it is very poſſible, that he being upon duty at the gate of the city of David on mount Zion, and hearing in the valley, at the foot of the palace, the roaring of a lion, whom want of food, in time of ſnow, had brought thither, deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf by ſo ſingular an action, immediately went down, encountered, and deſtroyed the hungry rapacious beaſt.

(I) This name ſeems to be borrowed from the Greek *ἄκρα*, an eminence; and ſometimes a citadel or fortreſs (21). It is well known, that there was one built upon this hill by Antiochus, and afterwards laid even to the ground by Simon (22). And to this reaſon it muſt be aſcribed, that Acra has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by that name. Notwithſtanding the Targum (23) makes ſometimes uſe of this expreſſion, the Acra; that is, the citadel of Zion.

(18) Bell. Jud. v. p. 1222. (19) John ix. 7. (20) Judg. xv. 17, & ſeq. (21) Maccab. i. 35. (22) See Joſeph. Antiq. xii. & xiii. (23) On 2 Sam. ver. 7.

as Joſephus ſays; and we cannot give a better idea of theſe two hills, nor of the valley between them, than he who had ſo often ſeen them. According to this hiſtorian [c], Jeruſalem was built upon the two hills, Zion and Acra, directly oppoſite one to another, and ſeparated by the valley of the cheeſemongers. The firſt was higher, and its length formed a much ſtraiter line than the ſecond. Upon it, that is Zion, ſtood the high city, in the author's time called the high market-place. The lower city ſtood upon Acra, but before that bore other names, as hath been already obſerved in the deſcription of the temple [d].

Wards. LET us now examine theſe mountains, in relation to their different wards or quarters, ſtreets, and public places, as well as palaces, and moſt remarkable buildings.

THE principal quarter was called the city of David [e], on the top of mount Zion, towards the weſt. This was a fortification which encloſed that king's palace; and it is likely, that near this, afterwards, ſtood that of Herod, which ſerved as a citadel [f]. To the weſt of the fort was מצפה Mizpah, or Maſpha, according as the Hebrew word is differently pronounced; but this is not the knotty part of the queſtion: the difficulty would be to prove, that Mizpah was a part of Jeruſalem, it being ſure, that near it was a ſmall town that bore that name [g]. Theſe are the words of Nehemiah [h], Shallum of Cothozeh, ruler of the פלך Pelec of Mizpah, repaired the gate of the fountain. Now Pelec in Hebrew is a ſtaff [i], and ſo may ſignify a diſtrict, ward, or quarter, ſubject to a particular juriſdiction or inſpection, in the ſame manner as שבט Shebet, a rod, ſignifies a tribe. The Chaldee dialect makes uſe of Pelac, and פלחא Pileca, in the ſame ſenſe as is here given to Pelec. The Arabians give this name, which they pronounce Felec, to a ſphere; ſo that it would be a pretty good tranſlation of παροικια Pariſh, as it denotes the neighbourhood round about. The Septuagint tranſlate it here part, or portion; but every where elſe in this chapter it is a περιχωρος circumference of land, a diſtrict of more or leſs

[c] Ibid. [d] Vid. ubi ſup. p. vi. [e] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. Nehem. xii. 37. [f] Bell. Jud. p. 1230. [g] Jerem. xl. 10. [h] Nehem. iii. 15. [i] 2 Sam. iii. 29.

extent. The Latin word Vicus bears the ſame ſenſe, and is made uſe of in the Vulgate; though in this place, ſpeaking of Mizpah, that tranſlation has Pagus, and in another place Pars; ſo uncertain it is to truſt to tranſlations, how uſeful ſoever they may be when compared together. However, I ſhall venture to ſay, that Mizpah was one of the quarters of Jeruſalem, and that it was divided into two parts; that we are ſpeaking of to the weſt, and the other, where ſtood the arſenal, and where Ezer was ruler [k], to the eaſt of the fortreſs.

ANOTHER quarter, divided into two parts, bears the name of Jeruſalem [l], which had two rulers, each of half a quarter. This is the part which Joſephus [m] calls the City, with reſpect to the citadel, and both together made the upper city. There were three other quarters, which, it ſeems, might be looked for in Acra, viz. Bethakerem, Bethzur, and Keilah.

Streets. As for the Streets, in Hebrew חוצות Hhouzoth [n], all we know concerning thoſe of Jeruſalem, at that time, is, that as there was one bearing the name of Haophim, i. e. Baker's-ſtreet [o]; ſo there might be others which bore the names of ſome other trades; thus the valley, in Joſephus's time, was callsd Tyropeon [p].

Places. רחוב REHOB properly is an open place (K); in the Rehoboth, according to Ezekiel [q], were built the high places. In the book of Eſther [r], an officer of the king of Perſia goes out to Mordecai in the Rehob of the town, over-againſt the gate of the palace, which ſeems to have been made uſe of by the courtiers to walk in. In the Rehob of Jeruſalem [s] Ezekiah aſſembled his generals, and made a ſpeech to them. The people were gathered together by Ezra [t] in a Rehob of the temple, and the prieſts and levites by Ezekiah [u] in the eaſtern Rehob: we muſt ſuppoſe theſe two to have been parts of the vacant ſpace that ſurrounded the courts of the temple. Laſtly, there was

[k] Nehem. iii. 19. [l] Ibid. 9. & 12. [m] Antiq. xiv. p. 613. [n] Prov. vii. 12. [o] Jerem. xxxvii. 21. [p] See before, p. xxxvii. [q] Ezek. vi. 24. [r] Eſther iv. 6. [s] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6. [t] Ezra x. 9. [u] 2 Chron. xxix. 4.

(K) The root רחב doth ſignify to enlarge itſelf; ſo that Rehob is literally a large place, and is made uſe of to ſignify the place, or ſquare, of a town. Judges xix. 15.

was was a Rehob near the water-gate [w], which muſt have been vaſtly large, ſince it contained all the people of both ſexes, that flocked thither from all parts, in order to hear Ezra read the law, upon a ſcaffold, or ſtage, erected upon this occaſion at one end of the place, in ſuch a manner that Ezra had the whole aſſembly facing him.

If we have not yet taken notice of מלוא Millo, it is becauſe we do not find it in ſcripture diſtinguiſhed by any of the abovementioned names, or indeed by any other name than Millo. When David took from the Jebuſites the top of mount Zion, he then built round about from Millo and inwards, ſays the text of Samuel [x]; where it is eaſy to underſtand a caſtle was built on this mount, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, and probably of a circular form. Now this building had on the eaſt what is called Millo, and on the other ſides was bounded by the hill itſelf; inſomuch, that the city of David was within mount Zion on the north, weſt, and ſouth, but was bordered eaſtwards by Millo (L). Although it is ſaid in the text [y] Solomon built

[w] Nehem. viii. 1. 4. Add the Rehob of the gate Ephraim, ibid. 16. [x] 2 Sam. v. 9. Coll. 1 Chron. xi. 8. [y] Vid. 1 Kings x. 15, 24, & xi. 27.

(L) Without doubt Millo doth ſignify ſomething either full, or to be filled; at leaſt this may be deduced from the two Hebrew words that come neareſt to it, Melo fullneſs, and Miluah, beazel, or collet, in which are inchaſed precious ſtones. So Moſes, receiving orders about the breaſt-plate, is bid to fill the beazel, Miluath, with a ſtone (24), that the ſtones ſhall be ſet in gold in their encloſings (25), and that they were incloſed in ouches of gold in their incloſings, bemilluotham (26). So then Millo was ſomething filled up; and this we are very ready to allow, for, to make it fit for the uſe we have been ſpeaking of, it was required, that in ſome places this ſpot of ground ſhould be made level, and in others filled up, in order to its being uniform and of a piece. This derivation ſurely favours our opinion more than any other; and we might add to this, that it is very likely this was the place where afterwards ſtood the Xyſtus (27), a large place where the athlets did exerciſe. And as ſuch a place was alſo called περίδρομις, from the runnings there round about, it hath been apprehended an Hippodrome was there for horſe-races; which is not improbable. However,

(24) Exod. xxviii. 17. (25) Ibid. 21. (26) Ibid. xxxix. 13. (27) Joſ. in Ecphraſi 1222.

it, yet the context ſhews, that he only made an end of it, or repaired it; and as much did Hezekiah in his time [z]. Who the firſt was that built it, we do not know, but it ſeems to have been a work of the Jebuſites, whoſe government was almoſt a democracy like that at Athens.

FOR this reaſon, and from what is ſaid in ſcripture, there would be no abſurdity in ſuppoſing it to have been a ſpacious open place, ſuch as the Campus Martius at Rome, where the people met for their recreation, on feſtival and other rejoicing days, or about private or public affairs. It may be placed at the foot of the city of David, going to the valley between Zion and Acra, in the centre of the whole circumference of Jeruſalem. Others imagine it to be a ſtreet, beginning at the ſteps of the city of David, and reaching as far as Acra, or Morijah; or elſe a wall along the valley between the two hills; and laſtly, the valley itſelf. But this ſeems leſs probable than what we at firſt hinted.

Buildings. LET us next viſit the public buildings in Zion: The firſt that offers itſelf is the palace of king David, on the top of the mount in the midſt of a fortreſs [a]. There was a flight of ſteps to go up to it [b]; to the north of theſe ſteps, or ſtairs, ſtood the tomb of David, of which Joſephus tells many wonderful ſtories at the end of the ſeventh book of his antiquities. At the bottom of the ſteps was the houſe of the Mighty [c]. This, in my opinion, ſerved as a guard-houſe to the palace, or at leaſt was the ſtation of ſome chief commanders, without whoſe leave no one was permitted to go up to the houſe; ſuch as we ſuppoſe the thirty-one worthies [d], among which was Uriah the Hittite.

NEXT was the Arſenal, or Armoury [e], at the turning of the wall [f], in Hebrew called Mikzoah (M); but the Arſe-

[z] 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. [a] 2 Sam. v. 11. [b] Nehem. iii. 15. [c] Ibid. 16. [d] 2 Sam. xxviii. 3. [e] Ibid. 39. [f] Nehem. iii. 19.

However, it is very much reſembling what we have ſaid of Millo, it may alſo be, that the firſt inhabitants may have given it this name from its being a place of general concourſe, and ſo filled up with numbers of people of all ſorts.

(M) מקצע, is properly the opening of an angle, which conſequently forms a ſpace; but פנה Pinnah is the point of an angle, or, as it is called by artiſts, a ſalliant angle; ſo the wall had a turning out here, and this juſtifies the tranſlation; and any one may

Arſenal itſelf, by a compendious expreſſion, or way of ſpeaking, was called הנשק Hanneſhek, for Neſhek is a weapon, or arms. The word baith, a houſe, muſt therefore be underſtood.

NOT far from the Arſenal, and more towards the middle of the city was, if not the palace of the high-prieſt, at leaſt a pontifical palace, then in the poſſeſſion of Eliaſib [g]. Nehemiah mentions it only occaſionally, when he ſpeaks of the repairs of the walls of the city; but even from the little that is ſaid of it, we may gather that it was a ſpacious building. Lower, at a very little diſtance, we find the houſe of Azariah, a man of diſtinction of the tribe of Benjamin *. But it is time to come to the Palace or Palaces.

AND here the books of Kings do indeed mention three houſes built by Solomon; the firſt they call the houſe where he dwelt [h]; the ſecond, the houſe of the foreſt of Lebanon [i], and the third was, that which he made for Pharaoh's daughter [k]; but this laſt I take to have been only a ſpacious apartment (N) added to the firſt houſe, whoſe ſituation it is not very difficult to fix. For, on one ſide, this palace was almoſt parallel to the water-gate [l], and on the other, there was a communication between it and the temple, by means of the terras built by Solomon over the valley [m]. I am apt to think, that the ſecond was a ſummer-retirement, ſince we have it upon record that Solomon built it in the foreſt [n]. But yet I would not contradict thoſe who are of opinion, that it was only another wing, or apartment of the palace, which very probably took its name

[g] Ibid. 20. * Ibid. 23. [h] 1 Kings vii. 1. 8. [i] Ibid. 2. [k] Ibid. 8. [l] Nehem. iii. [m] 1 Kings vi. [n] Ibid. ix. 19. 2 Chron. viii. 6.

may ſee that it formed a corner, or open place, in the interior angle. For this reaſon, ſuch an opening in Ezekiel's temple is called Mikzoah; *Behold*, ſays he (28), *in every* מקצע *corner of the court there was a court.*

(N) Beth is often taken in that ſenſe, as when Rebekah runs to her mother's beth (29), apartment, or lodging; and ſo is the houſe of the women (30) to be underſtood in the book of Eſther; the ſaid houſe probably not being ſeparate from the king's, but part of it.

(28) Ezek. xlvi. 21. (29) Gen. xxiv. 28. (30) Eſth. ii. 9.

from the cedars of Lebanon, that may be ſuppoſed to have been the chief material employed in it †.

THE following conſideration adds a great deal of weight to this ſide of the queſtion, viz. That in this houſe [o] were placed the targets and ſhields of beaten gold; for the diſtance from Lebanon to Jeruſalem would have made it very troubleſome to bring them up whenever they were wanted, beſides the riſk of being taken, to which ſuch coſtly armour would have been expoſed by the way; and indeed they were carried away by Shiſhak when he came up againſt the city [p].

NOT far from this palace, I think, was the Mattara, tranſlated Priſon [q]; but if it was one, it was only like the Tower of London, or like our courts of law, or even the main corps-de-guarde at the avenues of the palace. For in the court of this Mattara Jeremiah was confined; but at the ſame time was allowed a good deal of liberty, ſince it was here he made the purchaſe of an eſtate in preſence of ſeveral witneſſes who ſigned the deed of agreement, and of all the Jews that lived there [r]. We read moreover [s], that afterwards the prophet was taken as he went out of Jeruſalem by the gate of Benjamin, and put in priſon (O) in the houſe of Jonathan the ſcribe, from whence, by Zedekiah's order, he was transferred to the Mattara, where he propheſied in the hearing of all the people. For this, at the requeſt of ſome of the great men, he was thrown into a dungeon full of ſoil, where, ſinking into the mire, and in want of all things, he would ſoon have periſhed, had not the king, at the entreaty of a pious Ethiopian proſelyte, given order for his being taken out again. The pro-

† See note O after this explanation and deſcription. [o] 1 Kings x. 17. [p] Ibid. xiv. 25, 26. [q] Nehem. iii. 25. coll. Jerem. xxxii. 2. [r] Jerem. xxxii. 12. [s] Ibid. xxxvii. 12. [t] Ibid. xxxviii. 1.

(O) It is called בית האסור Beth haeſour, houſe of binding; otherwiſe it is called Beth בלא kele (31), the houſe of detaining; and in ſuch a houſe we ſee Micaiah the prophet (32), a king of Iſrael named Hoſhea (33) and the king of Juda Jehoiachin (34); and this place did bear ſo fruitful an aſpect, as to make the prophet think it would ſoon cauſe his death (35).

(31) Jerem. xxxvii. 15. (32) 1 Kings xxii. 27. & paſſ. (33) Ibid. (34) 2 Kings xvii. 4. (35) Jerem. xxxviii. 26.

prophet remained in the above-mentioned court till the taking of Jeruſalem [u].

ALL this ſufficiently ſhews the Mattara to have been different from a priſon commonly ſo called. This appears clearly enough; but it is not ſo eaſy to determine the ſituation of this building, although it ſeems Nehemiah has undertaken to deſcribe it exactly; and if to us he does not appear to have ſo well ſucceeded in it, the fault lies neither at his door, nor at that of the language he wrote in, but to its being a dead language, many expreſſions of which are not ſo familiar to us as to be perfectly intelligible. However, Nehemiah, as I underſtand him, ſays [w], "That "Palal repaired the wall of Jeruſalem, over-againſt the "turning of the wall, and the tower belonging to the "king's houſe, the high tower (P) that was by the court "of the Mattara."

HERE are two diſtinct indications of the reparations made by Palal in the wall; one near the turning of the wall going up to the water-gate, the other near the adjoining tower; and the ſituation of this tower is ſpecified as well by its diſtinguiſhing height, as by its relation to the palace, and the neighbourhood of the court in queſtion. So that to fix this to a point, we muſt look upon theſe buildings as being within the verge of the court, and under the immediate cognizance of king Solomon and his ſucceſſors. Men were there entirely under their protection, neither could they be meddled with without the king's expreſs

[u] Ibid. 28. [w] Ubi ſup. iii. 25.

(P) In our tranſlation this is called the tower which lieth out from the king's high houſe. In Hebrew that epithet, the high, is more properly conſtrued, we ſhould think, with the word tower. The Septuagint has accordingly ἀνώλερος, which neceſſarily refers to πυργος, not οἶκος, in their text. Beſides, to lie out or project from a thing, according to the letter, is in the ſenſe, as we expreſs it, belonging to the ſame (36). But though it be well ſuſceptible of this ſenſe, when joined to that ſequel of the king's houſe, this phraſe may well admit of another ſignification, when without it; and this ſignification we then take to be that of a great extent (37); ſo as the Mattara, its court included, being called by the name of this high tower, that ſet it off exceedingly, was, it ſeems, a long ſeries of buildings and walls, diſtant about fifty paces on the weſt ſide of the water-gate.

(36) Vid. Habbac. 7. (37) Jerem. xxiii. 15.

expreſs orders; although it was by their orders only, they were reſtrained within the bounds of theſe buildings.

We are now come to buildings much leſs remarkable for their dignity, magnificence, or embelliſhments; but whoſe ſituation cannot well be omitted in the particular deſcription we are about; I mean the ſtation or poſt of the Nethinims [x]: It is ſaid indeed they dwelt in Ophel, eaſtward, near the valley; but their מושב Moſhab, or dwelling, ſhould not, we preſume, be confounded with their houſe בית Beth, or, as in our verſion, their place. Then followed the hall, or place of the merchants or retailers, Haroſhelim [y], who, I believe, are the ſame as the Collybiſtæ, or money-changers [z], a ſort of dealers very uſeful at the gate of the temple, where abundance of ſtrangers reſorted from all parts. But northward ſtood the houſe of the governor, ſuppoſed by ſome to be Nehemiah, and named in Hebrew Kiſſe-pakhath. This houſe was in Acra, near the gate of Ephraim. Our tranſlation has the throne of the governor, and it might be called his court; it was like the Roman Prætorium, and had in it a tribunal, or a ſeat, which properly is what is meant by the Hebrew כסא Kiſſe [a]. This too is the primitive ſignification of throne in Greek, from whence that word in our languague is derived.

Little is ſaid concerning the walls of the city; but that little which is ſaid we will here put together: 'Tis well known, after David had taken *the ſtrong hold of* [b] *Zion, he called it the city of David, and dwelt in that fort* (Q), *having built round about from Millo and inward* [c]. Afterwards *Solomon built the wall of Jeruſalem* [d], which took in all

[x] Nehem. iii. 26. 31. parall. in Mark and John. [y] Ibid. [z] Matth. xxi. 12. and loc. [a] Nehem. iii. 17. Vid. Munſt. in [b] 2 Sam. v. 7—9. [c] 2 Kings ix. 15. [d] Ibid. xiv. 13.

(Q) When David beſieged Zion, the Jebuſites ſaid, "Except "he took away the blind and the lame, he ſhould not come in-"to the fort." The ſenſe of which is not, to be ſure, the moſt obvious at firſt reading; yet, when well conſidered, it ſeems to be, This fort is ſo ſtrong of itſelf, that for its defence, lame and blind men are ſufficient. And to this ſtrength of the place it is owing, that the king promiſed to make chief or captain the man that would drive theſe people into the ditch (38).

(38) Vide Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 36.

all the eaſtern part at leaſt: However, the king of *Iſrael brake down the wall of Jeruſalem, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate* [e]. This is the wall on the north of Acra, from eaſt to weſt, according to the poſition of the gates, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; and truly although a broad wall was built there [f], it was always the weak ſide of Jeruſalem (R).

Of Jotham we read, *On the wall of Ophel he built much*; this lay to the ſouth-eaſt. Of Hezekiah, *He ſtrengthened himſelf, and built up all the wall that was broken*, (viz. by Joaſh as above) *and another wall without* [g]. So alſo of Manaſſeh, *He built a wall without the city of David, on the weſt ſide of Gihon, in the valley even to the entering in at the fiſh-gate, and compaſſed about Ophel* [h]. Here you have almoſt the whole circuit of Jeruſalem, from ſouth to north by weſt, and to the ſouth-eaſt. Now to one of theſe latter buildings the prophet ſeems to allude, when ſpeaking of the *breaches of the city of David*, he adds, *the houſes of Jeruſalem were broken down to fortify the walls* [i]; though it may be alſo taken for a prophecy of the calamitous times that were to follow. Laſtly, it is reported, that when *the city was broken up by the Chaldees* [k], *the ſoldiers fled by the two walls by the way of the king's garden*, which was on the ſouth [l], one of theſe walls being built by David or Solomon, adjoining immediately to the city; and the other, the new one without, by Hezekiah or Manaſſeh. We read alſo the *army of the Chaldees brake down the wall of Jeruſalem round about* [m], which was left till Nehemiah's [n] time with open breaches on every ſide.

In antient Jeruſalem the gates, שערים Shaharim, were Gates.
ten in number [o], viz. five from weſt to eaſt by ſouth, and five others by north: Here are their names, as they are to be found in the text and tranſlation;

By ſouth,

[e] Nehem. iii. 8. [f] 2 Chron. xxvii. 3. [g] Ibid. xxxii. 5.
[h] Ibid. xxxiii. 14. [i] Iſaiah xxii. 9, 10. [k] 2 Kings xxv. 4.
Jerem. xxxix. 4. [l] Nehem. iii. 15. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 10.
[n] Chap. ii. 12, 15. [o] Ibid. Conf. iii. & xii.

(R) This Joſephus in ſeveral places gives to underſtand (39); and hence it happened, that both king Nebuchadnezzar and Titus attacked the city on this ſide (40).

(39) In Ecphraſi, No. 2. ubi de muris. Item Ant. p. 448. xiv. 613. & Bell. Jud. 1289. (40) Ubi ſup. Ant. & Bell. Jud.

By ſouth,	1. Dung-gate,	*Haaſ-poth.*
	2. Fountain-gate,	*Haain* or *en.*
	3. Water-gate,	*Hammajim.*
	4. Horſe-gate,	*Haſouſſim.*
	5. Priſon-gate,	*Hamiphkad.*
By north,	1. Valley-gate,	*Haggai* or *ge.*
	2. Gate of Ephraim,	*Ephraim.*
	3. Old-gate,	*Haieſhan.*
	4. Fiſh-gate,	*Hadaggim.*
	5. Sheep-gate,	*Hazon.*

Now as to that which is called of the valley, the entrance was on the weſt: By this gate Nehemiah went out of the city, in order to viſit the ruins of Jeruſalem; he likewiſe placed himſelf upon this gate, or upon the wall cloſe to it, when he made the dedication of the rebuilding of Jeruſalem, by a double proceſſion of the people, one half going to the right, or ſouth, the other to the left, or north, in order to come by the eaſt to the temple. As they did not go through this gate, from which they ſet out, no mention is made of it in the account given of the places through which the proceſſions paſſed [p], but only where the particulars are given of the repairing the walls and gates of Jeruſalem [q]. Neither in this account of the proceſſions is the horſe-gate mentioned, probably, becauſe the rubbiſh ſtopped up the paſſage, which was the reaſon that they turned to the left to go to the temple. This gate is placed to the eaſt by Jeremiah [r], and it was through it that Athaliah went from the temple to the palace [s]: But we muſt confeſs, it is not ſo eaſy to aſſign the cauſe for which the dung-gate is omitted in this account: However, it is ſpoken of in the re-building of the wall; and when Nehemiah did view the ruins, it is again mentioned by the name of the dung-port *.

As to the water-gate turning to the eaſt [t], it is likely, that it anſwered the ſouthern part of the palace, by the place or ſquare in which Ezra read the law to all the people [u].

THE priſon-gate is in Hebrew Miphkad [w]. This word, which is kept in the tranſlation, ſignifies viſitation, and by

[p] Nehem. xii. 38. Ibid. iii. 13. [q] Jer. xxxi. 39. [r] 2 Kings xi. &c. See above. [s] Nehem. xi. 37. * Nehem. iii. 4. Ibid. ii. 13. [t] Ibid. iii. 25, viii. 1. [u] Ibid. xii. 31. [w] Nehem. i. 39.

by deduction, judgment, correction, ward, priſon. It is alſo called the gate of Mattara (S), in our tranſlation priſon-gate [x]. It ſtood eaſtward of the palace and city both.

It is plain, the gate of Ephraim took its name from its joining the highway leading to that tribe. This may ſerve to aſcertain the truth of the ſituation we have given of the city.

The ſheep-gate furniſhes us with means of explaining the word προβατικη, in the goſpel according to St. John [y], where our tranſlation has, *there was a pool near the ſheep-market*, in the text, and gate in the margin, viz. αγορα, or πυλη. And the tranſlation in the text ſeems the moſt probable; for a ſheep-market was there near the gate of the ſame name, and ſeems to have been between the gate and the pool, that of Bethesda, on the north-eaſt of the temple (T).

Lastly, the fiſh-gate [z] did anſwer to one afterwards built in the new city, and call'd the gate of Joppe, a ſea-port on the Mediterranean.

These, we think, are all the gates of Jeruſalem, either as it ſtood before the captivity, or as, after the return

[x] Chap. v. 2. [y] Nehem. iii. 12. xii. 39. & al. [z] 2 Kings xiv. 13.

(S) Of the Mattarah itſelf we ſpoke above, as pretty near the palace that lay northward of it: And what ſeems to have given the name of either Mattarah or Miphkad to this gate is, that thoſe words well agree in their general notions; which reaſon appears to us more likely, than that the great Sanhedrim had there its ordinary ſittings, it being at leaſt dubious whether at that time this court had any juriſdiction, or even exiſted. Yet we do not deny, but that courts of juſtice were kept at the gates (41), and therefore priſons might be there alſo, and houſes of correction beſides.

(T) Though Joſephus does not mention it by name yet he (42) places a pool there, and thereabouts. Mr. Maundrel found a large empty baſon, of which he gives the following deſcription (43). "It is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and at leaſt eight deep, "but void of water. At its weſt end it diſcovers ſome old arches, "now dammed up: Theſe ſome will have to be the five porches "in which ſat that multitude of lame, &c. The pool is contiguous on one ſide to St. Stephen's gate, on the other to the "area of the temple."

(41) Vide Deut. xvii. 8. Amos v. 15. Zech. viii. 16. & al.
(42) Bell. Jud. p. 1248. (43) See his Journey, &c. 107.

turn from it, it was repaired by Nehemiah. It cannot be denied, but a few others ſeem to be mentioned in that ſpace of time; but we take them to be only different names given to thoſe already mentioned. And firſt, the corner-gate [a], which, in our opinion, muſt be the ſame with the old-gate, as may be gathered from Jeremiah's occaſionally giving the circuit of Jeruſalem from the north-eaſt, over-againſt the temple, [i. e. from the tower of Hananeel] unto the gate of the corner (U), going along to the north-weſt, where ſtood the hills Gareb and Goath (X), afterwards called Golgotha, or Calvary. Then, according

[a] 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

(U) Although the tranſlation here ſomewhat differs from that above, the word in both places in the original is Happinah. It is true in Zechariah it is read Happinim, as if one ſhould ſay the corners, but the ſenſe is the ſame if (44) tranſlated the corner. Laſtly, this our tranſlation, in the parallel to Kings, anſwers (45) the Hebrew word Happoneh, where the margin has *the gate of it that looketh*; which is not eaſy to be underſtood, unleſs, by ſuppoſing it to be an elliptical expreſſion, the ſenſe is made up by what we find added elſewhere (46), viz. Zaphonah to the north, which is a true indication of the ſaid gate: However, it may be thought this various reading is owing to the careleſſineſs of the tranſcriber, as it ſeems may be collected from the Septuagint's having here πύλης γωνίας, corner gate; yet notice ſhould be taken, that this gate did lie towards the σκόπος. By this name was called (47), not only the eminence, (from whence coming from the north one firſt diſcovered Jeruſalem) but alſo the plain next to the city on that ſide: Now that in Hebrew would be Phoneh, or Haphoneh, which we leave to our reader's conſideration.

(X) As the word גלעתה, which according to the Maſoreth's pointing is read Goath, may as well, if not better, be pronounced either Goatha or Gotha; and as the word גל, admitting of two ſounds in the compoſition of known names, Galhed and Gilhad, does as naturally ſound Gol; we ſhould think the etymology of Golgotha is found to our hand, and its ſignification moſt plain, viz. the heap of Gotha: However, the great likeneſs the ſound of this ſame word Golgotha had to Gagultha, in Syriac, (which dialect is called Hebrew in the goſpel (48), becauſe a mixture of both was what was generally ſpoken at Jeruſalem) it ſeems to have been commonly underſtood, as having a near relation to Gulgaltha (49),

(44) See above. (45) 2 Chron. xxv. 23. (46) Ezek. viii. 3. (47) Vide Joſeph. de Bell Jud. v. 2, 1216. (48) John xix. 17.

cording to the directions in the prophet, one turns towards the ſouth, through the valley of Hinnom, and the ſouth-eaſt fields called the *fuller's fields, unto the corner of the horſe-gate to the eaſt* [b]: So alſo in Zachariah [c], *All the land ſhall be as a plain to Rimmon, ſouth of Jeruſalem, and inhabited from Benjamin's gate (Y) unto the firſt gate unto the corner-gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's wine-preſſes.* Here firſt you have Jeruſalem, on the ſouth, a hilly country there, to be turned into a plain; which is eaſily apprehended to be figuratively ſpoken. But further, the northern ſide is traced here from a gate going to the neighbour tribe of Benjamin [d] to the old gate, here called the firſt; the following words unto the corner-gate being an explanation of the former unto the firſt-gate: So you go up to the eaſt by the tower there, returning to the ſouth, where was the royal garden. Another gate is mentioned in Jeremiah [e], where he is to *go forth unto the valley of the ſon of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the eaſt-gate*, but ſhould be rather the brick-gate (Z), or of the brick-bats, it

[b] Jerem. xxxi. 38—40. [c] Zechar. xiv. 10. [d] Jerem. xxvii. 13, &c. [e] Ibid.

(49), a ſcull, and therefore well expounded by κρανίου τόπος (50), which from the Latin Calvaria, a ſcull, is called in our language Calvary. Mr. Maundrel ſays, the church of the holy ſepulchre is founded upon mount Calvary, which is a ſmall eminency, or hill: It was anciently ſhut out of the walls of the city, but ſince it hath attracted the city round about it, and ſtands now in the midſt of Jeruſalem. Journey, p. 68, & 69.

(Y) There is a gate called the *high gate of Benjamin* (51), which is ſaid to have been by the houſe of the Lord: It might alſo be tranſlated in the houſe If this ſenſe be followed, the gate is none of the ten we are inquiring about; if the former, this is the gate that led into the land of Benjamin, and is further called the *higher gate which lieth towards the north* (52).

(Z) It may be thus tranſlated, ſuppoſing only here (53) an eaſy and common permutation of letters, as appears in the pronunciation of Sibboleth for (54) Shibboleth. This is the more probable, becauſe there is already in the text a various reading of Harſſouth for

(49) Targ. on 2 Kings ix. 35. (50) Matth. xxvii. 33. (51) Jer. xx. 2. In Hebrew it is ב, which is read in this ſenſe, Numb. xxxvi. 37, 28. Jerem. xiii. 5, xxxii. 5. & al. (52) Ezek. ix. 2. (53) Jerem. xix. 2. (54) Judg. xii. 6.

its being the ſame with the dung-gate, where was the valley of Aſhes [f]. But we do not take the city-gate [g] to be one of the ten of Jeruſalem, but rather a gate of the city of David, or Zion, to the north-weſt, leading to the valley-gate, and ſince called Zion-gate [h].

The ſituation (שער התוך Shahar Hattavek) the middle gate, may be deduced from what is ſaid in Jeremiah [i]; Nebuchadnezzar's army, after having entered into Jeruſalem by the north, advanced as far as this middle gate, of which Zedekiah being informed, he made his eſcape, as has already been obſerved [k], through his garden to the ſouth. This plainly ſhews that this gate muſt have ſtood in the midſt of the valley between Acra and Zion.

Towers. A WORD or two more concerning the towers, as related by Nehemiah. They were four. Indeed, it is ſaid of Huzziah [l], "*He built towers in Jeruſalem, at the corner-*" *gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the* "*wall*; but how many he built is not ſaid." However, the names of the ſaid four towers were Meah, eaſtward; Hananeel, north eaſt-ward; Hattanourim, of the furnaces, weſtward; and Ophel, ſouth-eaſt-ward. The firſt-named of theſe was alſo the firſt built [m]; near this they paſſed going to the ſheep-gate, in the dedication of the walls [n]; the ſecond, called Hananeel, lay more to the north; and the third quite to the weſt. From beyond this tower it is ſaid [o] they in the dedication went to the broad wall. Laſtly, from the fourth, Ophel, a ward ſo called [p], and the wall itſelf joining to it [q], took their name; but properly it is a tower [r], and ſuppoſed to be very high (A), and

[f] Jerem. xxxi. 38. [g] 2 Chron. xxxii. 6 [h] See Maund. ubi ſup. [i] xxxix. 2, &c. [k] See above. [l] 2 Chron, xxvi. 9. [m] Neh. iii. 2. [n] Ibid. xii. 39. [o] Ibid. xii. 38. [p] Ibid. iii. 26. [q] Ibid. 27. [r] 2 Kings v. 29.

for Harſſith: However, Heres, in the Hebrew חרש, is a brick, and Hereſs, in Chaldee חרם, the ſun So we chuſe to take it here, as if it was written חרשית, looking upon it as the dung-gate, that opened into the valley of Hinnom, and that of aſhes.

(A) This ſeems to appear by the very etymology of the word; for which we are beholden to the prophet's ſaying Ophla (55), for what is in the tranſlation lifted up.

(55) Hab. ii 4.

and we ſhould think was made uſe of as a watch tower [s], from whence one might ſee and obſerve afar off. It is ſaid king Manaſſeh raiſed it up to a great height [t]; and of this tower Joſephus ſpeaks, when he ſays, that the wall paſſing through Ophlas was carried on ſo as to join the eaſt portico of the temple [u].

OF the waters and ſprings in or about Jeruſalem we have had occaſion to ſay ſomething before [w]; but for a further knowledge of the ſame, it will be proper here to add what Mr. Maundrell tells us concerning the pool of Gihon; "It lies ſays he, about two furlongs without Bethleem "gate, weſtward; it is a ſtately pool, 106 paces long, "and 67 broad, and lined with wall and plaiſter, and was, "when we were there, well ſtored with water." This helps to underſtand the better what is related of Hezekiah [x]; "He ſtopped the upper watter-courſe of Gihon, "and brought it ſtraight down to the weſt of the city of "David." Theſe naturally ran to the ſouth and eaſt out of the city; but the king turned off the courſe of this ſtream, in order to make it run towards the weſt in Sion. According to the Targum, Gihon is the ſame as Shiloh; nevertheleſs it is plain, there were there two pools, ſince Gihon is named the upper pool. Now as there was a lower pool, this laſt might be Shiloh, of which the upper was the ſpring; notwithſtanding one might be apt to think, that Gihon was only a baſon or reſervoir, into which the water came from En-rogel, that is to ſay, the fuller's fountain where Adonijah offered his ſacrifice [y] at the time of his aſpiring to the throne. But, it is poſſible, this may have no other foundation than the ſituation given to Gihon in the fuller's field. And although the word Rogel may ſignify a fuller, yet the word [z] כבס, as is made uſe of more properly implies it. However, ſince the time of Hezekiah the water of Shiloh, or Gihon, was brought into the city, and that in all appearance when the city roſe again from its ruins, it was reſtored to the ſame advantage; it is no wonder, that Tacitus [a] places here *fontem perennis aquæ*.

Waters.

THE king's pool is mentioned in Nehemiah [b], as being near the fountain-gate, that is, to the ſouth-weſt of Zion: It

[s] See Iſai. xxxii. 14. in the margin. [t] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. [u] Bell. Jud. vi. 6. [w] See before, note E. [x] 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. [y] 1 Kings i. 19. [z] 2 Kings xviii. 17. [a] Hiſt. l. 5. c. 12. [b] Cap. ii. 14.

It is called by Joſephus [c] the pool of Solomon, and placed, (which comés to one) winding towards the eaſt. Iſaiah [d] ſpeaks of the old pool, whoſe water had been made to run between the two walls, and might be the ſame as that made by Hezekiah, barely called *the pool made* [e], which might be named the artificial pool; not but that it was a natural ſpring, but becauſe art had been made uſe of in order to make it water the eaſtern parts of Zion: However, one of the moſt renowned waters in Jeruſalem was the brook of Cedron, whoſe head ſpring did not run very plentifully, for in ſummer it was generally dried up, but in rainy weather the quantity of waters falling from the mountains increaſed it ſo prodigiouſly, that it looked rather like a river than a brook. In the Hebrew its name is pronounced Kidron, as our tranſlation has expreſſed it, as where it is ſaid, "*King* "*David paſſed over the brook Kidron, toward the way of* "*the wilderneſs* [f]," What the word does ſignify ſeems not of great conſequence, yet it may be remarked, that according to St. Jerom [g], it is ſaid a tenebris, and truly קדר Kadar, is to be dark or black. Accordingly Joſephus [h], who often calls Cedron a valley, ſays it was very deep, and at the foot of the mount of olives, on the eaſt [i]; but in one place [k] he names it χειμαρρος, and ſo in the new teſtament we find it called [l].

To conclude; we dare flatter ourſelves we have faithfully repreſented Jeruſalem as it antiently ſtood, from about the times of David to the Babyloniſh captivity: For though it may be objected, that Nehemiah, from whom moſt of our proofs are borrowed, lived ſeveral years after the return of the Jews to the holy city, yet it muſt be allowed, that it was not raiſed upon any new plan, but only rebuilt upon its antient foundations. The walls indeed have been pulled down, the gates burnt to aſhes; but yet the remains, or at leaſt ſome marks or out-lines of them all, were ſtill to be ſeen, and parts of ſeveral of them were ſtill ſubſiſting. So, as we read in Nehemiah [m], *the breaches were ſtopped up*, the buildings re-edified, and the whole city reſtored, as much as poſſible, to its former condition.

[c] In Ecphraſi 1222. [d] Cap. xxii. 11. [e] Nehem. iii. 16. [f] 2 Sam. xv. 23. [g] In Jerem. xxxi. 40. [h] Bell. Jud. 1231, 1251. [i] Ibid. 1251. [k] Antiq. viii. 335. [l] John xviii. 1. [m] Chap. iv. 7. coll. vi. 1.

The End of the Explanation and Deſcription.

we hope, it will be thought a charge and trouble, which may be better ſpared, conſidering the vaſt number and variety we have already, and how little reaſon we have to be ſatisfied with any of them.

We return to the king of Iſrael, who to celebrate the dedication of this new temple with greater magnificence, choſe to defer it till the next year, which was the jubilee (L), at which ſolemnity there uſed to be always a vaſt

Solomon muſt have exceeded by far this of ours, ſeeing it is ſo much inferior to the deſcription which Joſephus, who had ſeen it, has left us of it. To this it may be anſwered,

1. That the diſparity between theſe two temples, which thoſe elders bewailed, might not conſiſt ſo much in the largeneſs and magnificence of the building, as in the excellency of the work, and richneſs of its materials. We have ſeen, what immenſe quantity of gold, ſilver, precious ſtones, and other coſtly things, had been beſtowed upon the firſt; but we read of nothing like it in the ſecond, neither indeed could they afford it.

2. Joſephus and the rabbies deſcribe the ſecond temple after it was deſtroyed, when no man could contradict them; and how laviſh they might be in adorning a building which was the glory of their nation, we need not ſay; one thing is certain, that though it was become, in Joſephus's time, rather a ſtrong fortreſs, than a place of divine worſhip, yet there is hardly a man of ſenſe that believes half the wonders he ſays of it, or that it was capable of entertaining ſuch a prodigious gariſon as he affirms it did. And yet the Talmudiſts were ſo little ſatisfied with that author's deſcription, that they have made an incredible number of additions to it; inſomuch, that it looks rather like a new edifice of their own rearing, upon which they have beſtowed all the grandeur and magnificence, that their luxuriant fancy could muſter up.

But, laſtly, allowing it to have been equal to their deſcription, it doth not follow, that that of Zorobabel, over which the elders wept, was ſo; which having been burnt, rebuilt, improved, inriched, inlarged, and fortified, from time to time, and by ſeveral royal hands, had not perhaps one footſtep left of its primitive figure, except in the very ſanctuary. It is therefore in vain to pretend to gueſs, either at that of Solomon or Zorobabel, by that which we have in Joſephus; or to object the largeneſs and magnificence of this laſt, againſt the ſeeming plainneſs which our friend gives us of the firſt.

(L) This was their ninth jubilee, which, according to archbiſhop Uſher, opened the fourth millenary of the world (90).

(90) Ann. ſub A. M. 3001.

concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, as we have elsewhere observed *. The ceremony began on the eight day of the seventh month of the sacred year, which was the first of the civil year, answering to the latter end of our October, and lasted seven days, at the end of which began the feast of the tabernacles, which was one of the three solemn feasts of the Israelites, and lasted likewise seven days; so that the vast concourse of people, who were invited by the king, and flocked to that solemnity, stayed at least fourteen days in Jerusalem. The ceremony opened with a pompous procession, in which the priests carried the ark, from the tabernacle which David had erected for it, to the temple; and deposited in the most holy place, between the two golden cherubims, which Solomon had caused to be made by Hiram, and to be set up there, to be a kind of covering to the ark (M). The king himself, accom-

The dedication of it.

* See before, vol. 3. ch. 7. sect. 4. Jubilee year.

(M) We have spoken elsewhere of the shape and position of those which covered the mercy-seat (91). These, that were made by Hiram for the most holy place, differed from them, and were of two sorts, namely these two, which spread one wing over the ark, and touched the wall with the other; and those which were made in bass-relief, to adorn the sides of the wall, between palm-trees likewise in bass-relief, and all of the finest gold. What the bigness of these last was we know not, but that of the two massive standing ones may be guessed at by the length of their wings, which reaching to the north and south walls with one extremity, and joining at least by the other over the center, must have been each five cubits long, because the place was twenty cubits in length and breadth; so that onemay reasonablysuppose the cherubims themselves to have been about ten cubits high. As to their form, we can affirm nothing certain concerning it, beyond what was said in the place above quoted.

There we took also notice, that Solomon made all the other utensils and ornaments of the temple, proportionable, both in bigness and richness, to that of the edifice: the mosaic altar of burnt-offering, for instance, was set by on account of its smallness, and another placed in lieu of it, which was twenty cubits in length and breadth, and ten in heighth. The same was done by the altar of perfume, and the table of shew-bread; which last,

(91) Vid sup. vol. iii. ch. 7. sect. 4. of the ark and mercy-seat.

accompanied by all his chief officers, and the elders of Iſrael, marched before the ark; theſe were followed by a great number of prieſts and levites, who ſang ſome canticles proper to the occaſion, and played upon various inſtruments. Next to the ark followed another number of ſingers and players, with other prieſts bearing the golden candleſticks, altar of incenſe, and other ſacred utenſils of the ſanctuary, which had been brought from Gibeon, where they and the tabernacle had ſtood ever ſince. Theſe were not depoſited in the ſanctuary, becauſe the king had cauſed a new ſet of them to be made, which were larger, and more anſwerable to the ſpaciouſneſs of the place; but were laid up in ſome other repoſitory prepared for that pur-

poſe laſt, as well as the golden candleſticks, he increaſed the number of five or ſix fold.

Beſides theſe, there was a prodigious quantity of other gold and ſilver veſſels and utenſils; concerning which the text only ſays, that they were without number (92); but the Jewiſh hiſtorian has given us ſuch a detail of them (93), that we chuſe to refer the reader to him for it, becauſe we can neither tell whence he had it, nor indeed find room enough or uſe for ſuch quantities. Thus he tells us, that there were 10,000 tables to hold the ſacred utenſils, beſides thoſe of the ſhew-bread. He mentions likewiſe 10,000 candleſticks, beſides thoſe that were in the holy place; 80,000 cups for drink-offerings; and though the text mentions but 100 baſons of gold, which ſeem to us to have been for the ſame uſe (94), and to have been ſufficient for it, he has multiplied them to 10,000, beſides double that number of ſilver ones. We may ſee the ſame thing of 1000 prieſtly ornaments, which he tells us Solomon cauſed to be made for the ſole uſe of the high-prieſt; the 10,000 linen robes and girdles for that of the common prieſts; and 200,000 more for the Levites and muſicians; all which, if we may believe him, were never to be mended when torn, nor waſhed when ſtained with the leaſt ſpot, but were to be made into whicks for the lamps. To theſe we ſhall only add the 200,000 trumpets, and 400,000 muſical inſtruments made of a mixt metal between gold and ſilver, ſuch as was called by the antients electrum; concerning all which, we can only ſay, that the text is either ſilent, or contradicts his prodigious account, as well as where he ſays, that the 200,000 trumpets were made according to Moſes's appointment.

(92) 2 Chron. iv. 18. & alib. (93) Antiq. l. xv. c. 14. xx. & alib. & de Bell. jud. c. 6. & alib. paſſ. (94) 2 Chron. iv. 8.

poſe. To add the greater magnificence to the proceſſion, the king ordered the ark to ſtop at proper diſtances, and there cauſed a prodigious number of victims to be offered up before it, till they had reached the ſanctuary. Whilſt the prieſts were depoſiting the ark in the moſt holy place, the air rang with the ſound of 120 trumpets, and with the voices of the levites, who ſang the praiſes of God, repeating theſe words at proper ſtanzas, *Give thanks to the Lord, for he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.* It was then, that God ſeemed to come down in a viſible manner, to take poſſeſſion, as it were, of his new temple, by filling it with a glorious cloud, as he had formerly done the tabernacle, inſomuch, that the prieſts could not ſtand to offer up the ſacrifices, which they had prepared upon that occaſion [x].

DURING this time, Solomon, who ſtood upon a braſen ſcaffold three cubits high, and prepared for the purpoſe, having commanded the attention of the people, which ſtood in the galleries round about, kneeled down, and ſpread his hands towards heaven, and dedicated the building to God in an elegant and devout prayer, which he then made in their hearing; intreating the divine mercy to make it its reſidence in favour of Iſrael, and to be ready from thence to hear the prayers which his people ſhould direct thither, from whatever part of the world, and what condition ſoever they were in, to grant their requeſt, and pardon their offences. All this while the prieſts had covered the ſpacious altar with proper victims, which as ſoon as his prayer was ended, were conſumed by a miraculous fire, as a token of the divine favour and acceptance. The king then, turning himſelf about, bleſſed the audience; after which they went about offering a vaſt multitude of other ſacrifices, which were furniſhed both by the king, and by the heads of the tribes, inſomuch, that they were forced to rear a number of other altars in the court, the great one not being ſufficient for them. On the very firſt day of this ceremony, which laſted ſeven days, they (N) ſacrificed 20,000

A vaſt number of victims offered.

[x] 2 Chron. v. p. tot.

(N) The text ſays, indeed, that Solomon himſelf offered that vaſt number of victims (95); but it appears from the end of the verſe, and that which goes before it, that all Iſrael joined with him in it. We may likewiſe obſerve here, that it is not altogether clear

(95) 1 King. viii. 63.

20,000 bullocks and 120,000 ſheep for peace-offerings, which ſerved to feaſt the concourſe of people; beſides a prodigious number of burnt and other offerings, which were brought in every day. The feaſt of the tabernacles, which immediately followed this, was likewiſe obſerved with unuſual magnificence; after which the people were diſmiſſed in peace, and returned to their homes, with their hearts full of joy and admiration of their wonderful monarch [y]. At the ſame time, leſt that young prince's heart ſhould be too elated by this extraordinary grandeur, God was pleaſed to appear to him in a dream, on the firſt night of the dedication, expreſſed his acceptance of that ſumptuous edifice, and renewed his promiſes to him and his poſterity, provided he and they ſerved him with an upright heart: on the other hand, he aſſured him, that in caſe they provoked him by their idolatry and diſobedience, that glorious building which was now the wonder of the world, ſhould infallibly become a deſolation, a dwelling for owls and bats, and a proverb of reproach among all nations †.

As ſoon as Solomon had finiſhed this noble ſtructure he ſet his artificers to work upon two other buildings, one for himſelf, and another for Pharaoh's daughter [z], and ſpared nothing, that art or riches could furniſh, to raiſe it to a proportionable ſplendor with it (O). He was almoſt thir- Solomon's palaces.

[y] 1 Kings viii. 12, & ſeq. 2 Chron. vi. & vii. p. tot. † 1 King. ix. & ſeq. [z] Compare 1 King. iii. 1. vii. 8. ix. 24. & 2 Chron. viii. 11.

clear from it, whether they were all ſacrificed in one, or in the ſeven days of the feaſt; the latter, indeed, is the moſt probable of the two, but the tenor of the words ſeem to lean more to the former.

(O) One of theſe places is called the houſe of the foreſt of Lebanon (96), though it was at Jeruſalem; the reaſon of its being ſo called, is not certainly known. The Chaldee paraphraſt calls it a ſummer-houſe, or houſe of refreſhment; others think it to have been built in that foreſt, after he had taken the city of Hamath-zobah (97); but the general opinion is, that they gave the name of the foreſt of Lebanon to the city of David, by reaſon of the prodigious quantities of cedar, and other trees, which had been brought from thence to build the temple and other ſumptuous edifices, inſomuch, that it ſeemed as if Lebanon had been tran-

(96) 1 King. vii. 2. (97) Vid. Jun. in loc. & Chron. viii. 3.

teen years in building them, ſo that he finiſhed thoſe three magnificent edifices, with all their coſtly furniture, utenſils, and ornaments, within the ſpace of twenty years (P). After this he ſent back a great part of his Tyrian artificers; and to expreſs his gratitude to their prince, who had ſo generouſly furniſhed him, not only with vaſt quantities of ſtones and wood, but alſo with great ſums of gold, he pre-

tranſported to Jeruſalem (98). Upon this account, and perhaps alſo from the fragrancy of the cedar, both the city and temple, as well as the palace, are called Lebanon by the pſalmiſt and ſome of the prophets (99).

(P) Theſe palaces were built with the utmoſt magnificence, whether for the prodigious quantities of gold, ſilver, cedar, and other precious woods, marble, and other coſtly ſtones, the ſtupendous bigneſs of them, or the exquiſiteneſs of the workmanſhip, or for the richneſs of their furniture, and the ſumptuouſneſs of the galleries, porches, courts, and apartments. Among theſe there was one more ſpacious than the reſt, which was called the porch, or hall of judgment, in which was placed the king's throne, and, on each ſide of it, the ſeats of his counſellors. This porch was by far the moſt magnificent of all, becauſe it was both his ſeat of judgment, and the place of public audience, where he ſhewed himſelf, either to his nobles, or to the ſtrangers that reſorted to him. It was placed in the midſt of a flight of rich pillars of cedar, curiouſly carved and covered, or rather inlaid, with gold. The throne itſelf, which was in the faſhion of a niche, was covered with ivory, inlaid, and intermixed with curious ornaments in gold: the aſcent to it was by ſix ſteps, each ſtep being ſupported on each ſide with a ſmall lyon, and the arms of the ſeat with two large ones as big as the life. All theſe and even the ſteps themſelves, were likewiſe covered with gold and ivory. The richneſs of the furniture of theſe ſumptuous edifices may be gueſſed at, by the plate and drinking-veſſels which were uſed in them, which were all of fineſt gold. To theſe he added 300 ſhields of the ſame rich metal, which uſed to be carried before him when he went abroad, and then were ſuſpended along the rows of pillars as an ornament. Beſides theſe, he likewiſe cauſed 200 targets to be made of a larger ſize, which were hung up in ſome conſpicuous place of the temple. All theſe were made of ſome precious wood, and covered with gold; theſe latter amounted to 600 ſhekels each, and the former to three pound weight (100).

(98) Ita Rabbin. vid & Munſt. Calmet. & al. in Pſal. xxix. xcii. 12, 13. (99) Pſal. xxix. paſſ. xcii. 12, 13. & alia. (100) 1 King. x. 16, 17. 2 Chron. ix. 13.

preſented him with twenty cities in Gallilee; but Hiram, coming ſoon after to view them, was ſo diſguſted at them, that he could not forbear breaking out into ſome complaint againſt his brother Solomon, and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction by his refuſal of them, and by the contemptible name which he gave to that whole land (Q); upon which, Solomon built them anew himſelf, and planted colonies of Iſraelites in them †. The reſt of his workmen, whether Tyrians or others, together with the Canaanitiſh ſlaves, who were by that time probably become very expert builders, were employed in ſurrounding the city of Jeruſalem with a ſtrong and ſtately wall, and fortifying Millo, Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-horon, Baalath, Tadmor, or Palmyra, and other places of conſequence; beſides ſeveral other ſtore-cities for his chariots and horſes, for his magazines of corn, wine, oyl, and other proviſions and ammunition. He built moreover ſome fortreſſes in Lebanon, probably to ſecure a free communication between his kingdom and that of Syria. Soon after this he brought under his yoke the remainder of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebuſites, who ſeem to have remained unconquered till his time, and made them all tributaries to him [a]. Theſe were alſo probably forced to his works

† Compare 1 King. ix. 10. & 2 Chron. viii. 1, & ſeq. [a] 1 King. ix. 15 & ſeq. 2 Chron. viii. 1, & ſeq. See before, vol. ii. p. 214.

(Q) כבול Chabul, which is the name he gave it, comes from כבל, which ſignifies a fetlock; and is ſuppoſed to have alluded to the extream dirtineſs of it, becauſe one could not travel in it without being up to the ancles in dirt.

Joſephus derives it from a Phœnician word, which ſignifies diſlike, and adds, that Hiram refuſed to take them from Solomon upon that account (1); but as we find a city of that name as early as Joſhua's time (2), it is not improbable, that Hiram took the hint from it, and gave that contemptible appellative to all the reſt.

This Chabul, which our author calls Chebalon, was, according to him, ſituated in the neighbourhood of Tyre, or between that and Ptolemais: that of Joſhua could not be far from it; and yet St. Jerom places them on the other ſide of Jordan (4), in that part which was called Decapolis (5).

(1) Ant. lib. 8. c. 2. Vid. ſup. vol. ii. p. 377. (2) Joſh. xix. 27. (3) Ibid. & in vit. ſua. (4) Hieron. in Amos. i. (5) Vid. Calm. ſub. voc. Chabulun.

works with the reſt; for as for the Iſraelites, the text expreſly ſays, that they were exempt from all kind of ſlaviſh buſineſs, and only employed either as overſeers over them, or as officers and ſoldiers in his army [b].

olomon's avy. To ſupply all theſe vaſt expences, Solomon went and built a navy at Ezion-geber, upon the coaſts of the Red-Sea, and put it under the care of ſome expert Tyrian ſailors, who, with his own men, went with it to Ophir (R), and

[b] 1 King. ibid. ver. 22, 23.

(R) It is not to be expected, that our readers will be contented with being told, that Ophir is to us a terra incognita, that has been ſought in vain in all parts of the world, and through every point of the compaſs. And indeed one would hardly believe ſuch a diſcovery to be ſo difficult, conſidering the various indices, by which the ſcriptures ſeem to lead us to it; ſuch as thoſe that follow: 1. That Moſes ſpeaks of Ophir the ſon of Joktan, who went with his brethren and dwelt from Meſha toward Shephar, a mount of the eaſt (6). 2. That the ſame fleet went both to Ophir and Tharſhiſh (7), and ſet out from Ezion-geber, a ſea-port near Eloth, in the land of Edom upon the Red-Sea (8). 3. That the voyage took them up three years (9). 4. That it brought gold, precious ſtones, ſpices, ivory, ebony, and almug-wood, peacocks, and monkeys (10). 5. That Ophir not only afforded the greateſt quantity of gold, but that it alſo exceeded all other gold in fineneſs and value (11); and laſtly, That according to Eupolemus, an antient author quoted by Euſebius (12), the Urphe, or Ophir, from whence this metal was brought, was an iſland in the Red-Sea; not that which we commonly underſtand by that name, which lyeth between Arabia and Egypt, but the great ſouthern ocean, which extended itſelf between India and Africa, and waſheth up to the coaſt of Arabia and Perſia, and was called the Red-Sea from the colour which the perpendicular ſun-beams give it in thoſe hot climates (13). To this let us add, that Joſephus ſays, that Ophir was in India, or was ſince called India, or the land of gold (14), which may probably mean the Aurea Cherſoneſus, now called the iſland of Malacca, over-againſt Sumatra; theſe, one would be apt to think, might have chalked out ſuch a chart, as would have directed us, if not to the very ſpot of ground, yet at leaſt to the region, whence all

(6) Gen. x. 29, 30. (7) Conf. 1 King. ix. 28. x. 22. xxii. 49. & 2 Chron. xx. 36. (8) 1 King. ix. 26, & alib. (9) Ibid. x. 22. & alib. (10) Ibid. & 2 Chron. ix. 10. (11) Ibid. & alib. paſſ. (12) De præp. evang. l. 9. (13) Vid. Prideaux Connect. lib. 1. (14) Ant. l. viii. c. 2.

and in about three years time, brought him back an immenſe weight of gold and ſilver, beſides ſeveral kinds of pre-

all theſe riches came, and yet there are ſcarce any two authors that have ſteered the ſame courſe.

But not to dwell long upon a ſubject that affords ſo little certainty, we ſhall content ourſelves with a bare mention of thoſe who ſeem to have viſibly erred from the point, and then give a ſhort account of thoſe who have ſpoken with a greater degree of probability.

Among the firſt we may rank thoſe who have gone to America for it (15), it being unconceivable, how they could ſteer thither and back again in thoſe early days, without charts or compaſs, with ſo imperfect a knowledge of geography and aſtronomy, and knowing no more of navigation than bare coaſting. If it be ſaid, that this was the method they ſteered by, and that they coaſted along India, China, and the north parts of Japan, to the north part of America, and ſo on to Hiſpaniola, or any other place, whether of Mexico or Peru; beſides that in ſuch a caſe, eighteen months will ſcarce be ſufficient for ſuch a prodigious round, how many iſlands might they have met with in India, that, could have ſupplyed them with all thoſe commodities, and eſpecially with gold? how came they at firſt to have ſuch knowledge of thoſe parts, as to go thither for that metal? Was America peopled ſo early? and if it was, which is ſcarce credible, were either its inhabitants ſuch expert ſailors, as to bring thoſe merchandiſes to ſome famous emporium nearer to Aſia, or did any of the Aſiatic nations fetch them from thence?

2. Thoſe who have gone no further than the coaſts of Africa, or even nearer for it (16), becauſe though it be probable, that ſeveral parts of Africa might abound with gold, ſpices, ivory, and thoſe other merchandiſes, or according to others, that the Indians might bring them thither, yet the fartheſt coaſt of Afric was not diſtant enough from Ezion-geber, to have taken up ſo much time as three years, though we ſhould allow, that they went to a different ſea-port for each merchandiſe; much leſs to thoſe places mentioned by ſome of thoſe authors, which are a great deal nearer to it.

Laſtly, we may reckon among them who have miſſed the mark thoſe who have fallen into the notion, that Ezion-geber was not on the coaſts of the Red-Sea, but of the Mediterranean (17), in order to avoid the difficulty into which Huetius ſtumbled, by

(15) Genebr. Arr-Mont. Chriſt-Columb. Vatabl. Poſtel. & al.
(16) Grot. in 1 Reg. ix. Huet. Diſſert. de Navig. Salom. Jean dos ſant. & al. (17) Gorop. Becan. Bivar. Horn. & al.

precious ſtones, ſpices, ebony and other curious wood, ivory, peacocks, monkeys, and other rarities [c]. The gold itſelf

[c] Ibid. ver. ult. x. 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. ix. 21.

by making the canal of communication between thoſe two ſeas to to have been opened in David's time, which is confuted by ſeveral learned authors (18). But whatever the difficulty be of finding a paſſage from Ezion-geber to the Mediterranean; it cannot be ſuppoſed to have been ſituated any where but on the Red-Sea, without doing manifeſt violence to the text, becauſe there is not one ſingle inſtance of ים סוף Yam Suph, ſignifying the Mediterranean, or any other than the Red Sea; and ſecondly, becauſe Ezion-geber is ſaid to have been beſide Eloth, which laſt is always placed on the Red-Sea (19).

Among thoſe who have conjectured with more probability, we ſhall mention, firſt of all, thoſe who place it with Joſephus in ſome part of the Eaſt-Indies (20), though without adhering too cloſe to the particular place, which each of them has made choice of, whether in the kingdom of Malabar, or the iſles of Seylan or Taprobana (21), or in Siam, (22), or in any of thoſe neighbouring iſlands or kingdoms beyond the Ganges (23), or that of Pegu, whoſe inhabitants pretend to be deſcended from the Jews, whom Solomon ſent thither to work in the golden mines (24); for we think it labour loſt, to ſeek for a country that produced all the different kinds of merchandiſes, which the fleet brought into Judea, when they had time enough to fetch ſome from one place and ſome from another; or, which is equally probable, when they might be all brought by Indian merchants, from ſeveral parts of India, into ſome common emporium. All theſe are probable conjectures, by ſuppoſing the fleet to ſail from the Red-Sea into the ocean, through the Perſian gulph.

Dean Prideaux obſerves next, that it was the voyage to Tharſhiſh, which took up three years going and coming; from which he conjectures, that Ophir might be much nearer Judea, and the voyage performed in leſs time, if they had not been obliged to go quite to the former, for ſome commodities which the other did not afford; and conſequently, that any place in the great Indian Sea, at the diſtance of three years voyage, which yielded gold, ſilver, ivory,

(18) Marſh. Can. Ægypt. ſæc. 15. Calm. prolegom. in Geneſ. (19) Vid. Euſeb. loc. Hæbr. ſub. voc Ηλαθ Abu'lfed. Deſcr. Arab. Plin. Strab. Hieron. Procop. & al. (20) Luc. Holſtein. Not. in Ortel. (21) Vid. Bochart. Phal. (22) Ab Choiſi. in vit. Salom. (23) Vid. Lipen. Tract. de Ophir. (24) Vid. Maff. & aut. ab eo citat.

itſelf amounted to 450 talents yearly, beſides the profit which he made of all the other commodities. Some of thoſe

ivory, apes and peacocks, might be the Tharſhiſh; and any other, though much nearer, where they could have gold, almug trees, and precious ſtones, might be the Ophir mentioned in the ſcriptures. So that if the ſouthern part of Arabia produced the greateſt quantities of the beſt gold, as he ſhews they did from good authors, then that might be the land of Ophir (25).

But though it be granted, that Tharſhiſh and Ophir might be diſtinct places, and at ſome conſiderable diſtance from each other, yet if the latter had been ſo nigh as ſouth Arabia, and had yielded ſuch plenty of the fineſt gold, almug trees, and precious ſtones, it is ſcarce credible that they would have gone ſo much farther for ſuch inferior trifles as ſilver, ivory, monkeys, and peacocks; it is more likely, that they went fartheſt for the fineſt gold, precious ſtones, and things of greateſt value.

Laſtly, a late author (26) has taken quite a different rout from all the reſt, and thinks, that he has found out the Meſha and Sephar, where Ophir the ſon of Joktan went to dwell; between mount Maſius and the mountains of Saphar, ſomewhere towards Armenia and Media, where are the heads of the Tigris and Euphrates; which rivers might be ſubſervient to this commerce. He adds ſeveral ingenious reaſons for his conjectures, which we cannot dwell upon, and may be better read in the author. The main objection againſt this hypotheſis, and which, we think, he doth not ſufficiently anſwer, is, that the nearneſs of the place doth not admit of a three years voyage, though we ſhould ſuppoſe, with him, that they took a large compaſs about from coaſt to coaſt; and that the three years, mentioned in the text, might mean only three ſummers and two winters, or thirty months.

Upon the whole then, the moſt probable conjecture, and beyond that it is impoſſible to go, is, that Ophir was in ſome of thoſe remote rich countries of India beyond Ganges, and perhaps as far as China or Japan; which laſt doth ſtill abound with the fineſt gold, and with ſeveral other commodities in which Solomon's fleet dealt, as ſilver, precious ſtones, ebony, and other valuable ſorts of wood; to ſay nothing of ſpices, peacocks, parrots, apes, and other ſuch creatures †; and by its diſtance doth beſt anſwer to the length of the voyage.

All that we ſhall ſay farther is, that this Ophir gold was in great plenty in Judea even in David's time, ſince he left 3000 talents of

(25) Prid. Connect. book 1. (26) Calmet. Proleg. in Geneſ.

† Vid. Varen. & al. deſcr. Japon.

those precious woods the king did bestow in adorning the galleries about the temple, and in making a great number of musical instruments for the service of God [d].

ALL this time, Solomon was still mindful of the concerns of religion, repairing to the temple at the solemn festivals, and settling the courses of the priests, levites, musicians, and other officers of the temple, according to the model of his father; and making all proper regulations for maintaining the service of God, with a splendor and magnificence equal, at least, to that of his kingdom [e]. Upon all which accounts he is justly observed, more than once, to have exceeded all the kings of the earth.

The queen of Sheba's visit to him.

AMONG the great persons whom his fame brought to Jerusalem, the most considerable was the queen of Sheba (S),

[d] Ibid. ver. 11. [e] 1 King. ix. 25. 2 Chron. viii. 12. & seq.

of it for the service of the temple, besides the 5000 talents which the princes of the people offered for the same purpose (27). Now as we can hardly believe either of them to have been so munificent, as to have given more than a certain proportion of it; should we suppose it to have been even a third part, there must have been at least 24,000 talents of that metal in his kingdom; this prodigious sum could never be heaped together from the bare spoil of the neighbouring nations; it is more reasonable to believe, that having conquered the Edomites, and taken Eloth and Ezion-geber, David set himself about opening a commerce from thence, by the assistance of Hiram's expert sailors; so that his son did but improve what the father had begun, by enlarging and fortifying those two places and peopling them with the best mariners and ship-builders, and, in a word, by encouraging navigation and commerce to such a degree, as made him by far the richest prince of his time, and his kingdom the most flourishing in the world.

(S) Josephus calls her Nicaulis, and says, she was queen of Egypt and Ethiopia (28); that Saba was the metropolis of the latter, till Cambyses called it, by his sister's name, Meroes (29). The Ethiopians, accordingly, pretend, that she was queen of that country, and preserve still a list of her successors (30). They add, that she had a son by Solomon, whom she sent to be brought up by him; they call him Meilik or Menilehek, and pretend, that twenty-

(27) Vid. 1 Chron. xxix. 4, & seq. (28) Ant. l. viii. c. 2. (29) Ibid. l. ii. c. 10. (30) Vid. Hier. Almeid. & Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop.

a princeſs of ſuch excellent wiſdom and extraordinary opulence, that ſhe ſeemed to have come to vie with the Jewiſh monarch, by the ſumptuouſneſs of her equipage, the richneſs of her preſents, and the number of hard queſtions ſhe put to him. She brought with her a vaſt number of camels, laden with gold, precious ſtones, and ſuch rich ſpices and perfumes, as had not till then been known even in Solomon's court. By all theſe one may gueſs at the ſplendidneſs of her equipage and retinue; and it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would have engaged with a prince ſo univerſally famed for wiſdom, if ſhe had not had ſome conſiderable ſhare of it herſelf: but, after having tried him with all the ſubtil and enigmatic queſtions ſhe had prepared for him (T), ſhe found in him ſuch a readineſs in ſolving, twenty-four of their kings are deſcended from that prince ſucceſſively down to Baſilides, who reigned in the middle of the 17th century (31). Some antient writers do likewiſe acknowledge, that that country was ſometime governed by women (32).

The Arabians, on the other hand, claim this queen as their own; they call him Balkiſh, and pretend, that ſhe was queen of Arabia, had her reſidence in the city of Mareb, which they make the metropolis of the province of Saba. They have preſerved alſo her genealogy, as well as the hiſtory of her journey to Judea, which they have ſtuffed with other fables; among others, that ſhe was married to Solomon; and that, after her return into Arabia, that prince uſed to keep an epiſtolar correſpondence with her, by means of a bird which they called Hudhud, a kind of lapwing or puet, which uſed to carry letters between them (33).

But, ſetting aſide theſe trifling ſtories, the opinion of thoſe who think that that princeſs came from Arabia, ſeems certainly the moſt probable of the two, among many other reaſons, becauſe ſhe is called, in the goſpel, *the queen of the South*, and is ſaid to have come from the uttermoſt parts of the earth (34); which anſwers exactly to Arabia Felix, which lieth ſouth of Judea, and is bounded by the ocean. To which we may add, that it abounded with gold, precious ſtones, and fine perfumes, more than any other country thereabouts.

(T) We have ſeen in a former note, that it was part of the diverſion of princes in thoſe times to puzzle one another with riddles and hard queſtions. An annaliſt tells us, that among other ways that this princeſs tried to poſe the king, ſhe took a number of boys

(31) Id. ib. lib. ii. cc. 34. & ſeq. (32) Strab. lib. xvi. c. 17. Plin. l. vi. c. 26. (33) Vid. D' Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. ſub. voc. Balkiſh. (34) Matt. xii. 42.

ſolving, and ſuch a ſagacity in explaining his anſwers, that he ſeemed even to prevent her thoughts [f]; inſomuch, that ſhe owned herſelf fully ſatisfied, that he was not, without juſt reaſon, eſteemed the wiſeſt prince of his time. The king did then entertain her with a view of the temple, of his palaces, and gardens, of his court, tables, and of the richneſs of their furniture, the great number and excellent order of his ſervants, ſtables, chariots, guards, and, in a word, of all the magnificence that reigned both in his court and in the city. So many ſurpriſing inſtances of his wiſdom and greatneſs could not but ſtrike that princeſs with the deepeſt wonder; which as ſoon as ſhe could recover herſelf from, ſhe owned with a kind of extacy, that the half of it had not been told her. After this, ſhe expreſſed her extreme ſatisfaction in the moſt reſpectful terms, and preſented the king with 120 talents of gold, a great number of precious ſtones, and rich perfumes. Solomon, on the other hand, was too generous not to make her ſuitable returns, and diſmiſſed her with the ſtrongeſt proofs of his munificence (V) [g].

HITHERTO we have ſeen nothing in that prince's life, but what gives us the higheſt idea of his wiſdom, piety, and magnificence; but the remainder of his reign proved far otherwiſe, and Solomon, emphatically called the wiſe,

[f] 1 King. x. 3. [g] Ibid. i, & ſeq. 2 Chr. ix. 1, & ſeq.

boys and girls, which ſhe had brought with her, and having arrayed them all alike, ſhe preſented them to him, to ſee which way he would take to know thoſe of one ſex from thoſe of the other. Wherefore he ordered them to waſh their faces before him; and eaſily found out the difference, by the robuſtneſs and effeminacy with which each ſex performed his command. The reader may ſee his authority for this ſtory in the author himſelf (35).

(V) Joſephus adds, that the Jews had a tradition, that the queen of Sheba brought with her the firſt branch of that precious balſam-tree, or balm of Gilead, which Judea came afterwards to be ſo famed for. He mentions likewiſe a grove belonging to the houſe of Lebanon, which was ſuch a maſter-piece of art, that it raiſed the admiration of that princeſs, above all the reſt of his ſtately works (36).

(35) Mich. Glycas. Annal. p. 182. (36) Ant. l. viii. c. 2.

wiſe, beloved of God, and admired by all the world for ſo many excellent vertues, did become ſuch a ſlave to the paſſion of love, in his old age, that he ventured to marry an amazing multitude of ſtrange women, without diſtinction of nation, country, or religion, and without the leaſt regard to God's expreſs commands to the contrary; till at length he but too ſadly verified the divine warning [h], by ſuffering himſelf to be ſeduced into all manner of idolatry. The number of his wives amounted to 700, beſides 300 concubines, or wives of the ſecond rank; and his complaiſance for them went ſo far, as to build altars and temples to all their deities; inſomuch, that the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem, if not the city itſelf, was filled with idols and temples; and the mount of Olives, which was over-againſt it, was defiled with two altars, one to Chemoſh, the god of Moab, and another to Moloch the god of the Ammonites. Such a ſhameful defection could not but be highly diſpleaſing to God; and Solomon was ſoon after made ſenſible of it, when he appeared the third time to him in a dream, and told him, that his ingratitude would coſt his ſucceſſors the loſs of his kingdom, the tribe of Judah excepted, which he would leave them, in conſideration of his former promiſe to David, for whoſe ſake he alſo forbore to rend the other tribes from him till after his death. Whether this ſevere denunciation awaked him to repentance, or whether he died immerſed in his idolatry and luſt, the text doth no where tell us; what the opinion of Jews and Chriſtians is about it, may be ſeen in the next note (W). He died in the fortieth year of his reign, and about

His defection.

Idolatries.

and death.

Year of the Flood, 2024. Year before Chriſt, 975.

[h] Vid. Deut. vii. 3. & ſeq.

(W) Among thoſe that believe, that Solomon did heartily repent of all his extravagancies, are, among the Jews, the Talmudiſts, who affirm, that God ſent Aſmodeus to ſtrip him of all his glory, and drive him from his throne; upon which, that prince wandered about all the cities of Iſrael, weeping, and crying out, I, the preacher, was once king of Iſrael (37). 2. The generality of rabbies, antient and modern, if we except the author of Eccleſiaſticus, who finiſhes his elogy with an account of his crimes, and the ill effects which it cauſed in his poſterity, without ever mentioning any thing about his repentance (38); theſe pretend to have

(37) Vid. Talmud, tractat. קוהלת. (38) Vid. Eccluſ. xlvii. 19, & ſeq.

about the fifty-eight of his age, and was buried in the ſtately ſepulchre of his father David, and ſucceeded by his ſon Rehoboam [i]. Joſephus gives him eighty years reign, and ninety-four of age [k]. Were that indeed true, his impieties

[i] 1 King. xi. paſſ. 2 Chron. ix. 30, 31. [k] Ant. l. 8. c. 3.

have a tradition, that in the height of his remorſe, he cauſed himſelf to be dragged ſeveral times about the ſtreets of Jeruſalem; and that he came to the temple with five bundles of rods, deſiring the doctors to chaſtiſe him for his faults; which they refuſing to do, out of regard to his dignity, he ſcourged himſelf ſeverely before them, and thinking himſelf unworthy to reign any longer, he ſtripped himſelf of every thing, and went a begging about the kingdom (39). Some of them have gone another way to work, and have affirmed, that it is falſe, that his heart was enſnared by women to ſin, or that he built any altars to Moloch, or any other heatheniſh deity; and ſay, that the text means no more, than that he would have done it, if he had not been with-held from it by God's ſpecial grace (40). As for Joſephus, he only attributes his vices to the weakneſs of old age, without ſaying any thing of his repentance (41).

The Chriſtians, both ancient and modern, who have embraced the notion, that Solomon repented before his death, are too numerous to be quoted here; we ſhall inſert their names in the margin (42), and mention the principal reaſons which have led them to it. In the firſt place, many of them have followed the notion of ſome of the fathers above quoted, that the book of Eccleſiaſtes was the reſult of his penitent meditations, after he was returned to a ſenſe of himſelf, and theſe are very numerous (43). There are, indeed, in that book a number of expreſſions, which are very like thoſe of a perſon, who feels a ſenſible remorſe for his paſt extravagancies, and is deſirous to forewarn others againſt them (44).

Another

(39) Ex fragm. cui titul. de Salomone judicium, in fin. tom. 7. oper. Bedæ. (40) Vid. Pined. de reb. Salom. Calmet. Diſſert de ſalut. ejuſd. (41) Ant. l. viii. c. iii. (42) Iren. l. iv. Marcio ap Epiphan. de Hæreſ. Bacchiar. Epiſt. de recipiend. lapſis. Hilar. in Pſ. lvi. & cxxvi. Cyril. Hieroſol. catech. 2. Hieron. in Ezek. xiii. & alib. Gregor. Taumat. & al. (43) Th. Aquin. Hugo. Cardinal. Paul. Comeſtor Genebrard. Chemnit. J. Henr. Heidec. Reymer. Mercer. Uſſer. Jun. Tremel. & al. plurim. (44) Vid. int. al. Eccleſ. i. 1, & ſeq. ii. paſſ. iii. 17, & ſeq. xi. & xii. paſſ.

ties might well enough be attributed to his extreme dotage; perhaps alſo this was the motive, that induced the Jewiſh

 hiſtorian

Another argument for his repentance is taken from the promiſe, made by God to his father, where, ſpeaking of Solomon, whom he had choſen to build his temple; he adds, *I will eſtabliſh his kingdom for ever: I will be to him a father, and he ſhall be a ſon to me: If he commit iniquity, I will chaſtiſe him with the rod of men:——But my mercy will I not cauſe to depart from him, as I did from* Saul: and much more to the ſame purpoſe (45).

It is likewiſe ſaid in another place (46), that Rehoboam and his ſubjects walked in the way of David and Solomon but three years; and afterwards that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord (47). Solomon's way, therefore, being put with that of David, and oppoſed to that of his wicked ſon, argues, according to them, that it was right; which could not have been ſaid of it, if he had died impenitent.

Some pretend, that the Proverbs were written after his repentance, and quote two places for it, the one, where he complains, that he was more brutiſh than any man, having neither underſtanding, wiſdom, nor knowledge of the holy one (48); for they pretend, that Agur there is Solomon: the other is ſtill wider, being only, according to the ſeptuagint verſion, which makes him ſay, *At length I repented, and have applied myſelf to live after a better rule*; whereas in the original he only ſays, that having obſerved the field of a ſlothful man over-run with nettles——he conſidered well about it, and received inſtruction (49).

Laſtly, ſo willing are they to make a penitent of him, they quote the words, *And* Solomon *ſlept with his fathers, and was buried*, &c. (50), as a token of his repentance; becauſe there is nothing reproachful added to them, as is generally when a wicked king dieth impenitent; ſuch as, *that he did evil in the ſight of the Lord; that he perverted his way; that he made* Iſrael *to ſin*; and ſuch-like.

Notwithſtanding all theſe reaſons, many learned fathers, as well as modern authors, have not ſcrupled to call his repentance in queſtion, and ſome of them even to deny it (51). We ſhall ſub-

join

(45) 2 Sam. viii. 13, & ſeq. Pſ. lxxxix. 19, & ſeq. ad 37. & alib. paſſ. (46) 2 Chron. xi. 17. (47) Ibid. xii. 14. (48) Prov. xxx. 23. (49) Ibid. xxiv. 30, & ſeq. (50) 1 King. xi. ult. 2 Chron. ix. ult. (51) Cyprian. de Unit. Eccleſ. & Epiſt. 6. ad Rogat. Tertul. lib. ii. iii. & v. cont. Marcion. Origen. Auguſt. cont. Fauſt. l. xxii. In Pſ. cxxiv. & alib. Gregor. Mag. Theodoret. Proſper. Beda de Lyra. Toſtat. Bellarm. Perer. Vega. Maldonat. & al. mult.

hiſtorian to ſpin out his life ſo far beyond the text. Solomon is recorded to have written a great number of books; of which we have only his Proverbs, Eccleſiaſtes, and the Canticles; all the reſt are loſt, as well as thoſe of the prophets Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo, who are ſaid to have penned the hiſtory of that prince * (X).

* 2 Chron. ix. 29.

WHILST join ſome of their reaſons for this opinion. 1. Solomon's ſins of idolatry and love of ſtrange women are recorded in the ſtrongeſt terms; but not a word is mentioned in the whole ſcripture about his forſaking them. 2. God, being highly offended with him, actually cut off ten tribes from his poſterity, according to what he had told him (52). Would he have executed it ſo punctually, if Solomon had repented? 3. David and others, who repented of their ſins, had not only part of the puniſhment abated, but their converſion is particularly recorded? Why ſhould Solomon be the only perſon whoſe repentance is omitted? Could he write the book of Proverbs, or of Eccleſiaſtes, after his converſion, and yet leave all the monuments of his idolatry to continue? or, if he had deſtroy'd them, Why was it not recorded? or rather, Why it is ſaid, that they ſubſiſted till Joſiah's time (53), that is, about 350 years after his death? What proofs are there, that the book of Eccleſiaſtes was not wrote before his defection, rather than after it? Laſtly, as to the Rabbinical traditions, doth not the authority of the book of Eccleſiaſticus, mentioned above, out-weigh them all, and doth not that ſeem to imply, that he died in his ſins? Upon the whole then, we ſhall not venture to conclude any thing on either ſide, much leſs enter into the more dark and dangerous queſtion about his ſalvation, which almoſt all the authors above quoted, and many more, have preſumed to handle with greater freedom than certainty.

(X) Several other books have been attributed to Solomon, eſpecially thoſe of Eccleſiaſticus, the Wiſdom and the Pſalter of Solomon, which are now univerſally owned to be of more modern date. The latter conſiſts of 18 pſalms, artfully collected out of the other pſalms and ſome of the prophets, a copy of which is in the Vienna library, and placed between the two former books (54); they ſeem alſo to have been in our Alexandrian manuſcript, by their being mentioned in the index, however they came to be torn, or loſt out of it. As for the other writings, which the Greeks and Arabians attribute to that prince, they are leſs worth enquiring after: ſome of them are written in the

(52) 1 King. xi. 9, & ſeq.
(53) 2 Kings xxiii. 13.
(54) Lambec Bibliot. Vindebon.

WHILST Solomon ſpent the laſt years of his life in pleaſure and indolence, the ſeeds of the threatened defection were ſowing both in Iſrael and out of it; ſo that when his ſon Rehoboam came to the crown, he had three potent adverſaries to encounter againſt. The firſt was Hadad, king of Edom, who bore a mortal hatred againſt Iſrael, ever ſince David's general had cauſed ſuch an univerſal maſſacre in that kingdom. He was now returned from Egypt, where he had been forced to take ſanctuary, during David and Solomon's reigns [l]. The ſecond was Rezin, a ſubject of the king of Zobah, who fled likewiſe from David's conquering ſword, and having put himſelf at the head of a band of brave warriors, went and eſtabliſhed a petty kingdom at Damaſcus, and never ceaſed annoying Iſrael, and revenging David's old hoſtilities on the Zobeans [m]. But the moſt dangerous of the three was Jeroboam, a young daring man of the tribe of Ephraim, whom Solomon had formerly made overſeer over his tribe and that of Manaſſeh, in the carrying on of his works. This man had been told by the prophet Ahijah, that God would give him the ten tribes, which were to be rent from Solomon's ſucceſſors: and either upon this account, or for ſome particular miſdemeanour, he had been forced to fly into Egypt, to avoid the king's reſentment, and there probably he concerted

[l] 1 King. xi. 14. & ſeq. See before, vol. ii. p. 314, 315.
[m] 1 King. xi. 23, & ſeq. See before, vol. ii. p. 382.

the magic ſtrain, others upon natural philoſophy, and others upon moral ſubjects (55). Some indeed pretend that the magic books were written by demons, who envied his glory, and wanted to aſperſe his fame, by making him the author of them, but that prince, who was not only monarch of the world, but whoſe power extended over all creatures, and even over ſpirits, cauſed all thoſe writings to be locked up in a ſtrong iron cheſt, and buried under his throne; out of which, however, they were fetched after his death, by ſome demons or magicians, and publiſhed again under that monarch's name (56). There are ſome eaſtern authors, who attribute the invention of the Syriac and Arabic letters to him (57), and ſome make him the author of the book of Job (58); all without any foundation.

(55) Vid. Fabric Apocryph. Bibliot. orient. ſub. voc. Solyman. Echellens & Abu'lfarag. Hiſt. Arab. & al.
(56) Vid. D'Herbelot.
(57) Vid. Abr.
(58) Vid. Polychron in Job Dieg de Stunic. & al præfat. in Job.

with the king of Edom, about causing an insurrection in Israel. As soon, therefore, as he heard, that Rehoboam was upon the throne, he returned from Egypt to watch a proper opportunity for it, and that weak prince soon after gave him such a one as his heart could wish.

Rehoboam. Rehoboam was gone with his court, and the elders of all the tribes, to receive their homage at Shechem, but they refused to acknowledge him, unless he promised to lighten their yoke, which, they complained, his father had made too heavy for them. The king took three days to consider of an answer, and, as he had attained to the fortieth year of his age, one might have expected, that he would have hearkened to the wholesome advice of his grave counsellors, and given the people some fair promises, which if he had, it is possible, he might have deprived Jeroboam, who was at the head of the mutineers, of an occasion of revolting; but he unfortunately preferred that of some hot-headed youths, who had been brought up at court with him, and instead of soothing the people on the third day, he answered them in a haughty tone, That he designed to govern them with greater severity than ever his father had done, and that, if they dared to murmur, he would use scorpions instead of whips to chastise their insolence. This inconsiderate answer did so provoke them, that they disclaimed all further allegiance to the house of David, and having murdered Adoram, whom the king had sent to appease the tumult, ten of the tribes chose Jeroboam to be their head. Judah and Benjamin, however, did cleave to Rehoboam, and conveyed him with all speed to Jerusalem, to avoid any insult being offered to him by the revolters. As soon as he was come thither, he caused an army to be raised out of the two tribes, which mustered 180,000 valiant men, to reduce the rest to their obedience; but, whilst they were prepareing for a battle, the prophet Shemaiah came and acquainted them, that this defection was from God, and persuaded them to desist, which they readily did for the present, though there were continual bickerings between those two kings all their life. Jeroboam, on the other hand, thought on nothing, but how to secure his new-gotten kingdom, and took the advantage of that peaceful interval, to rebuild Shechem and Penuel, the former of which he made the place of his residence (Y). But there was still one thing, which

Rehoboam's folly occasions ten tribes to revolt.

who choose Jeroboam to be their king.

(Y) These two places had been in a manner destroyed, the former

which he feared might, in time, reconcile the ten tribes to the houſe of David, namely, their going three times a year to Jeruſalem, and Jeroboam did not ſufficiently rely upon the prophet's promiſe, to run the riſk of becoming the victim of the people's inconſtancy. This apprehenſion made him ſacrifice religion to his ſafety, and to ſet up a couple of golden calves, the one at Dan, and the other at Bethel, which were at the two extremities of the kingdom, to which places he commanded the people to repair for the worſhip of God, without going to Jeruſalem. He likewiſe built ſome temples and altars in the high places, and becauſe the Levites did cleave to Rehoboam, he made prieſts to his deities out of the lees of his people, without regard to tribe or deſert [n].

THE dedication of the two calves was proclaimed through Iſrael, and a great concourſe of people had flocked to Bethel, when a prophet was ſent thither by God, to denounce the deſtruction of the new altar, by a future king of Judah, named Joſiah, and, for a proof of his prediction, he told them, that it ſhould then receive ſuch a crack, that the cinders would run out through the rent; and the thing happened accordingly upon the ſpot. Jeroboam was ſtanding by the altar, being juſt going to offer incenſe upon it, (Z), and when he heard the prophet's threaten- His idolatr

 ing,

[n] 1 Kings xii. paſſ.

mer by Abimelech (59), and the latter by Gideon (60). This laſt was an important place on the other ſide of Jordan, very proper to keep the two tribes and a half in awe. Shechem was alſo a ſtrong place by nature, about 40 miles from Jeruſalem (61), and ſo conveniently ſituate to become the metropolis of this new kingdom, which it continued to be till the building of Samaria by Omri, and reſumed that dignity after this latter had been deſtroyed by the Aſſyrians. We find it called Sichar in the goſpel (62), which is a term of contempt, which the tribe of Judah gave it after their revolt, and ſignifies Drunkard.

(Z) It ſeems by this action, as if Jeroboam had deſigned to join the high-prieſthood and the royal dignity together in his own perſon. The places he made choice of to ſet up his two idols were not only very commodious on account of their ſituation, but had been frequented, time out of mind, by the people. Bethel was had in great reverence, as having been reſorted to by the patri-

archs,

(59) Judg. ix. 34. & ſeq. (60) Ibid. viii. 17. (61) vid. Reland. in Shechem. (62) John iv. 5.

ing, he ſtretched out his hand to cauſe him to be apprehended, but, to his great ſurpriſe, felt it withered in an inſtant. Upon his ſubmiſſion, however, he had it reſtored again, and invited the prophet to his houſe, intending to have rewarded him for the cure, but he, having been expreſly forbidden to ſtay in Bethel, even to drink a cup of water, refuſed his offer and went his way. He was, nevertheleſs, unadviſedly brought back by another prophet, who pretended a new command from God; but whilſt he was refreſhing himſelf at his houſe, he was told by him, that his diſobedience would be puniſhed by a ſpeedy and extraordinary death, which happened accordingly ſoon after; for, as he was returning into the land of Judah, he was killed by a lyon, which did afterwards lie quietly down by his carcaſs, without offering any further violence either to it, or the beaſt he rode upon.

Jeroboam was nothing moved at theſe extraordinary events, but continued debauching the people from the worſhip of God [o]. At length, his ſon Abijah being fallen into ſome dangerous diſeaſe, he took it into his head to ſend his wife in diſguiſe to Ahijah the prophet, who had foretold him that he ſhould be king over the ten tribes, to know whether he would recover. Ahijah, though blind with age, knew her at her firſt coming, and, having called her by her name, bid her go and tell her huſband, that ſince he had proved ſo ungrateful to God, and had filled Iſrael with idolatry, the death of the child would be the leaſt puniſhment that ſhould fall upon him, for that his poſterity ſhould be cut off, ſo that they which died in the city would become the food of dogs, and thoſe that died in the field ſhould be devoured by the crows, all which was verified by the ſequel accordingly. Notwithſtanding all theſe threatenings, Jeroboam perſiſted ſtill in his idolatry, and gave thereby no ſmall advantage to the king of Judah [p].

WHILST

[o] 1 Kings xiii. p. tot. [p] Ibid. xiv. 1. ad 21.

archs, and conſecrated in a peculiar manner by Jacob, after he had ſeen the glorious viſion we read of in Geneſis (63); and Dan was become famous, or rather infamous, for the idol which had been brought thither from Micah's houſe, and for the concourſe of people that went afterwards to ſacrifice to it (64).

(63) Ch. xxviii. 12. & ſeq. vid. & Ch. xxxv. 1. & ſeq. (64) Judg. xviii. paſſ.

WHILST Jeroboam was ſtrengthening himſelf in Shechem, Rehoboam was doing the ſame at Jeruſalem; he built and fortied a conſiderable number of places in Judah and Benjamin, put gariſons in them, and ſtored them with arms and ammunition. At the ſame time, the tribe of Levi, which was diſperſed over Iſrael, being diſpleaſed with Jeroboam, came flocking to Jeruſalem from their reſpective cities, beſides a vaſt number out of the other tribes, who abhorred his calves and idolatries, and came thither to ſerve God according to the law of Moſes; ſo that he ſaw his ſubjects in a little time as numerous as thoſe of his revolted rival [q]. But that weak prince had ſcarce continued three years in the true ſervice of God, before he fell into the vileſt idolatries, and even outdid the revolted Iſraelites in them; inſomuch, that his memory is branded for having ſuffered the people to ſet up groves, and to provide them with men and women, fit for the moſt abominable and unnatural practices [r]. For theſe God ſtirred up a potent adverſary againſt them, Shiſhak king of Egypt, who came and took many of their fenced cities, and drove the wealthieſt of Judah into the metropolis for ſhelter. Here the prophet Shemaiah took occaſion to upbraid them with their wickedneſs, which had brought this diſtreſs upon them; he threatened the ruin of the city; and his ſpeech had ſo good an effect upon them, that they humbled themſelves before God, and, by acknowledging the juſtice of this puniſhment, avoided the ſeverity of it [s]. Shiſhak contented himſelf with ſtripping the temple and palaces of all their golden ſhields and veſſels, and left them to ſubſtitute in their room others of a baſer metal. This happened in the fifth year of Rehoboam, after which he reigned 12 years longer peaceably, except a few ſkirmiſhes with the king of Iſrael, and died in the 18th year of his reign. He had 18 wives and 60 concubines, and by them 28 ſons and 60 daughters; but of all his wives, he loved Maacah, the daughter, or rather grand-daughter, of Abiſhalom [t], by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom he preferred to all his other ſons to ſucceed him, for which end he had him brought up under him, whilſt he diſpoſed of all his children in other cities of his kingdom, to be educated under proper tutors, in a manner ſuitable to their rank

Rehoboam's death.

[q] 2 Chron. xi. 5, & ſeq. [r] 1 Kings xiv. 23, 24. [s] See 2 Chron. xii. paſs. [t] Comp. Ch. xiii. 2. & 1 Kings xv. 2.

rank [u]. His hiſtory was written by the prophets Iddo and Shemaiah [x].

Abijah's reign.

JEROBOAM had reigned eighteen years in Iſrael, when Abijam, or Abijah, as he is called in the book of Chronicles, came to the crown. He immediately put 400,000 men in arms, and went and incamped with them upon mount Zemaraim, upon the borders of Ephraim, where Jeroboam met him with an army of double that number. The two kings being within hearing of each other, Abijam began with upbraiding his competitor with his baſe extraction and baſer actions; in that, from being a ſervant to Solomon, he had taken the advantage of Rehoboam's weakneſs, to deprive him of the largeſt ſhare of his kingdom, and had endeavoured to ſecure it by debauching the people from the worſhip of God, to the moſt abominable idolatries; he concluded with telling him, that he could expect nothing, but ruin and deſtruction, as a juſt puniſhment for his rebellion to his God, and to his prince, who came againſt him with an army of men, which had faithfully adhered to the ſervice of both. Jeroboam was too hardened a politician to ſuffer himſelf, or his men, to be intimidated by ſuch reproaches, and whilſt he ſeemed to give him the hearing, he had cunningly ordered a body of men to file round the hill, and to ſurpriſe him in the rear, whilſt he attacked him in front; and this was ſo punctually executed, that the king of Judah ſaw himſelf ſurrounded by the enemy before he was aware of it. This ſurpriſe cauſed an univerſal outcry in his army, and would in all likelihood, have injected an univerſal pannic, had not providence declared on their ſide, ſo that they gained a complete victory over the Iſraelitiſh army, of which there fell 500,000 on the ſpot. Abijah purſued his victory, and retook ſeveral conſiderable places from them, particularly that of Bethel, and weakened Jeroboam ſo much, that he never could recover his ſtrength again, during the ſhort time of his reign, which laſted but three years in all. Abijah left 14 wives and 22 ſons, and was ſucceeded by Aſa; his hiſtory was written by the prophet Iddo [y]. All that is further recorded of him is, that he followed the ſinful ways of his father, inſtead of ſerving God with the ſame ſincerity that David had done [z]. About two years after Jeroboam

Year of the Flood, 2041. Year before Chriſt, 958.

Defeats Jeroboam's army.

[u] 2 Chron. xi. 18. ad fin. [x] Ibid. Ch. xii. 15. [y] 2 Chron. xiii. paſſ. [z] 1 Kings xv. 3.

Jeroboam alſo died (A), after having reigned in Iſrael 22 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Nadab [a].

Asa ſucceeded Abijam in the twentieth year of Joro- Aſa's reign, boam. He was a religious prince, and as the ten firſt years of his reign were bleſſed with peace, he ſpent a great part of that time in purging his kingdom from the heatheniſh abominations, which his predeceſſors had introduced in it. So ſincere was his zeal in that good work, and piety. that he ſpared not his own mother, but depoſed her from the regal dignity which ſhe had abuſed, by patronizing idolatry, and erecting a grove for the worſhip of ſome idol; both which he cauſed to be deſtroyed, with all the other monuments of irreligion, except the high places, which he endeavoured in vain to divert the people from. He alſo put his whole kingdom in a good poſture of defence, by fortifying ſeveral important places, and entertaining an army of 580,000 men, 300,000 of which were of the tribe of Judah, famous for handling the target and ſpear; the reſt, which were moſt of Benjamin, are likewiſe celebrated for their uncommon dexterity in the uſe of the ſhield and bow [b]. His riches increaſing with his might, he likewiſe adorned the temple with a quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels, in the room of thoſe which the king of Egypt had carried away. In the ſecond year of his reign, Nadab ſucceeded Jeroboam in Iſrael; but nothing happened remarkable during his two years reign, except his cleaving to the ſins of his father, and his being killed at the ſiege of Gibbethon, a fortreſs belonging to the Philiſtines, by Baaſha, a man of the tribe of Iſſachar, who, having ſeized upon the kingdom, deſtroyed the whole race of Jeroboam, according to the prophet's word [c].

At length, Aſa ſaw his kingdom attacked by an ar- His victory my of 1,000,000 Cuſhites, beſides chariots, with Zerah over the Cuſhites. the

[a] Ibid. ver. 25. [b] Comp. 1 Kings xv. 9, & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xiv. 1, ad 9. [c] 1 Kings xv. 27, & ſeq.

(A) It is ſaid in the ſecond of the Chronicles (65), that the Lord ſtruck him with death; by which is meant, that he died ſome unnatural death; and, indeed his character is conſtantly loaded with infamy, for the idolatries which he introduced in Iſrael, which laſted till the diſſolution of that kingdom.

(65) Ch. xiii. 20.

the Ethiopian at their head (B). Aſa, who truſted more in his God, than in his own ſtrength, was nothing terrified at this numerous hoſt, but came againſt him with his army; and after a ſharp battle which was fought at Mareſhah, did totally rout the Ethiopians, and returned to Jeruſalem laden with their ſpoil. At his return he was met by a prophet, who encouraged him with freſh promiſes from God, that he ſhould ſtill prove ſucceſsful againſt his enemies, provided he continued firm in his zeal and obedience to God. Soon after his arrival at his metropolis, he ſacrificed a conſiderable portion of the ſpoil to the ſervice of God, and had the pleaſure to ſee multitudes flock to him from ſeveral of the revolted tribes, whom either his zeal or ſucceſs drew away from Baaſha, the new-made king of Iſrael.

Makes an alliance with Benhadad.

It was, probably, this continual defection, which cauſed a ſeries of ſkirmiſhes between the two kings, and obliged the latter to build the fortreſs of Ramah, to ſtop the communication between the two kingdoms, he was then leagued with the king of Syria, and Aſa, afraid of engaging two ſuch powerful enemies, found no better expedient, than to bribe Benhadad to break his alliance with him, and to cauſe ſome powerful diverſion in his kingdom. To this end, he ſent him all the gold that he could find, both in his own treaſury, and in that of the temple; which had ſuch an influence upon the Syrian king, that he took all the fenced cities of the tribe of Naphthali, and obliged Baaſha to deſiſt from his enterpiſe, to go and defend his territories [c]. As ſoon as he was departed from Ramah, Aſa iſſued out a proclamation, and ordered his ſubjects, none excepted, to tranſport all the materials of that fortreſs to Geba of Benjamin, and to Mizpeh in the tribe of Judah, and

[c] 1 Kings xv. 18, & ſeq. See before, vol. ii. p. 309.

(B) Archbiſhop Uſher (66) places this famous action in the firſt year of Aſa's reign: other chronologers about the fifteenth, more or leſs (67) of it. We have followed the author of the 2d book of Chronicles, which affirms, that there was peace during the firſt ten years (68); and that Aſa offered great ſacrifices at Jeruſalem in the fifteenth year of his reign, as a thankſgiving for his late victory (69).

(66) Ann. ſub. A. M. 3063. (67) Vid. & S. J. Newt. Chronol. p. 99. Calmet. & al. (68) Ch. xiv. 1. (69) Ibid. ver. 10. & ſeq.

and to fortify thoſe two places with them. In the mean time, the prophet Hanani took the liberty to come and reprove Aſa for his weakneſs, in ſeeking help from Benhadad, when he had been ſo lately victorious over the Ethiopian hoſt; but the king, who was by this time grown impatient, by reaſon of a diſtemper in his feet, probably the gout, was ſo exaſperated at his boldneſs, that he caſt him into priſon. He was likewiſe guilty of ſome cruelties towards other perſons, upon what pretence the text doth not ſay, but it is likely, that his diſeaſe had inclined him to it, becauſe it is obſerved to have leſſened his confidence in God, and to have ſent him to the phyſicians for help [f]. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoſhaphat (C).

His diſeaſe; and death. Year of the Flood, 2085. Year before Chriſt, 914.

BAASHA all this while continued in the idolatries of Jeroboam, and in conſtant war with the king of Judah; when Jehu, the ſon of Hanani, came from the Lord to tell him, that ſince he had imitated his predeceſſor in his ſins, he ſhould likewiſe ſhare in his puniſhment, and be cut off with his poſterity. Baaſha died ſoon after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Elah, who aſcended the throne in the 26th year of Aſa's reign; he had ſcarce reigned two years before he felt the effects of Jehu's prediction; he was then at the ſiege of Gibbethon, where Zimri, who commanded over his chariots, ſlew him, and ſeized upon his kingdom. Zimri's reign laſted but ſeven days, Omri, another general officer, being choſen king by the army: yet found he time enough, in that ſhort ſpace, to deſtroy the whole race of Baaſha, even to his fartheſt relations. Omri left Gibbethon, and came to beſiege him in Tirzah; but before he could enter that city, Zimri went into the royal palace and ſet it on fire, and burnt himſelf in it [g]; however,

Elah, king of Iſrael, murdered by Zimri.

[f] 2 Chron. xvi. 12. & ſeq. [g] 1 Kings xvi. 1. & ſeq. ad 18.

(C) The book of Kings doth barely ſay, that he was buried with his anceſtors *; but that of the Chronicles (70) adds, that he was embalmed, and laid upon a ſtately bed, covered with ſpices and odoriferous drugs; and that they made a great burning for him; from which ſome have concluded, that the cuſtom of burning the bodies of princes began from Aſa, and that they depoſited the bones and aſhes in their ſepulchres. We have endeavoured to confute this notion, and to reconcile the ſeeming contradiction of theſe two accounts in a former note, to which we refer the reader †.

* 1 Kings xv. 24. (70) 2 Chr. xvi. ult. † Vid. vol. iii. ch. vii. ſect. iv. of the Cuſtoms Learning, &c. of the Jews, not. V.

however, he reigned long enough to shew himself unworthy of the kingdom, by his propensity to Jeroboam's idolatry.

Omri had another competitor, Tibni, the son of Ginath, whom one part of the people had elected king; but the party of Omri, being much the stronger, soon persuaded the rest to join with them; so Tibni was killed, and Omri reigned unrivalled. This happened in the 31st year of Asa's reign.

DURING the first six years of his reign, Tirzah being then the royal palace of residence, Omri bought the hill of Someron, or Samaria, of one Shemer for two talents of silver, and built the city of that name upon it, which he made afterwards the metropolis of his kingdom. We have nothing more recorded of him, except that he reigned another six years in Samaria, in all the sinful ways of his predecessors, and was succeeded by his son, who proved still more wicked than any of them [h].

Ahab king of Israel.

Year of the Flood, 2081. Year before Christ, 918.

Ahab began his reign in the 38th year of Asa's; his unlawful marriage with Jezebel, the daughter of Eth-Baal, king of Zidon, proved a constant source of idolatries and wicked deeds in him, and of plagues and misfortunes to his kingdom. His complaisance for her, made him suffer her to introduce the worship of the Zidonian deities, which consisted in human sacrifices, and in the most abominable ceremonies *. These were at first introduced into his court, for which a sumptuous temple, an altar, and grove had been built to Baal in Samaria; but as his weakness suffered him to assist at those hellish ceremonies, his example soon spread the infection through his whole kingdom. However, the prophet Elijah was sent to him very early, to deter him from his wicked courses, by assuring him, that God would shortly punish the land with a grievous famine, during which there should be neither dew nor rain to refresh the earth, until he obtained it again by his prayers; after which he went and concealed himself, during the space of three years (D) [i].

WHILST

[h] Ibid. ver. 21, & seq. * See before, Vol. ii. p. 351. & alib. [i] 1 Kings xvi. 29, ad fin.

(D) There are many particulars, relating to this extraordinary prophet, which have no proper connection with the history of the kings, and yet are too remarkable to be omitted; for which reason we chuse to give them in a note in their order of time.

As

Jehoſhaphat King of Judah.

WHILST Ahab and his idolatrous queen were propagating their impieties in Iſrael, and murdering all thoſe, whether prophets or others, who dared oppoſe them, Jehoſhaphat, who ſucceeded Aſa about the latter end of the fourth year of Ahab's reign, was deſtroying idolatry, and promoting the pure worſhip of God in his own kingdom, with ſuch zeal and application, that it drew upon him and his people the greateſt proſperity and ſucceſs. He was thirty-five years old when he began his reign, and the firſt thing that he ſet about was the pulling down of all the monu- His piety, ments of idolatry, and ſodomitical groves, which his father had not been able to aboliſh; and, in the third year of his reign, he ſent ſome of the chief officers of his court, with a competent number of prieſts and levites, with copies of the Pentateuch, to inſtruct the people throughout his kingdom. At the ſame time, he fortified all the conſiderable and ſucceſs. places of the land, and put gariſons in them, as well as in thoſe which his father had taken from the kings of Iſrael. Beſides theſe, he had the moſt numerous army of any of his

As ſoon then as he had foretold the famine, he was forced to fly from the fury of Jezebel, and retired into ſome cavern upon the border of Cherith, a brook which falleth into the Jordan, where he drank of the water of it, and was furniſhed twice a-day with bread and fleſh by the ravens. He ſtayed not long there, becauſe the exceſſive drought had dried up the brook, but went to Zarephath, a city of Zidon, which laboured alſo with the famine. There he met with a poor widow gathering a few ſticks without the walls of the place, having but ſo much flour and oil left as would make one cake, which ſhe deſigned for her ſon and herſelf, without knowing how to procure more when that was ſpent. The prophet, tired with his journey, aſked her for a mouthful of bread, and a little water to drink; and ſhe having acquainted him with her condition, he bid her not fear, but bring him what he deſired, aſſuring her, that as long as the dearth laſted, her barrel and cruiſe ſhould not ceaſe furniſhing her with meal and oil enough to ſupport them. The thing happened according to his prediction, and he continued with her, till he was commanded to return to Samaria. During his abode with this hoſpitable widow, her only ſon chanced to die; and ſhe, in the height of her grief, could not forbear accuſing the prophet, as the cauſe of her misfortune. Upon which Elijah took the child from her, and carried him up to his bed, and having ſtretched himſelf upon him, and prayed to God on his behalf, he reſtored him alive to her again (71).

(71) 1 Kings xvii. p. tot.

his predeceſſors, it conſiſting of above 1,100,000 fighting men (E). Upon all theſe accounts he was ſo proſperous and powerful, that none of his enemies dared moleſt him; the Philiſtines and Arabians were tributaries to him; and his allies were ſtill increaſing his wealth by their preſents [k].

THUS it fared with that religious prince and his ſubjects, whilſt war and famine were the reward of Ahab's impiety in the kingdom of Iſrael.

Elijah's meeting with Obadiah.

HOWEVER, at the end of a three years famine, Elijah came and ſhewed himſelf to Obadiah, governor of Ahab's houſe, as he was going in ſearch of ſome freſh ſprings of water, to ſave that little cattle they had left, whilſt the king himſelf went another way upon the ſame errand. Obadiah was a pious man, and had ſhewed an uncommon zeal for the god of Iſrael, by ſaving 100 of his prophets from Jezebel's fury, and ſupporting them with food in their concealment, during the whole time of the famine. As ſoon, therefore, as he ſaw Elijah, he fell down at his feet, and gave him a reſpectful welcome; but when the prophet bid him go after the king, and acquaint him with his arrival, he modeſtly excuſed himſelf from ſo dangerous a meſſage, being afraid, leſt, if the ſpirit ſhould catch him away, inſtead of appearing before the king, his life ſhould anſwer for the diſappointment; for, added he, there is ſcarce a nation or kingdom, from which Ahab has not exacted an oath, to bring you back to Samaria, where-ever you were found. At length upon the prophet's promiſing that he would ſhew himſelf to the king, Obadiah went and ſtopt his farther ſearch, by acquainting him with Elijah's return, and his promiſe of a ſpeedy rain. Elijah accordingly appeared, and the firſt greeting between Ahab and him

and Ahab.

[k] 2 Chr. xvii. paſſ.

(E) We have had elſewhere occaſion to ſpeak of this prodigious number of ſoldiers *, and to ſhew, that they were not kept like our ſtanding armies in conſtant pay and duty, but that their names were ſet down in the king's muſter-rolls, in order to be ſummoned to arms, whenever occaſion required it; which, conſidering the ſmall compaſs of the land, might be done with great eaſe, and in a very little ſpace; after which they returned to their families, and followed their uſual occupations. We may alſo ſuppoſe, that the gariſons might be relieved in the ſame manner every three months, more or leſs, that every one might have time to mind his private affairs between thoſe intervals.

* Sup. Vol. iii. Ch. vii. Sect. 4. of the cuſtoms, learning, &c of the Jews & alib.

him was ſuch, as might be reaſonably expected between a wicked haughty monarch and a perſon of that prophet's character. After ſome mutual invectives on both ſides, Elijah deſired, that all Iſrael might be gathered at mount Carmel, with all the prieſts of Baal whom Jezebel maintained; which being done accordingly, he reproved the people for halting between two opinions, and dividing their ſervice between God and Baal. "You ſee, ſaid he, that "I am the only prophet of the lord that is left, and thoſe "of Baal are 450; let them offer up a bullock to Baal, "and I will offer another to the God of Iſrael; and let "the deity, whoſe ſacrifice is conſumed by a preternatural "fire, be henceforth the only object of your worſhip." As ſoon as the people had expreſſed their aſſent to his propoſal, the prieſts of Baal were ordered to begin. They hewed their bullock in pieces, and laid it upon the wood of the altar, and called upon Baal from morning till noon; and not finding the leaſt ſymptom of anſwer, they began, according to their cuſtom, to cut themſelves with knives, till the blood ran down upon the ground *. All this while Elijah plied them with the moſt biting ſarcaſms, bidding them to cry louder, for Baal, no doubt, was a great God, and would hear them, unleſs he were either aſleep, or more advantageouſly taken up. At length, when it was come about the time of offering the evening ſacrifice, he reared up an altar of twelve ſtones, according to the Moſaic law, and laid the wood and victim upon it; and, having cauſed a deep trench to be digged round it, he ordered them to pour water upon the altar once and again, till the trench was overflowed. He then called upon God with a loud voice, begging of him, that he would ſhew himſelf to the whole people, to be the only God in all the world; upon which a fire fell down from heaven, which conſumed the victim, wood, and altar, and dried up all the water in the trenches; at ſight of which, the people fell upon their faces, and cried out, *The Lord is the only God.* The prophet then, addreſſing himſelf to the people, told them, that if they were really perſuaded of it, they ought to ſeize on thoſe falſe prophets, pointing to the prieſts of Baal, who had ſeduced them from his worſhip to ſerve that filthy deity, and take them to the brook Kiſhon, and put every one of them to death there. The people readily obeyed the motion; and Ahab, whether the late miracle made him ap-

Elijah's zeal againſt Baal.

* See before, Vol. ii. p. 351.

prove their zeal, or whether he thought it dangerous to obſtruct it, ſuffered them to be hurried away to death. Elijah then adviſed the king to make what ſpeed he could to Jezreel, to avoid being caught by the rain, which would ſhortly come down in great plenty, as it did accordingly. As ſoon as Ahab had reached his palace, he acquainted his queen with what had happened at Carmel, and what ſhameful check her favourite deity had received there, in the ſight of all Iſrael. One would expect, that the long-wiſh'd-for rain, obtained by the prophet's prayer, might have comforted her for that misfortune, and have inſpired her with an uncommon reſpect for his perſon; but it happened quite otherwiſe, and the death of ſo many of her prophets threw her into ſuch a rage, that ſhe vowed to ſend the author of it after them by the next day. And Elijah was forced a ſecond time to fly for his life (F) [1].

[1] 1 Kings xviii. paſſ. xix. 1, 2, 3.

(F) The prophet ſeems, at this time, to have been under ſuch apprehenſions, that he could not ſtay till providence directed him what courſe to take, as he had done in his laſt flight. He ſtopped not till he came to Beerſhebah, a city in the land of Judah, and near 150 miles from Samaria, where having diſmiſſed his ſervant, he continued his march one whole day towards the wilderneſs of Petrea. At length, being quite ſpent with the journey, and tired with life, he laid himſelf down under a juniper-tree, and, after ſome bitter complaints, fell aſleep. He was ſoon after awaked by an angel, who bid him refreſh himſelf with ſome food, and when he looked about he found a cake of bread and ſome water, and did eat and drink, and fell aſleep again. The angel awoke him again, and bid him eat once more, before he went on his journey, which he told him would be a long one; and ſo it proved indeed, for he went, upon the ſtrength of it, forty days, till he came to mount Horeb, where he found a convenient cave to lodge in. Here the word of the Lord came to him, and aſked him what he did there, and he anſwered, that he was the only prophet of the Lord, whom the idolatrous Iſraelites had not ſlain, after they had broken his covenant and deſtroyed his altars; and that, becauſe he had been zealous enough to reprove them for it, they ſought his life alſo. The voice commanded him then to ſtand upon the mount where he ſhould hear the Lord paſs by him; that he ſhould hear a ſtrong wind capable of rending the rocks aſunder, and afterward an earthquake, and then a flame; but that the Lord would not manifeſt himſelf in any of theſe, but in a ſmall and ſtill voice. Accordingly, when Elijah heard the voice he wrapped his face in his mantle, and the Lord commanded him to go back, by the wa

By that time Ahab had reigned 18 years, Benhadad, king of Syria, came at the head of 32 petty kings, and a numerous army, and laid ſiege to Samaria; where, notwithſtanding his great forces, and the arrogance with which he threatened both king and city, he was beat by a handful of men, who ſallied out upon him at mid-day, with Ahab at their head; and forced to fly with a prodigious loſs. He endeavoured, on the following year, to retrieve his credit, and was defeated again by the Iſraelites with a terrible ſlaughter, and himſelf in danger of being taken priſoner in the city of Apheck; but, upon his ſending from thence a ſubmiſſive meſſage, Ahab received him with an amazing generoſity into his chariot, and brought him to his pavilion, where they made an alliance together; after which, he generouſly diſmiſſed him without any further ranſom. The particulars of theſe two famous actions the reader will find in the hiſtory of Syria †. As ſoon as Benhadad was departed, one of the ſons of the prophets preſented himſelf before Ahab, with his face all beſmeared with blood and dirt, and complained, that, during the action, a Syrian priſoner had been committed to his cuſtody, with a ſtrict charge not to let him eſcape, under pain of death; but that, whilſt he buſied himſelf about one thing or other, the priſoner was fled, and himſelf now in danger of being puniſhed for his neglect. Ahab, who believed the fact to be really

Ahab's victory and generoſity.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 309. & ſeq.

way of the wilderneſs, or by the deſart paths, to Damaſcus, and there anoint Hazael to be king of Syria, Jehu to be king of Iſrael, and Eliſha to be prophet in his room; telling him, that thoſe three ſhould not ſheath their ſwords, till Ahab's impious race and his idolatrous ſubjects were utterly cut off by one or other of them; all which happened accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

In his return he paſſed by the grounds of Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat, where he and his ſervants were ploughing, and caſt his mantle upon him. Eliſha, ready to follow him, begged leave to entertain him at a feaſt, whilſt he took his leave of his friends, but it doth not appear, that he ſtayed to partake of it, and indeed the place was too near Samaria and Jezreel, and it was dangerous for him to ſtay there; however, he went after him as ſoon as they had made an end of eating. Neither doth it appear from the text, that Elijah went to anoint either Hazael or Jehu; it is moſt likely, that that ceremony was not performed till after his tranſlation, as will appear by the ſequel.

really as he told it, made no scruple to pronounce him guilty of death; but the prophet, wiping his face, and discovering himself to the king, soon let him know, that he had passed his sentence against himself, and that since he had let so powerful an enemy of Israel go free, when God had delivered him into his hand, his life should pay for that of his prisoner. Ahab was struck with such surprize at the boldness of the stratagem, that he went away to Samaria full of grief and indignation (G) [m]; nevertheless, he kept his word with the king of Syria, till his detaining of Ramoth-Gilead, a city which belonged to Israel, contrary to his promise, obliged him to invade his territories about three years after [n].

Naboth murdered.

In the mean time, Ahab suffered himself to be seduced by Jezebel to an inhuman deed, which proved fatal to him and to his whole family. Naboth, an inhabitant of Jezreel, had a vineyard contiguous to the palace, which Ahab offered to buy, or barter for another piece of ground, intending to make an herb-garden of it for his house; but, as it was reckoned scandalous to sell an inheritance, Naboth was uncourteous enough to refuse the offer, to the great mortification of the proud king. Jezebel was acquainted with it, and being resolved at once to procure the vineyard, and to punish Naboth for his refusal, she sent a letter to the elders of Jezreel, sealed with the king's signet, commanding them to proclaim a fast, and to hire some loose fellows to swear treason and blasphemy against him, and then to stone him to death for it. The Jezreelites, not daring to disobey her orders, sent her word soon after of Naboth's death, and she acquainted Ahab with it; but whilst he was taking possession of the ground, the prophet Elijah

[m] 1 Kings xx. pass.

[n] See Usher's Ann. sub A. M. 3104.

(G) Josephus (73) calls this prophet Micaiah, and adds, that the king caused him to be put into prison for his boldness, which is not unlikely, because when Ahab was afterwards going against Ramoth-Gilead, and had sent for him at Jehoshaphat's request Ahab expressed a particular aversion against him, because he was ever prophesying evil against him, and when he had foretold his overthrow at Ramoth, he condemned him to the same punishment (74).

(73) Ant. l. 8. c. 8.

(74) 1 King. xxii. pass.

Elijah came to him from God, foretold the deſtruction, that his murder would bring upon him, upon Jezebel, and upon all his whole houſe; that the dogs ſhould lick his blood, where they licked that of Naboth, that Jezebel ſhould be devoured by dogs, and all his poſterity utterly cut off. This dreadful ſentence from ſo conſiderable a prophet, did ſo alarm the king, that he rent his cloaths, returned home, filled with the deepeſt grief, and, by a timely repentance, obtained a gracious reſpite; ſo that the calamities, that were to fall upon his houſe, did not happen till after his death [o]. It is probably about this time, that he is ſuppoſed to have made his ſon Ahaziah copartner of his crown, or perhaps only his viceroy (H), whilſt he humbled himſelf in ſackcloth and aſhes, to avoid the impending judgment of God [P]; but this change was but ſhort lived, and he ſoon returned to his former impieties.

ALL this while, Jehoſhaphat had enjoyed a profound peace, and ſpent his time, partly in ſtrengthening his kingdom, promoting his naval trade, and making all the proper regulations for the utter aboliſhing of idolatry, and promoting the worſhip of God. He is blamed only for two things, his not totally demoliſhing of the high places, and his making of alliances and affinity with Ahab (I). It was

[o] 1 Kings xxi. paſſ. [P] Vid. ibid. ver. 17, & ſeq.

(H) At leaſt this is the only expedient by which chronologiſts can reconcile the anachroniſms, which one meets with between the books of Kings and Chronicles, the one beginning their reign from the death of their fathers, and the other from the time of their being raiſed to a partnerſhip with them. The reader may ſee an inſtance of it in archbiſhop Uſher's annals (75), both in Ahab above-mentioned, and in his contemporary Jehoſhaphat, who raiſed alſo his ſon Jehoram to be his viceroy, or partner. It may be further obſerved, that this method became very expedient, if not abſolutely neceſſary, in dangerous wars, in which the kings uſed to lead their own armies, and often loſt their lives, to appoint their ſucceſſors, and to leave them vicegerents of the kingdom during their abſence, upon which account, this wholeſome cuſtom prevailed alſo among many other eaſtern nations.

(I) This affinity was in ſuffering his ſon Jehoram to marry Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, a moſt wicked princeſs, who proved the author of great miſchiefs in Judah (76), and by whom he had a ſon named Ahaziah, who afterwards ſucceeded his father, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

(75) Sub. A. M. 3106. (76) 2 Chron. xxi. 6. & ſeq.

in consequence of this last, that he came down to Samaria to pay a visit to him, having left the care of his kingdom to his son Jehoram. By this time, Ahab had resolved upon retaking Ramoth-Gilead from the Syrians: he took therefore that opportunity of asking his royal guest to assist him in the enterprize, to which he readily consented, but desired first of all, that God might be consulted, concerning the success of that expedition. Ahab immediately gathered 400 of his prophets to the gate of Samaria, where the king of Judah and he sat, each on a stately throne, and, upon his asking of the question, they one and all promised him, that he would come off victorious. Some of them pretended likewise to foretel his success, by some antick and awkward representations and gestures; but with such seeming eagerness and assurance, as rendered them suspected to Jehoshaphat, who therefore begged, that if there were any other prophet of the Lord, he might be sent for and consulted. There was indeed such a one as he desired, Micaiah the son of Imlah, but his strenuous veracity had made him odious to the king; however, he was obliged in complaisance to Jehoshaphat to send for him, and he, being before acquainted with the flattering promises of the false prophets, by the officer who brought him, did likewise answer, in a jocose tone, that the expedition could not fail of success; but the king, observing that he did not speak seriously, adjured him to tell the truth in the name of God; upon which, Micaiah told him, that he would certainly lose the day, with his life, that his army would be defeated, and that God had suffered his prophets to be possest with a lying spirit, that he might go and meet his death where he expected a victory. The king, however, was so far from being deterred by his speech, from his favourite enterprise, that he caused the prophet to be kept in a dungeon with bread and water, until he returned victorious, and went resolutely upon his own ruin; and Jehoshaphat, being too easily persuaded to accompany him, did narrowly escape sharing in the same fate: we have seen the ill success of this expedition in a former chapter *. Ahab, wounded by a random shot, died in the evening, and, as soon as his death was known, his generals caused a retreat to be sounded through his army, and both sides withdrew before night. The king's corpse was brought to Samaria, and buried in the royal sepulchre, and his bloody armour, chariot, and harness, were brought to a pool in that place to

Ahab's expedition against Ramoth.

His ill success and death.

* See before, vol. ii. p. 314.

to be waſhed, where the dogs coming to lick his blood verified Elijah's prophecy againſt him [q].

JEHOSHAPHAT, on the other hand, having thus happily eſcaped, returned to Jeruſalem, and in the way was met by the prophet Jehu, who reproved him, in the ſevereſt terms, for entering into a confederacy with the impious king of Iſrael, and told him, that if God had not had a greater regard for that zeal which he had expreſt for his ſervice, than to this laſt and unworthy action, he had certainly have ſuffered him to fall with his idolatrous ally. The king, become ſenſible of his error by this reproof, and by his late danger, endeavoured to retrieve it by a more aſſiduous application to every thing that related, either to religion, or the good of his kingdom. To do this the more effectually, he took a progreſs through a great part of it, diligently examined how the prieſts inſtructed the people, the judges and magiſtrates adminiſtered juſtice, and every where exhorted them to their duty, with a zeal worthy ſo good a prince [r]. Year of the Flood, 2102. Year before Chriſt, 897.

IN the mean time, Ahaziah, who had ſucceeded his father Ahab, both in his kingdom and idolatry, happened to fall through a grate of his dining-room, about the ſecond year of his reign, and was ſo hurt by the fall, that his life was deſpaired of. In this extremity he ſent meſſengers to conſult Beelzebub, the deity of Ekron, about his recovery; but theſe were met by Elijah, who ſent them back with this mournful meſſage to their maſter; that, ſince he had ſent to the god of Ekron, as if there had been none in Iſrael worth conſulting, he ſhould never ſtir more from his bed, till he was carried to his grave. At their return, they acquainted the king, who was ſurpriſed at the ſuddenneſs of it, that they had met a prophet, who ſent them back with the ſentence of death from the Lord; and upon their deſcribing him, that he was a hairy man, girt with a leathern girdle, he knew him to be Elijah, and died ſoon after, according to his prophecy [s] (K). During his

[q] 1 Kings ult. paſſ. [r] 2 Chron. xix. p. tot. [s] 2 Kings i. paſſ.

(K) The text adds, that Ahaziah ſent three Officers, one after another, each at the head of fifty men, to fetch the prophet to him by main force, and that the two firſt companies were devoured by fire from heaven, but the laſt, addreſſing himſelf to him,

short reign, the Moabites, who had been tributaries to Israel, ever since Jeroboam's defection, rebelled against him; wherefore, when his brother Jehoram came to the crown, he sent to beg Jehoshaphat's assistance who made no scruple, upon such an occasion, to go in person to help to reduce them. It was well for Jehoram, that he had so good a prince with him, for when their army was ready to perish with thirst, Elisha, at his request, obtained a miraculous supply of water, which did at once refresh the confederate army, and, by the redness which it did cast at sun-rising towards the Moabitish host, did so scare them, that Israel gained a complete victory over them, as we have seen elsewhere †.

Judah invaded.

At length, towards the latter end of his reign, Jehoshaphat saw his kingdom invaded by the Ammonites and Moabites, with a mixed multitude of other nations, and with him in an humbler manner than the two former, not only escaped their fate, but prevailed upon him to go to the king, where he only confirmed his first message, and went his way.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 112.

Soon after this, that extraordinary prophet was translated into heaven in a fiery chariot, and left a double portion of his spirit with Elisha, who from that time became as famous in Israel, for his zeal and miracles, as his master had been (77), as we shall see in the sequel of this history. As soon as he had lost sight of his master, he took his cloak, which was fallen from him as he was taken up, and with it divided and repassed the Jordan. Here he was met by a company of prophets, who, perceiving that the spirit of Elijah rested upon him, prostrated themselves before him, and having observed to him the pleasant situation of Jericho, whose soil, however, was unhappily barren, through the brackishness of its water; he went with them to the fountain-head, and flung a pitcher full of salt into it, from which time it always yielded sweet water, and the land became fruitful.

Elisha went from thence to Bethel, and, in his way, was met by a parcel of idle boys coming out of that place, who cried to him in mockery, Come up thou bald man. These were, in all likelihood, the children of some of the worshippers of Baal, who had been taught to shew an unusual disrespect for the prophets of God. This seems at least very probable, from the punishment which befel them; for the prophet had no sooner cursed them in the name of God, than 42 of them were torn in pieces by two she bears out of the wood (78).

(77) 2 Kings ii. pass. (78) Ibid. ver. 13, & seq.

with ſuch ſpeed, that they were already got as far as Hazazon-Tamar, or Engedi, that is within 36 miles of his capital, before he knew any thing of it. In this ſurpriſe he had recourſe to God, proclaimed a ſtrict and general faſt; and went at the head of the people, who were aſſembled at Jeruſalem upon that occaſion, to the temple, where having implored the divine aſſiſtance, in an humble and pathetic prayer, he was anſwered by the prophet Jahaziel, that God would ſpeedily deliver him from thoſe invaders in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that he ſhould have nothing to do but ſeize upon their ſpoil. Accordingly, on the next morning, the king went out againſt them with a ſmall army, whom he ſtill encouraged, as they went on, to rely wholly upon God; but they ſoon beheld that which did it more effectually, their enemies ſeized with a kind of pannic phrenſy, ſlaughtering one another with greater fury than themſelves could have done; till they were all cut off. The plunder they found among the ſlain being more than they could well carry, they only picked out the richeſt, which they were three days gathering *, and on the fourth, they halted at a convenient valley, to return thanks to heaven for their victory, and from that day the place was called Berachah, or Bleſſing (L). The army, in their return to Jeruſalem, marched at the ſound of muſical inſtruments, accompanied with canticles ſung by levites, after which Jehoſhaphat ended his days in peace [t]. Some time before his death, Ahaziah, who was then

Jehoſhaphat's miraculous ſucceſs.

* See before, vol. ii. p. 114. [t] 2 Chron. xx. 1, & ſeq. ad 30.

(L) This valley is ſuppoſed, by many Jews and Chriſtians, to be the ſame which is mentioned by the prophet Joel (79), and that it will be the ſcene of the univerſal judgment (80). Others think, that the valley of Jehoſhaphat, there mentioned, is between Jeruſalem and the Mount of Olives (81), or in the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem (82); but we can ſee nothing in that paſſage that refers either to the laſt judgment, or to this Valley of Bleſſing, and it is moſt likely, that, by the valley of Jehoſhaphat, the prophet meant no more, than the literal ſenſe of the word imports, Jehoſhaphat ſignifying the judgment of God, which may be applied to any place where God doth inflict his judgments upon offenders of any kind.

(79) Ch. iii. 2 & 12. (80) Vid. Aben-ezr. Kimchi. & Munſt. in loc. (81) Beda de locis & al. in loc. (82) Cyril. Alex. in loc. & al.

then king of Israel, and as impious as his father Ahab, obtained his consent, to send some ships of his own to Tarshish along with his fleet; for which Jehoshaphat was severely rebuked by the prophet Eliezer, who foretold him, at the same time, the loss of that fleet, which happened accordingly; for which reason he never would let any of the ships of Israel mix with his own [u]. He died in the 60th year of his age, after he had reigned 25 years, and was succeeded by his son Jehoram. His history is said to have been written by the prophet Jehu [w], which book seems to have been lost, with many others, at the captivity.

His death.

Judah and Israel immersed in idolatry.

Jehoram, who, as we observed before, had born a share in the government of Judah towards the latter end of his father's reign, did no sooner see himself alone upon the throne, than he began to undo all that his pious father had done, and to bring upon himself and his house all the curses that had been pronounced against that of his father-in-law. Judah and Israel seem now but one kingdom, and one scene of all manner of idolatry and wickedness: they are both governed by kings of the same name; Jehoram, king of Judah, is influenced by his wife Athaliah, the impious daughter of Ahab, and Jehoram, king of Israel, by his mother Jezebel; this walks in all the abominations of his father, and that introduces them into his own kingdom, after they had been abolished by his two predecessors; both of them bringing down the heaviest judgments from heaven; the one, by forsaking the ways of his pious father, and the other, by continuing in those of his impious one; or what was still more surprising, whilst the king of Israel did endeavour so far to reform from him, as to destroy the Phœnician idols which Ahab had reared up, and contented himself with the idolatrous worship of the two golden calves [x], that of Judah was adopting those very deities in his kingdom, and even in Jerusalem [y]. Thus whilst the former forsook the God of Israel, and the other did but imperfectly return to him, both were involved in the same guilt, and in the same punishment; with this difference, however, that that of Israel is entirely cut off, with his whole posterity; whereas, in that of Judah, an infant

[u] Ibid. ver. 36, 37. Comp. with 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49.
[w] 2 Chron ub. sup. ver. 31, & 34.
[x] 2 Kings iii. 1, & seq.
[y] Ibid. viii. 17, & seq. & 2 Chron. xxi. 11.

infant is miraculouſly preſerved, to make good God's promiſe to the houſe of David.

JEHOSHAPHAT had left a numerous iſſue, and diſpoſed of all his ſons into ſeveral cities of Judah, under proper tutors, and with incomes ſuitable to their rank; but he was ſcarce cold in his grave, before his impious ſon ſignaliſed the beginning of his reign, with an univerſal maſſacre of them, and of all the nobles of his kingdom, who either dared to oppoſe, or diſlike, his cruelty [z]. After this, being wholly influenced by his impious queen, he gave himſelf up to idolatry, and ſet up the worſhip of Baal, both in his kingdom and metropolis, in imitation of his father-in-law. For theſe he was ſeverely reproved, by a letter ſent him by Elijah, a little before his aſſumption; wherein that prophet likewiſe foretold him, among many other evils, the almoſt total extirpation of his poſterity, and his own death, by an incurable diſeaſe in his bowels [a].

THE firſt token of the divine diſpleaſure, which he felt, was the revolt of the Edomites, who refuſed to pay him the uſual tribute. Jehoram went out againſt them, and beat them; but they ſoon recovered ſtrength enough to ſhake off the yoke, and to ſet up a king of their own over them, as we have ſeen elſewhere *; and in ſo doing they verified Iſaac's prophecy, that Eſau's poſterity ſhould, in time, ſhake off the yoke of Jacob [b]. At the ſame time, Libnah, belonging to the prieſts, in the tribe of Judah [c], and upon the frontiers of Idumea, revolted from Jehoram probably to Edom, though the text ſays not to whom [d]; but theſe were but the preludes of the judgments that were to fall upon him. His kingdom was preſently after invaded by the Philiſtines and Arabians, and theſe penetrated even to Jeruſalem, and carried off all the riches of that metropolis, together with Jehoram's wives and all his ſons, except only Jehoahaz, who was the youngeſt, and ſucceeded him after his death. Jehoram was ſoon after ſeized with an incurable diſeaſe in his belly, probably a bloody flux, which laſted two years, and weakened him to ſuch a degree, that his bowels came out, and he died with extremity of his pain. He was buried in a ſepulchre by himſelf, probably by reaſon of the corruption and ſtench which attended his diſeaſe, and without the uſual ceremony of burn-

Edom's final revolt from Iſrael.

Year of the Flood, 2110. Year before Chriſt, 889.

[z] Ibid. 1. & ſeq. [a] Ibid. ver. 12, & ſeq. * See before, vol. ii. p. 168. [b] Gen. xxvii. 40. [c] Joſh. xv. 42. 1 Chron. vi. 57. [d] 2 Kings viii. 22. 2 Chron. xxi. 10.

burning ſpices and other odoriferous drugs about his body, or any other royal pomp. He reigned eight years [e], four with his father Jehoſhaphat, and the other four by himſelf: his diſeaſe having made him incapable of governing his kingdom, obliged him to make his ſon Jehoahaz, otherwiſe called Ahaziah, viceroy, who ſucceeded him about a year after, and in the 12th of Jehoram king of Iſrael [f].

WHILST Judah was in this diſmal plight, Eliſha was working wonders for Iſrael. We have ſeen elſewhere, what a miraculous cure he wrought upon Naaman, a famous general of the king of Syria, and how he diſcovered all the ſecret deſigns of that prince to the king of Iſrael †, and by that means prevented the Syrians, for ſome time, from ſucceeding in their attempts againſt him. But at length Benhadad came up, not by ambuſhes and ſtratagems as formerly, but with a numerous hoſt, and beſieged Samaria ſo cloſe, that it began to labour under a very pinching famine; inſomuch, that an aſs's head was ſold for fourſcore pieces of ſilver, and a ſmall meaſure of pulſe (M) for five. How long this ſiege had laſted,

Samaria beſieged.

[e] Ibid. ver. 18, & ſeq. [f] Vid. Uſſer. Ann. ſub. A. M. 3115, & 3118. & 2 Kings viii. 25. † See before, vol. ii. p. 314, & ſeq.

(M) As moſt tranſlations have rendered the word חֲרִיוֹנִים Chirionim, by doves dung, they have given commentators a vaſt deal of trouble to find out ſuch uſe for it, as might anſwer this exceſſive price that was given for it, that a meaſure, which held but ſix eggs, ſhould ſell for above eleven ſhillings. It were endleſs to mention all their various conjectures (83), we have therefore followed the learned Bochart's verſion (84), who proves, that the word doth, among other things, ſignify a kind of peaſe, common in all thoſe countries, and which the Jews in particular uſed to parch over the fire for food (85), in the ſame manner as they did their corn.

As to what we read of further, that an aſs's head was ſold for upwards of nine pounds of our money, though it was an unclean creature, and forbidden by the law of Moſes, we muſt attribute the eating of it, at that time, to their extreme want of proviſion, which in all ſuch caſes may be allowed to diſpenſe with law.

(83) Vid. ſib. li. Le Scene. & Eſſ. on a new ver. pt. ii. Ch. 3. § 2. (84) Hieroz. tom. ii. l. 1. c. 7. § 7. (85) Vid. 2 Sam. xvii. 28. & Hieron. in loc.

ed, is not eaſy to gueſs, but what might increaſe this grievous famine was, that it had begun ſome years before in the land, inſomuch, that Eliſha, who timely foreſaw it, ſent his kind hoſteſs the Shunamite, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter, out of the kingdom, to ſeek for food where ſhe could get it, whilſt himſelf tarried in the college of the prophets, and now and then afforded them a miraculous ſupply of food [g], till the Syrian army forced him into the city. By this time the extremity, to which Samaria was reduced, ſeemed either to have obliterated all the former ſervices of that prophet to the king; or, more probably, to have rendered him ſuſpected of being ſince gained over to the Syrian intereſt, ſince he ſuffered the city to labour under theſe difficulties, without interpoſing his miraculous power, as he had done upon other occaſions. His ſuſpicion at length broke out with unuſual fury, upon the following dreadful occaſion: The king was taking a melancholy turn round the walls of the city when a woman came to him and begged for juſtice againſt another woman, whom ſhe had admitted to eat a ſhare of her boiled child, upon condition, that when they had made an end of him, her own ſhould be likewiſe dreſt to ſupply their common want, and who had now hid her own child, and refuſed to let her partake of it. Such a ſhocking ſtory, accompanied with all the tokens of deſpair, could not but fill the diſtreſſed monarch with the utmoſt horror: he rent his clothes, and his fleſh appeared covered with ſackcloth, and not knowing how to vent his grief otherwiſe, he ſwore, that Eliſha's head ſhould pay for the diſtreſs of the people; and ſent immediately an officer to take it off. Eliſha was aware of it, and was complaining of the king's cruelty to the elders of Iſrael, who were at his houſe juſt as the meſſenger of death was entering it. However, the prophet found means to get him ſtopped at the door, till the king himſelf appeared, and then, after he had repreſented to him the unreaſonableneſs of puniſhing an innocent perſon, for a calamity which was ſent from above [h] (N), he deſired him to have but patience till

A great famine in the land.

[g] Comp. 1 Kings iv. 38, & ſeq. with viii. 1, 2, & ſeq. [h] Ibid. vi. paſſ.

(N) The text is ſomewhat obſcure here; the words run literally thus (86), *and behold the meſſenger came down unto him, and he* [but

(86) Kings vi. ver. ult.

till next day, by which time there would be such a supply of provisions in Samaria, that a bushel of fine flour should be sold for a shekel of silver, and the rest in proportion. By this means the prophet saved his life, and though the king could scarce give credit to him, yet he thought it more advisable to defer his resentment, till he saw the success of this wonderful promise.

The thing, however, happened according to his prediction. On that very night some lepers, who lodged on the outside of the gate, and were ready to die with hunger, resolved, whatever betided them, to go into the Syrian camp, in hopes to find either some lucky supply of food, or, at the worst, to be put to a speedier death, than that of starving. They were surprised to find their tents full of provisions and baggage, but empty of inhabitants. As soon therefore as they had satisfied their hunger with what they found at hand, they ventured further into the camp, and found it still the same; and after they had conveyed away a considerable quantity of rich plunder, they began to blame themselves for not acquainting the famished Samaritans with the happy news. The king, as soon as he was acquainted with the story, suspected it to be a stratagem of the Syrians, contrived to intice him out of the city; but, upon his sending a party to examine further into the matter, he found, that they were really fled with the utmost precipitation, and had left their tents, horses, and richest baggage

[but whether the prophet, or the messenger, or the king, is not easy to determine] *said, lo! this judgment is from the* LORD, *and what or why, should I wait any longer for the* LORD? They seem therefore to be the words of a man in a kind of despair, and to have been rather spoken by Jehoram, and to imply thus much, *if it be true, that this evil, or this famine, is sent us from the* LORD, *it is in vain to wait any longer for a deliverance from him.* It is likely therefore, that the king had designed, before this unnatural accident happened, to have surrendered the city to the king of Syria, and had been dissuaded from it by Elisha, with promise of some speedy relief. Under these dreadful circumstances therefore, he goes and upbraids him with it; *Has God,* said he, *reduced us to such extremity, that mothers are forced to eat their children, and wouldst thou still flatter me with vain hopes of some relief, till all my subjects are perished with hunger and misery, when I might, and ought to have saved their lives by a timely surrender?* Whereupon, the prophet appoints the precise time of their despaired of deliverance to be on the very next day.

baggage behind them; for, on the foregoing night, the Lord cauſed them to hear an extraordinary noiſe of chariots, horſes, and armour, which made them conclude, that Jehoram had hired the kings of Egypt and other neighbouring nations againſt them *. This ſpread an univerſal pannic through the whole camp, that they did not ſo much as ſtay to mount their horſes, but fled in the utmoſt confuſion on foot, leaving beſides an immenſe variety of rich plunder, ſuch a quantity of proviſions behind them, that a meaſure of fine flour was ſold for a ſhekel, and the reſt in proportion, at the gate of Samaria, according to the word of Eliſha. At the ſame time, a nobleman who had ventured to declare againſt the poſſibility of ſuch an unexpected plenty, and had been anſwered by the prophet, that he ſhould ſee it without taſting of it, was appointed by the king to ſtand at the gate of the city, to prevent any diſorders, and was notwithſtanding his care trod to death by the preſs, and verified Eliſha's prophecy [i]. The ſiege raiſed. A great plenty in Samaria.

Soon after this unexpected deliverance, the prophet, whether out of diſcontent, or by divine impulſe, took the way to Damaſcus, where the king lay ſick, being quite exhauſted through old age, fatigues, and diſappointments. What the deſign and reſult of that viſit was, the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of Syria [k]. In the mean time, the king of Iſrael entertained himſelf, during his abſence, with the recital of his wonderful actions, from the mouth of his ſervant Gehazi (O); who among other things, was giving him an account of his raiſing of the child of his Shunamitiſh

* See before, vol. ii. p. 318. [i] 2 Kings vii. paſſ. [k] Ibid. viii. 1, & ſeq.

(O) This ſervant, we read, two or three chapters before, had, for his covetouſneſs, inherited Naaman's leproſy (87), which was, according to Eliſha's word, to ſtick to him as long as he lived, and ſuch perſons were obliged to live apart from the reſt. It is therefore ſomewhat ſurpriſing, that the king of Iſrael would converſe with a man, whom the meaneſt perſon in the kingdom would have carefully avoided. All that can be ſaid to it is, either that he was made to ſtand at a convenient diſtance, and with his mouth covered; or that the king's curioſity made him overlook ſuch nice circumſtances at that particular Juncture.

(87) Ibid. v. ver. ult.

tiſh hoſteſs to life (P), and of his ſending of her and her family to ſeek their bread out of the kingdom, during the ſeven

(P) The occaſion of this miracle was as follows: The woman, who was rich and childleſs, having obſerved the prophet to paſs very often by her houſe, as he went through the city of Shunem, prevailed upon her huſband to build him a bed-chamber, and to put a bed, table, and candleſtick in it, and to invite him to lodge there as often as he pleaſed. Eliſha, deſirous to gratify them for their hoſpitality, aſked his ſervant what he might do for them; and being anſwered that they had no children, he called the woman, and told her, that in due time ſhe ſhould embrace a ſon, as a reward of her kindneſs to him. She was accordingly brought to bed of a child; and when he was grown big enough to go and divert himſelf with reapers, he was one day brought home ſick, and expired about noon in his mother's arms. As ſoon as he was dead, ſhe laid him on the prophet's bed, and made what haſte ſhe could do to mount Carmel, where he then was; and as ſoon as ſhe came in ſight of him, ſhe fell at his feet, and acquainted him with her ſon's death. Eliſha, ſurpriſed that the Lord had never revealed this accident to him, gave Gehazi his ſtaff, and bid him run with all poſſible ſpeed, and lay it upon the dead child; but the woman not daring to truſt to that, embraced his legs, and begged, that he would come with her, which he readily complied with. The ſervant, however, was got to the houſe long before his maſter, and had laid the ſtaff upon the child, but without any ſucceſs. At length, the prophet went up himſelf, and laid himſelf upon the child, mouth to mouth, calling ſtill upon God to reſtore him to his ſorrowful mother, which he at length obtained; and whilſt ſhe received him with a maternal joy, ſhe owned, that ſhe was now more than ever convinced, that he was indeed a prophet, and that the words of truth were in his mouth (88).

During the famine, one of the prophet's widows came to Eliſha, and complained, that her huſband died in debt, and that her two ſons were now upon the brink of being ſeized and ſold by the mercileſs creditor. The prophet, moved with compaſſion, and unable to aſſiſt her any other way than by a miracle, aſked her what ſhe had in her houſe that could be turned into money; and being anſwered, that ſhe had nothing left but a poor cruiſe of oil, he bid her go and borrow as many veſſels of her neighbours as ſhe could, and to fill them out of the cruiſe; which ſhe did, and the oil did not ceaſe flowing out of it, till ſhe had filled all the other veſſels

(88) Ibid. iv. 8. & ſeq.

ſeven years of famine. He had ſcarce made an end of the ſtory, when the woman herſelf came, in a luckly hour, to petition the king for her land, which had been confiſcated during her abſence, and gave Gehazi, who preſently called her to mind, an opportunity of being both evidence and advocate for her. So many favourable circumſtances could not but render her ſuit ſucceſsful; but the king did even grant her more than ſhe aſked, and ordered an officer to accompany her, and ſee, that ſhe had not only her land, but likewiſe the ſeven years income of it refunded to her [1].

By this time, Hazael having murdered Benhadad, and invaded his throne, according to the word of Eliſha, Jehoram, who was then at peace with the king of Judah, thought it a favourable juncture to try his fortune againſt Ramoth-Gilead, which his father had attempted in vain. He ſent at the ſame time to Ahaziah, who had ſucceeded his father in Judah, and invited him to accompany him in that enterprize. Ahaziah, who was then but twenty-two years of age

Jehoram's ſecond expedition againſt Ramoth.

[1] 2 Kings viii. 15. See Uſher. Ann. ſub. A. M. 3120.

veſſels. Eliſha then bid her ſell as much of it as would pay the debt, and keep the reſt for her own uſe †.

After this, Eliſha tarried ſome time in Gilgal, with the reſt of the prophets; and having one day ordered ſome pottage to be made for them, one of the ſervants went to gather a lap-ful of herbs, and inadvertently cut ſome wild gourd, or night-ſhade, among them; as ſoon as they had taſted it, they cried out that death was in the pot; but when he was apprized of it, he cauſed ſome meal to be thrown into the pottage, after which they eat it without fear or danger (89).

At another time, a man having brought him a preſent of firſt-fruits, being twenty barley loaves, and ſome new parched corn, Eliſha bid his ſervant to ſet it before the company, who were about 100 in number. The ſervant heſitated ſome time, thinking it inſufficient for ſuch a multitude; but upon his telling him, that there would be more than enough for them, he obeyed, and found it even as his maſter had ſaid, for they all ate their fill, and left ſome of it remaining (90).

† Ibid. ver. 1, 2, & ſeq. (89) Ibid. ver. 38, & ſeq.
(90) Ibid. xlii. ad fin.

age (Q), being the youngeſt of all his brethren, who had been carried away captive in his father's days, was wholly conducted by his mother Athaliah, and by ſuch counſellors as ſhe pleaſed to appoint to him. And, as he followed all the impious ways of his father, he made no difficulty to enter into a confederacy with the king of Iſrael. This expedition ſeemed at firſt more ſucceſsful than the former; but in the event it proved the fatal ſource of endleſs misfortunes to Iſrael, by giving Hazael an occaſion of exerciſing all thoſe cruelties which had been foretold by Eliſha. Neither did it prove leſs fatal to Jehoram; the city was indeed taken, but himſelf was ſo deſperately wounded in the attack, that he was forced to return to Jezreel to be cured, leaving Jehu at the head of a number of forces to ſecure the place, whilſt the king of Judah probably returned to Jeruſalem. In the mean time, Eliſha ſent one of the young prophets to Ramoth, where he ordered him to anoint Jehu king of Iſrael privately, and to tell him, that he was appointed by God to execute his vengeance againſt the whole race of Ahab, even to the impious Jezebel, whoſe carcaſs ſhould ſhortly be devoured by dogs, whilſt all the reſt of his family were condemned to periſh by his ſword. The prophet had no ſooner executed his commiſſion, and poured the oil upon his head, than he fled out of the tent, with all ſpeed, to avoid being examined about it. When Jehu came out, the officers that were with him aſked him what buſineſs that mad fellow had been tranſacting with him (R); and as ſoon as he had acquaint-

He is wounded there.

Jehu anointed,

ed

(Q) The book of the Chronicles makes him to have began his reign in the 42d year of his age; but this is allowed to be an error †, unleſs we will underſtand thoſe 42 years, not of his age, but of the time which elapſed from Omri's coming to the crown to the reign of Ahaziah, as Tremellius doth, which amount juſt to that number (91).

(R) The Jews rightly obſerve, that there was ſomething in the looks and geſtures of theſe prophets, which made them paſs for mad-men, among thoſe who did not know them §; which is agreeable enough to what we read of Saul, who lay uncovered a whole day, whilſt the ſpirit was upon him (92). But what might

ſtill

† See vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 5. paragraph before the table of the Iſraelitiſh judges.

§ Ibid. p. 731. c. 2.

(91) Vid. Tremel. in 2 Chron. xxii.

(92) 1 Sam. xix. ult. vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 7. p. 14.

ed them with the ſecret, they all paid their homage to him, and proclaimed him king of Iſrael by ſound of the trumpet. But Jehu did not think it proper to have the conſpiracy known, till he had reached Jezreel, and ſurpriſed the wounded king there, before he could be in a condition to oppoſe him; he therefore told them, that if their hearts went with their mouths, they ſhould ſuffer none to get out of Ramoth, to go and acquaint the king with the news, whilſt he rode with all ſpeed at the head of his men to Jezreel, which he did immediately after. As ſoon as he came within ſight of the place, the watch alarmed at the ſight of a troop that drove with ſuch uncommon ſpeed, acquainted the court with it; and the frightened king ſent two meſſengers to enquire, whether they came peaceably or not. But Jehu having made them both turn behind his chariot, and the centinel having acquainted the king with it, he ſent word of it to the king of Judah, who was come to viſit him, and theſe two went with their guard againſt Jehu, who by that time was known by the centinel by the furiouſneſs of his driving. The place where they met one another was the vineyard for which Naboth had loſt his life; and here Jehoram aſked him, whether he came peaceably: but Jehu ſoon gave him proof of the contrary, by upbraiding him with his, and his mother Jezebel's, murders and idolatries, and by putting himſelf in an hoſtile

poſture ſtill add to the uncommonneſs of their figure and behaviour, was the oddneſs of their dreſs, their living by themſelves, and ſeldom appearing in places of public reſort, but upon ſome extraordinary errand; which often proved of a dangerous nature, and put them under ſome dread whilſt they were about it. Such was this, in particular, which made the young prophet run away with ſuch ſpeed, before any one could know it, but the perſon to whom he delivered it.

The text adds, that Jehu's company took off their upper garments, and laid them under him, to raiſe him up above the reſt, whilſt they paid homage to him. The place, where this is ſaid to be done, was upon the top of the ſtairs (93), which, according to the ſame Jews, being out of the houſe, ſerved alſo for a ſun-dial, the degrees of the ſhadow being marked againſt the wall (94), to ſhew the hours of the day (95).

(93) Vid. Munſt. in 2 Reg. ix. ſub not. a. (94) Ibid. ver. 13. (95) Chald. paraph. Kimch. & al. vid. & Munſt. ub. ſup.

poſture againſt him. The frighted monarch cried out in vain to Ahaziah, that they were betrayed; before he could turn his chariot about to avoid his enemy, Jehu pierced his heart with an arrow, and ordered one of his captains to caſt his body into Naboth's field, there to be devoured according to the word of Elijah. At the ſame time, the king of Judah, frighted at this bloody tragedy, endeavoured to avoid ſharing his brother's fate, by flying through the private road that led to the garden-houſe; but Jehu commanded a party of his men to ride after him, which they did, and having overtaken him at the aſcent of Gur, they gave him ſo many deſperate wounds, that he died of them by that time he had reached the city of Megiddo, and was carried to Jeruſalem, and buried with his anceſtors, having reigned one year, and leaving only one ſon, a child, who afterwards ſucceeded him, when he was yet but ſeven years of age.

The kings of Iſrael and Judah killed by him.

WHILST Jehu's men went in purſuit of Ahaziah, Jehu himſelf marched directly towards the royal palace of Jezreel, where Jezebel the queen-mother, who was by that time informed of her ſon's fate, was waiting to give him ſuch a haughty welcome, as did not well ſuit with her preſent circumſtances; but ſhe hoped, perhaps, that he would ſhew ſome regard, if not to her quality, yet at leaſt to her ſex; perhaps alſo ſhe did think, that ſhe had ſtill charms enough, in ſpite of her years, to captivate the new monarch, eſpecially after ſhe had improved them by art, and with the richeſt ornaments. She was looking out of a window when Jehu entered the palace; and, in a haughty tone, aſked him, whether he expected a milder recompence of his rebellion, than his predeceſſor Zimri had formerly met with. Jehu ſtayed not to give her an anſwer, but obſerving ſome eunuchs ſtanding on each ſide, he commanded them to throw her out of the window, which they did, and in the fall ſome of her blood was daſhed againſt the wall, and her body ſoon after trampled to death, by the horſes that were in his retinue. As ſoon as he and his company had refreſhed themſelves in the palace, he gave orders to ſome of Jezebel's ſervants to go and bury her corpſe, ſeeing ſhe was of the royal blood; but when word was brought to him, that the dogs had devoured it all except her ſkull, the palms of her hands, and the ſoles of her feet, he made uſe of that circumſtance, to convince his attendants of the truth of Elijah's prophecy [m].

Jezebel killed.

BUT

[m] 2 Kings ix. paſſ.

But that prophet's ſentence did not ſtop at theſe three impious perſons, the whole race of Ahab was included in it, and he had left ſeventy ſons who were all brought up under governors in Samaria. Jehu, therefore, did not think fit to enter into that capital, till he had tried, whether the chief magiſtrates of it had courage enough to undertake any thing for the poſterity of their late king. To this end, he ſent letters to them, ſeemingly to exhort them to make choice of one of the braveſt of Ahab's ſons, and to ſet him upon the throne. But they, who did rightly gueſs at the meaning of ſuch a meſſage, and were but too much intimidated by his late ſucceſs againſt the kings of Judah and Iſrael, choſe rather to ſacrifice that unhappy race to Jehu's known valour, than to run the riſk of turning it againſt themſelves. They therefore ſent a deputation to him, to acquaint him, that they would do nothing but by his commands, which they were ready to execute, as ſoon as they ſhould receive them; whereupon, he ſent them an order to put all the young princes to death, and to bring their heads in baſkets to him by the next day; which was punctually complied with. The bloody preſent of ſeventy heads was ſent to Jezreel on that very night; and Jehu ordered them to be laid on heaps at the gate of Samaria; and, on the next morning, the elders of that city came, and preſented themſelves before him there. As ſoon as he ſaw them, he ſpake to them to this effect: "You do, in all probability, look upon me as the ſole "author of all this bloodſhed, as the murderer of your "late king, and the uſurper of his throne; but if I con- "ſpired againſt Jehoram, did not you murder all theſe "young princes, in whoſe defence you might have ſtood, "if you had thought fit. Know you therefore, that nei- "ther you, nor I, have done more than executed the ſen- "tence, which had been pronounced againſt Ahab's po- "ſterity. But I have not yet finiſhed my taſk, as long as "there remain any of his kinſmen, counſellors, prieſts, "or any of the abettors of his crimes." This was his next work, and he did not leave Jezreel, till he had put them all to death.

70 Sons of Ahab killed.

Jehu took then the road to Samaria, and in his way he met forty-two princes of the houſe of Judah (S), who were going

(S) The text calls them the brethren of Ahaziah, (96), but we

(96) 2 Kings x. 13.

going down to pay a viſit to thoſe of the houſe of Ahab, all whom he alſo cauſed to be ſlain upon the ſpot. After this, he met with Jehonadab the ſon of Rechab (T), and took

we have often obſerved, that it means alſo brother's children; and theſe are called ſo accordingly, by the author of the Chronicles (97). The place where they were ſlain is called in the original, בור בית־עקד Bor Beth-Heked, or, the pit of the houſe for binding or ſhearing, which was either a place of ſheep-ſhearing, or, as ſome fancy, took its name from the young princes being bound and put to death there (98). It is not unlikely neither from the text, that they, having heard of the ſlaughters that had been made in Samaria, and that Jehu was going thither in perſon, might hide themſelves, either in that pit, or in ſome of the ſhepherds huts, to avoid falling into his hands.

(T) The Rechabites, ſo famous in ſcripture for the auſtere ſingularity of their life, were not content to excel in common moral virtues, but affected to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt of the world, by a peculiar abſtinence from wine, from dwelling in houſes, from poſſeſſing either houſes, vineyards, or fields, and from all kind of agriculture (99).

Who the author of this inſtitution was, whether the Jehonadab here mentioned, or any other either before or after him, is far from being agreed. If we may believe a modern critic (100), he hath found the etymon of Rechab in the רכב Rekeb, or chariot of Elijah, and that of the Phariſees, his ſuppoſed diſciples, in the פרשים Phraſhim, or horſes of it (1). So that, according to him, the words of Eliſha ſhould not be rendered as we do, *My father, my father, the chariot of Iſrael, and the horſes thereof*; but, *My father Rechab, &c.* or at leaſt the former called themſelves Rechabites from the Rechab, chariot, and the latter from the Phraſhim, or horſes of it. Purſuant to this, our author obſerves, that when Joaſh, king of Iſrael, came to viſit Eliſha as he lay on his death-bed, he addreſſed him likewiſe in the ſame words, *My father the chariot of Iſrael*, and ſo on (2.) He even ventures to prove that inſtitution older than the flood; which, allowing his far-fetched etymology, will be no difficult taſk, if we can but ſuppoſe, that Enoch, was tranſlated in the ſame kind of vehicle (3).

On the other hand, another bold critic (4) pretends, that it did not begin till about the time of Jeremiah, and that this Jehonadab,

(97) 2 Chron. xxii. 8. (98) Vid. Tremel. in 2 Kings. x. 12. (99) Jer. xxxv. 6. 7. (100) Bolduc Eccleſ. ante Leg. l. 3. c. 16. (1) 2 Kings ii. 12. (2) Ibid. xiii. 14. (3) Gen. v. 24. (4) Scalig. Elench Trihæreſ. vid. Goodwin Moſ. & Aar. lib. i. c. 9. § 13. & ſeq.

took him up into his chariot to Samaria, that he might be an eye-witneſs of his zeal againſt the impious worſhippers of Baal.

nadab, for whom Jehu ſhewed ſuch regard, was only a perſon of the ſame name with the founder of that Rechabitiſh life, and that he was too great a courtier, and too fine a gentleman, to be author of ſuch an unpolite inſtitution. What he offers to prove the one, and diſprove the other, of theſe points, having more of oratorial confidence than ſolid reaſoning, we ſhall not trouble our readers with it. Sure it is, that thoſe Rechabites, whom Jeremiah ſpeaks of, expreſs themſelves in ſuch terms, as argue nothing leſs than the recentneſs of their inſtitution (5).

Between the extremes of thoſe two above-mentioned authors, are thoſe who believe, that Hobab the ſon of Jethro, of whom we have ſpoken elſewhere, as he was a Kenite *, was the founder of the Rechabites; that Rechab was one of his names, and Jehonadab one of his deſcendants; and, laſtly, that Heber the Kenite was alſo an obſerver of the Rechabitiſh inſtitution (6). Serrarius is of the ſame opinion in moſt of theſe points, but diſtinguiſhes two ſorts of Rechabites, the one inſtituted by Jethro, or Hobab, and the other by Jehonadab (7); but all this is ſaid without foundation. We ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe who pretend, that they were, either of the tribe of Judah (8), or of that of Levi (9), or that they were Rechabites, or deſcendants of Jethro, by the father's ſide, and Levites by the mother's, and, as ſuch, that they were employed in much the ſame offices of the temple with the Nethinims (10). It is plain the author of the book of the Chronicles calls them Kenites, deſcended from Kemarh, the father of the houſe of Rechab (11), though it doth not appear, that all the Kenites obſerved the inſtitution of Jehonadab, but only thoſe who were his immediate deſcendants.

For theſe reaſons, we rather chuſe the moſt-received opinion, that Jehonadab, Jehu's friend, was the founder of it, he being the only one of that name mentioned in the ſcripture, and nothing urged on any hand that can give any of the contrary opinions the face of probability. Jehu's behaviour to him, and his inviting of him to be an eye-witneſs of his zeal for the God of Iſrael, and of the havock he was going to make among the worſhippers of Baal, argues him to have been an eminent perſon, not only for

(5) Jerem. ub. ſup. ver. 8. & ſeq. * Vid. Vol. ii. p. 135. (6) Vid. int. al. Arr. Montan. in judic. 1. Sanctiu. in Jerem. xxxv. Minerval. cap. 13. & ſeq. (7) Serrar l. iii. c. 9. (8) Theodoret in 1. paralip. (9) Hegeſip. ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c. 23. vid. Calmet. ſub. voc. Rechabit. (10) Rabbin. aliq. ap. Sanctium & Cornel. in Jerem. xxxv. (11) 1 Chron. ii. 55.

As soon as he was come to that capital, he caused a solemn feast to be proclaimed, pretending a much greater zeal

sense and virtue, but also for his uncommon piety and zeal; and as such he might have fallen into this new life, and enjoined the observance of it to his posterity, perhaps through some disgust which he took at court, or at the idolatries of the Israelites, which made it needful to separate from them, by living in the pure and untainted country, to avoid the danger of being either corrupted by them, or hated for not being so. The Kenites not being of the seed of Israel, many broils and disputes might have arisen between them about the possession of lands, which might make him disclaim even the use and culture of them. The almost continual depredations to which Israel was exposed from their enemies round about, to say nothing of famine and pestilence, made the pastoral life seem to him much more eligible, because in such cases it was more easy to remove into better or safer abodes, in imitation of the ancient patriarchs. Wine was of too ensnaring a nature, and might in time have tempted his descendants into a looser and more luxurious life; for which reason, he thought it necessary to forbid the use of it. Lastly, whatever other private motives might determine him to that kind of primitive life, he seems chiefly to endear it to his descendants by the prospect of health, ease, and length of days (12). How far the horrid debauchery, both in religion and morals, which reigned as well in Judah as in Israel for a considerable time, to say nothing of the frequent conspiracies and rebellions which happened in the latter of those kingdoms, might contribute to determine, if not to force, a man of his character to this kind of retired life, we need not say.

The question will only be, how he could bind his posterity to the observance of it. But here we need not repeat what has been said upon other occasions, concerning the power of parents in cases of the like nature *, because we do not find, that Jehonadab did lay them under any curse, in case of disobedience; on the contrary, we find, that the prophet Jeremy was directed by God to bring them to an apartment of the temple, to set wine before them, and invite them to drink it, which would have been an unworthy action, if they had been under an indispensible obligation of abstaining from it; and, on the other hand, the Rechabites refused it, not because their father had laid them under any curse if they disobeyed them, but because he promised, that they *should live many days in the land wherein they were strangers*, if

(12) Jerem. ub. sup. ver. 7. vid. Peter. Martyr. Alting. R. D. Kimchi. & al. in loc. * Vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. sect 4. laws concerning vows, & sect. 6. not. Q.

zeal for that deity, than any of his predeceſſors; and ordered all its prieſts, prophets, and votaries, to be preſent at

if they obeyed his voice (13); which promiſe, being alſo made to thoſe who honoured their parents (14), might the more incline them to that ſtrict obedience, for which they are ſo highly commended by God, in the place above quoted. We may add farther, that their retiring into Jeruſalem during the time of the ſiege, which was a breach of the injunction, without being ſo much as blamed for it by Jeremiah, is a proof, that they were not under an indiſpenſible obligation to live in tents and in the country. Though even here, we think, it had been much better for them to have removed further out of Nebuchadnezzar's way, inſtead of ſheltering themſelves in the city; where they not only ſuffered all the common calamities of a long ſiege, but were, in all likelihood, carried away captive with the tribe of Judah; for we find ſome of them, at their return from Babylon, who ſettled themſelves at Jabeſh, or Jabez (15); and the ſeptuagint and vulgate have theſe words in the title of the 70th which is our 71ſt pſalm, A Pſalm of David to the ſons of Jonadab and the firſt captives; but as they are not in the Hebrew, we ſhall lay no farther ſtreſs upon them.

What became of them afterwards, whether they continued to obſerve their father's injunction, and whether the Phariſees, Aſſidees, and Eſſenians, were their followers, is foreign to our preſent purpoſe, and may perhaps be inquired into, when we reſume the Jewiſh hiſtory after the captivity. It is true, the Rechabites had a promiſe from God, as a reward of their obedience, in theſe words, *Jehonadab, the ſon of Rechab, ſhall not want a man to ſtand before me for ever* (16); but this phraſe is far from implying, that they were either prieſts or levites, and as ſuch ſhould continually miniſter at the altar, as ſome have fancied (17); or, that they ſhould have a ſeat in the great ſanhedrin (18), which, we have proved elſewhere, was not yet in being †. The reader will ſee ſome better expoſitions of the words in the authors quoted in the margin (19), which it is out of our province to dwell upon. Sure it is, that if our Jehonadab was the founder of this inſtitution, his deſcendants did ſtrictly obſerve it during the ſpace of 300 years, whatever became of them afterwards; for ſo long it was between Jehu and the Babyloniſh captivity. A Jewiſh traveller of the

(13) Vid. Jerem. ub. ſup. (14) Exod. xx. 12. & alib. (15) 1 Chron. ii. ult. (16) Jerem. ub. ſup. ver. ult. (17) Theodor. & al. ſub citat. (18) Vid. Kimch. in loc. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 5. (19) Vid. Scalig. Trihæres. c. xxiv. Alting. Goodwin. ub. ſup. & al.

at it, none excepted, under pain of death; and as ſoon as they had filled the temple with them, from the one end to the other, he commanded a body of men to go in, and put them all to the ſword, in the middle of their worſhip. After this, he took down all the idols and ornaments of that abominable deity, and burnt them out of the temple, and cauſed that building to be demoliſhed, and turned into a common jakes. But this metropolis was not the only place that had reared temples and altars to Baal, for the infection had ſpread itſelf throughout the kingdom; wherefore he did not ſtop his hand, till he had entirely cleared it of that kind of idolatry; and this he did with ſuch zeal and diligence, that God, highly pleaſed with it, ſent him word by a prophet, that the kingdom of Iſrael ſhould remain in his poſterity till the fourth generation. Happy had it been for him, if this promiſe had encouraged him to have extirpated likewiſe the worſhip of the golden calves of Dan and Bethel; but he unhappily followed Jeroboam's politicks as long as he lived; for which reaſon, God began to cut Iſrael ſhort, even from the beginning of his reign; ſo that Hazael greatly prevailed againſt them, and took a great number of towns from the two tribes and half on the other ſide of Jordan, beſides ſome other frontier places on this ſide, and ravaged all the places he came to, putting all the inhabitants to the ſword in the moſt inhuman manner (V), as we have ſeen in the Syrian hiſtory.

Baal's prieſts and temple deſtroyed.

the 12th century (20) doth, indeed, tell us, that they are ſtill in being, and ſtrict obſervers of their old inſtitution. He gives us alſo a fine deſcription of their country, princes, government, and other particulars; but that author is ſo well known to deal in fables, and the account itſelf is ſo fully confuted by the learned Conſtantine L'empereur, that we ſhall leave it to his Jewiſh brethren to credit it, without giving our readers the trouble of reading it here.

(V) It is not eaſy to gueſs at what period of Jehu's reign this cruel war happened; Uſher doth make no mention of it till the time of his ſon (21), but we have ventured to place it nearer the beginning of the former, both here and in the Syrian hiſtory (22), which is according to the chronology of our Bibles; for though God had promiſed, that the crown of Iſrael ſhould continue in his

(20) Ben. de Tudel. Itinerar. p. 75, & ſeq. (21) Ann. ſub. A. M. 3148. (22) Sup. 321.

ſtory †, Jehu died in the 28th year of his reign, and was buried in Samaria, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoahaz [n].

WHILST Jehu was aboliſhing the worſhip of Baal in Iſrael, the impious Athaliah was uſing her utmoſt efforts to root out, not only that of the living God, but even the remembrance of it, out of Judah. The death of her ſon Ahaziah, and of forty-two princes of his houſe, followed by that of Jezebel, by the hands of a perſon, newly raiſed to the throne of Iſrael by divine command, filled her with ſuch an abhorrence both for the race and the God of David, that ſhe reſolved not to ſheath her ſword, till ſhe had totally extirpated the one, and thereby invalidated all the promiſes of the other. But whilſt ſhe was wreaking her utmoſt fury againſt the ſad remains of the houſe of Judah, providence conducted thither Jehoſheba, the daughter of the late king Joram, who was then married to the high-prieſt Jehoiada [o]; and that pious princeſs found means to ſave young Joaſh, her brother Ahaziah's ſon, who was then but a year old, from Athaliah's ſword, and to convey him and his nurſe out of the palace, unperceived by that bloody queen. This infant prince was carried into the temple, where he was brought up under Jehoiada's care, and kept there with the utmoſt privacy till he was ſeven years old. During thoſe ſix years, Athaliah tyrannized over Judah without controul, filling Jeruſalem with blood, and deſtroying the ſervants of the true God, that ſhe might the more effectually eſtabliſh the worſhip of Baal through the kingdom. By this time, her murders and impieties were grown to ſuch a height, that Jehoiada ſaw himſelf forced to put a ſtop to them, by producing the only remains of David's race, at once to convince the people, that God was ſtill mindful of his promiſe to that holy monarch, by preſerving him, as it were by a miracle, from the common ruin; and to inſpire his deſ-

Athaliah's impious reign;

and ſlaughter of David's race.

Joaſh is preſerved.

† See before, vol. ii. p. 321. [n] 2 Kings x. p. tot. [o] Comp. 2 Kings xi. 2. 2 Chron. xxii. 11.

his family during four generations, as a reward for his zeal againſt Baal, yet he did not promiſe him a quiet reign, and his continuing in Jeroboam's idolatry made him unworthy of it, however it might have proved, if he had aboliſhed that alſo out of his kingdom.

desponding subjects, with a brave desire of shaking off the bloody yoke of the reigning tyranness. To this end, he privately called some of the chiefs and elders of Judah, upon whose valour and fidelity he could depend, and having bound them under the strictest oaths of secrecy, he shewed them the young monarch; told them by what means he had been saved; and exhorted them to stand now, if ever, in the defence of their young king, of their religion, and liberty. The desponding chiefs, who thought, that the cruel Athaliah had wholly extirpated David's race, and had lost all farther hopes in the promises made to his posterity, received the news of their preserved king with a surprising joy; and, to give him an immediate proof of their future zeal and attachment, they paid their homage, and took an oath of fidelity to him, promising the high-priest at the same time, that they would go out of hand, and raise what forces they could, whilst he strengthened himself in the temple, by retaining and arming all the priests, levites, and Nethinims, who should otherwise have gone out in their courses, to make way for those who came thither to vacate at the divine service. All this was done with such secrecy and dispatch, that the temple was filled with armed men, unto whom Jehoiada appointed their several posts; by which time the generals without had raised a sufficient number of men, ready to second them upon the first signal. When the day appointed was come, the young monarch was brought out, and conducted into the priests porch, attended with a numerous train of armed levites, and there the high-priest anointed, and crowned him, and administered the usual oath to him upon the sacred volumes. He was immediately after seated upon a throne, where he received the homage and loud acclamations of all the people, who made that sacred place ring with, Long live king Joash.

and crowned.

Year of the Flood, 2121. Year before Christ, 878.

AMONG the numerous crouds, whom this noise brought to the temple, was the frighted queen, but whether alone, or attended with her guard, the text doth not say. She ventured directly into the priest's porch, from which her sex and idolatry excluded her, and as soon as she saw the young king seated on his throne, attended with such numbers of armed men, she rent her cloaths, and, in a desperate fury, rushed in amongst them, crying out treason; but Jehoiada, fearing lest his zealous levites should pollute that sacred place with her blood, ordered her to be hurried out of it, and to be put to death. The king was soon after

Athaliah is slain.

after conducted from the temple to the royal palace, and the news of this happy change proclaimed throughout the kingdom. The high-prieſt, who by this time was in the higheſt eſteem both with king and people, took hold of this happy juncture of the public joy, to root out once more the worſhip of Baal; he began with exhorting them to renew their covenant with God, to renounce Baal and all other falſe deities, and to adhere ſtrictly to the Lord. This was alſo immediately performed with uncommon readineſs and zeal; and as a mark of their ſincerity, they began with the temple of Baal, where having ſacrificed Mathan, the infamous prieſt of it, at the foot of its altar, they pulled the whole fabrick to the ground; nor did they ſtop their hand, till they had likewiſe deſtroyed all the other temples, altars, and other monuments of that idolatrous worſhip, which Athaliah and her predeceſſors had reared up, both in Jeruſalem and Judah. On the other hand, Jehoiada, who, by reaſon of the king's minority, was at the head of all affairs, both religious and civil, was making a new reformation at court and in the temple, by naming thoſe, who had ſhewed the greateſt bravery and zeal in the late revolution to the higheſt poſts in the government, inſtead of thoſe of the late uſurper; and by reſtoring that regularity in the divine ſervice, which had been interrupted during the reigns of ſo many impious monarchs; but more particularly by an expreſs prohibition to all ſtrangers, and idolatrous apoſtates, to enter into the temple of God, and by ſetting porters at the gates of it, to prevent all unclean perſons, of what kind ſoever, entering into it [p]. This gives us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it had been expoſed to ſuch ſecluded perſons, during the laſt reigns.

Joaſh's piety and zeal.

THUS did the divine providence preſerve the race of David from the brink of deſtruction, and Joaſh, who was proclaimed king in the 7th year of his age, and of Jehu's reign, continued to teſtify his grateful ſenſe of it, by his uncommon zeal for the worſhip of God, during the good high-prieſt's life. One of his firſt cares, after he was come to age, was to repair the dilapidations which had been made in the temple. To this end, he ordered all the prieſts and levites to take their yearly circuits through all the cities of Judah, and to raiſe voluntary contributions among the people,

[p] 2 Kings xi. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxiii. paſſ.

people, beſides the pole and redemption money (W); to be employed in finiſhing thoſe repairs. But the prieſts, who looked upon the latter as an encroachment upon their revenues, executed his orders with ſuch ſhameful ſlowneſs, that he was forced to ſend for them, and to reprove them for their negligence, and for their miſapplying of the ſacred money; and to diſcharge them at once, both from the repairing of the temple, and from receiving any further ſums towards it. The whole care of the work was committed to the high-prieſt, and other proper officers; and, to prevent all further delays and miſapplication, a capacious cheſt was ordered to be ſet up in ſome public place in the temple, where the money was depoſited, till it amounted to a ſum ſufficient to ſet about the work; which it very ſhortly did, through the generoſity of the chiefs, elders, and other wealthy men of Judah, who poured in their preſents with uncommon readineſs and munificence. This money was immediately diſtributed among faithful workmen, who carried on the work with ſo much uprightneſs and diligence, that, without being called to any account for the ſums they received from time to time, they finiſhed it to the ſatisfaction both of the king and people, and refunded the overplus into the king's hands. This, together with what was left in the cheſt, was by Jehoiada's direction employed in making gold and ſilver veſſels for the uſe of the temple, ſuch as cenſers, trumpets, ſpoons, forks, and the like (X), inſtead of thoſe which Athaliah had

(W) The pole-money is ſuppoſed to have been the half ſhekel, which every ſoul was obliged to pay, firſt to the tabernacle, and afterwards to the temple, which continued to be paid till the deſtruction of it. As for the redemption-money, it was ſuch as was to be paid to the prieſts, either to be acquitted from certain oaths or vows, or for exchanging one beaſt for another, and ſuch like; of which we have ſpoken at large heretofore. This latter was certainly one part of the prieſt's income, which the king had no power to alienate from them, unleſs it were by way of repriſal for the former, namely, pole-money, which ought to have been employed in keeping the temple in repair, and which, it ſeems, they ſunk into their own pockets, leaving that building to go to ruin.

(X) There ſeems to be a contradiction between the book of Kings, and that of the Chronicles; the former tells us, that none of this money was employed in making veſſels for the temple (23), and

(23) 2 Kings xii. 13.

had conveyed from thence into the temple of Baal [q]. But Joaſh's zeal did not long ſurvive Jehoiada's life. That good old prieſt died in the 130th year of his age, and for his faithful counſel, as well as ſignal ſervices to the king and nation, was buried in the royal ſepulchre of Jeruſalem, and with him ſeemed to expire the remembrance of all that he had done. Soon after his death, the baſe princes (Y) of Judah, tired with diſſembling a zeal for God, which that pontiff's authority had only forced from them, came and proſtrated themſelves before the king, deſiring, that they might have leave to return to their old way of worſhip, which they had been uſed to in former reigns; which the eaſy king, pleaſed perhaps with their uncommon ſubmiſſion, having too readily granted, they immediately forſook the temple and worſhip of God, and ſet up new altars to thoſe filthy idols which they had formerly been uſed to worſhip in their groves with the moſt abominable ceremonies. This ungrateful defection, after ſo ſignal a deliverance, was not, however, puniſhed, till they had been often forewarned, by ſeveral prophets, of the miſchiefs which it would bring upon them. But when they proved deaf to all thoſe divine admonitions, God ſtirred up the Syrian king againſt them, who began to pour ſome ſmall number of troops into the land, and to commit ſevere outrages in Judea, whilſt the cowardly Jews, though much ſuperior in number, were delivered into their hands, as a puniſhment for their idolatry [r]. Among thoſe prophets who dared to reprove the king and his nobles, and to aſſure them that theſe would prove only the preludes of worſe miſchiefs, was the high-prieſt

Joaſh and his chiefs forſake God.

[q] Vid. 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 13. 14. [r] Ibid. ver. 24.

and the latter affirms the contrary (24); but the matter is eaſily reconciled, by ſuppoſing, that the firſt means only, that none of that money was uſed to thoſe purpoſes, till the repairs of the temple, for which it was raiſed, were fully finiſhed.

(Y) The author of the book of Chronicles calls them by that name (25), not as being of the royal blood, for thoſe had been all deſtroyed by Athaliah, ſo that there were none alive then but Joaſh's children; but here is meant only the chiefs of the families of that tribe, which, as well as thoſe of the other tribes, are often dignified with that title (26).

(24) 2 Chron. xxiv. 7. 14. (25) Ibid. ver. 17. (26) Vid. int. al. Num. vii. 2, & ſeq. xxv. 14. & alib. paſſ.

priest Zechariah, the worthy son and successor of the late Jehoiada; but his zeal cost him his life. The impious king caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the temple, without regard to either the sacredness of the place, or of his character, as a prophet and high-priest, or to the great services of his father, to whom he owed both his life and kingdom. However, Zechariah, being full of the spirit of God, foretold to them, as he was dying, that God would speedily punish the murder upon the king and them, both which happened soon after accordingly: for Hazael, flushed with the success he had had against Judah, and with the vast quantity of spoil which he had sent from thence to Damascus, came up against Jerusalem, and made a terrible slaughter among those Jewish princes, who had been the first authors of that defection. The king himself found no other way to escape, either sharing of their fate, or a shameful slavery, but by stripping the temple and his own palace of all their treasure, and giving it as a ransom to the Syrian conqueror, who thereupon left Jerusalem, and returned to Damascus [s]. Joash, however, did not escape the divine vengeance, and though he then laboured under some grievous disease, his own servants conspired against him, and murdered him in his bed, in the 40th year of his reign, and crowned his son Amasiah in his stead. Joash was by this time in such abhorrence for the murder of the high-priest, that it proved not only the occasion of his own, but also of his being deprived of the royal sepulchre, for though he was buried in the city of David, yet the text says, that they did not deposit his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors, but in some place apart [t].

Zechariah is slain.

The king of Syria invades Judah.

Joash is murdered.

Joash succeeded by Amasiah.

AMASIAH succeeded him in the twenty-fifth year of his age, by which time Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, having reigned 17 years in Israel, had left the kingdom to his son Joash. During this time, nothing considerable had happened in that kingdom, except that their idolatries had also exposed them to the cruel oppressions of the king of Syria; till Jehohaz's repentance and prayer obtained a kind of miraculous deliverance [u]; for the fuller account of which, we shall refer the reader to a former chapter †. What happened during his son's reign, we shall see in its proper place; in the mean

Year of the Flood, 2165. Before Christ, 839.

[s] Comp. 2 Kings xii. pass. & 2 Chron. xxiv. pass. See also before, vol. 2. p. 322. [t] 2 Chron. xxiv. 25. [u] 2 Kings xiii. 3, 4, 5, 6. † See before, vol. 2. p. 322. under not. B.

mean time, the young king of Judah had no ſooner ſettled himſelf upon his throne, than he cauſed the murderers of his father to be put to death. However, it is here obſerved, that he ſpared their children, according to the law of Moſes, which forbids them to be puniſhed for their father's crimes [w]; from which one may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that all his predeceſſors were not equally ſtrict obſervers of it. The truth is, that Amaſiah had ſeen ſuch ſevere judgments inflicted upon Joaſh his father and his apoſtate chiefs, as made him a long time afraid to imitate them; though he forgot them but too ſoon, and, like Joaſh, having began his reign piouſly and ſucceſsfully, he made as impious and tragical an end of it. His ſignal ſucceſs againſt the Edomites of which an account has been formerly given *, promiſed to him by God himſelf, did but too much ſwell the heart of that young monarch; he had an army of 300,000 fighting men, and had hired 100,000 more of the king of Iſrael, when he was going upon that expedition. But a prophet came to him, and commanded him, in the name of God to diſmiſs thoſe auxiliaries, aſſuring him, that ſuch idolatrous troops would only be an invincible obſtacle to his ſucceſs, if he perſiſted in making uſe of them. The king, upon the point of obeying, was only ſollicitous how to get back the 100 talents of ſilver which he had already paid for them; but the prophet having told him, that God was able to repay them to him with advantage, he diſmiſſed the Iſraelitiſh troops, not without great reſentment and heart-burning on their ſide, of which they failed not to give an ample proof, by burning and ravaging all the countries they went through, in their return home. This broke at once all friendſhip between thoſe two monarchs, and proved the ſource of a bloody war. Happy had it been for Amaſiah if this had been all, but that infatuated prince, after his victory over Edom, became ſo ſtupidly fond of the idols which he had taken from them, that, as if all his ſucceſs had been owing to them, he cauſed them to be ſet up in Judah at his return, and went ſo far as to burn incenſe himſelf before them. He was ſeverely rebuked for this by a prophet, who aſked him, among other things, what aſſiſtance he could hope for from thoſe falſe deities, which could neither deliver their votaries, nor themſelves, from his hands? But the king who was then too elated to bear either his advice or reproof, aſked him, who

Amaſiah's ſucceſs, and idolatry.

[w] Deut. xxiv. 16.

* See vol. ii. p. 168.

who made him his counſellor, and, in a threatening tone, commanded him to hold his peace, and not provoke him to puniſh his inſolence. After ſuch monſtrous inſtances of his folly and ingratitude, we need not wonder, if he was abandoned by God to ruſh into his own ruin.

AMASIAH had indeed cauſe to reſent the ravages which the diſbanded Iſraelites had committed in his kingdom, during his expedition againſt Edom, and had he been leſs proud of his ſucceſs, he might have taken more proper meaſures for doing himſelf juſtice for them; but he ſeems to have been above all theſe conſiderations, and the inſolent challenge which he ſent to Joaz, the then king of Iſrael, and grandſon of Jehu, *Come and let us ſee one another in the face*, doth plainly ſhow, that he wanted only to try his valour or fortune with him. On the other hand, Joaz had no leſs reaſon to truſt to his own; Joaz, ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown, had been paying a mournful viſit to the prophet Eliſha, who was then lying on his death-bed, to repreſent, to that holy perſon, the melancholy ſtate in which he was going to leave the kingdom, which had already ſuffered the greateſt calamities from the kings of Syria, during the two laſt reigns; and the prophet touched with a ſenſe of it, had propheſied to him, that he ſhould gain three ſucceeding victories over that domineering nation [x]. Joaz therefore, who had by this time given ſuch ſignal proofs of his courage and conduct, by theſe three victories, which he had gained over the Syrians, and by recovering all the places which they had taken from his predeceſſors (Z), could not forbear

Is defeated by the king of Iſrael.

[x] 2 Kings xiii. 14, & ſeq. See alſo before, vol. ii. p. 323.

(Z) It is not eaſy to determine the time when Jehu won theſe three victories; but however, it is more than probable, that it was long before he received this proud challenge from Amaſiah, as he was then in the 16th year of his reign (27). The text would even incline one to believe, that he began to beat the Syrians ſoon after the beginning of it (28). Archbiſhop Uſher places it in the ſix and ſubſequent years of his reign, when having, as he ſuppoſes, taken his ſon, the brave Jeroboam II. into conſortſhip with him; he left the kingdom under his care, whilſt he went out againſt the armies of Syria (29).

The manner, in which the good old prophet did foreſhow theſe ſignal victories, is too remarkable to be paſt by. The king having expreſt

(27) Vid. Uſſer. Ann. ſub A. M. 3178. (28) Vid. 2 Kings xiii. 22, & ſeq. (29) Ub. ſup. ſub A. M. 3168.

forbear expreſſing the utmoſt indignation at the receipt of this arrogant chartel. The anſwer he returned was couch-

ed expreſt his ſenſe for the loſs of ſo great a protector, in the moſt pathetic terms, Eliſha bid him take his bow and arrow in his hand, and put himſelf in a poſture of ſhooting out of his window eaſtward towards Syria; which being done, he put his hand upon that of the king's and bid him ſhoot, and as the arrow went, he cried out, *The arrow of the Lord's deliverance, and the arrow of deliverance from* Syria; and then told the king, that he would beat the Syrians in Apheck, till he had quite conſumed them. But when he bid him afterwards to ſmite upon the ground with another arrow, and the king had done ſo three times, the prophet was diſpleaſed at it, and told him, that if he had happened to have ſtruck the ground five or ſix times, it would have been a certain ſign of his totally defeating of his Syrian enemy; but ſince he had ſtayed his hand at the third ſtroke, he ſhould gain but three battles againſt him (30). The thing happened accordingly, and Syria, after having been kept under, during Joaz and Jeroboam's reign, began to recover itſelf again, after the death of the latter, as we have ſeen elſewhere †.

As for Eliſha, he died ſoon after; and before the year was out, ſome Iſraelites, going to bury a corps in the neighbourhood of Samaria, perceived a band of Moabites coming towards them, for fear of whom, they caſt the dead body into Eliſha's tomb and fled; but as ſoon as it had touched the bones of the dead prophet, the man revived and ran after them. What uſe a neighbouring church has made of this miracle, in favour of the relicks of their ſaints, is foreign to our ſubject: we have Eliſha's panegyric in few words in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, "Eliſheus, ſays that author, was "filled with the ſpirit of Elijah; whilſt he lived, he was not over-"awed by any prince, neither could any bring him into ſubjection, "no word could overcome him; and after his death he pro-"pheſied, &c. (31)". The Jews add, that the man thus miraculouſly raiſed was called Sallum, and that he begat ſons and daughters afterwards. Some are of opinion, that he had been a wicked man, and, as ſuch, unfit to lie near the ſacred remains of that prophet; others think otherwiſe (32), neither is it worth enquiring which of the two is moſt in the right.

Some authors, however, not content with the miracles that he wrought during his life and after his death, have accompanied his birth with a remarkable one; namely, that one of the golden calves

(30) 2 Kings xiii. 14. & ſeq.
(31) Eccleſ. xlviii. 12. & ſeq. 13. ſub not. f.

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 323, 324.
(32) Vid. Munit. in 2 Reg.

ed in the moſt ſcornful and mortifying terms, under the allegory of a deſpicable thiſtle, which, having aſpired to an alliance with the noble cedar, had, for his ambition, been cruſhed under the feet of a wild beaſt: he concluded with adviſing him to reſt contented with his late petty victories, and not ſuffer his ambition to drive him into a deſperate attempt, which would end, in all likelyhood, in the total loſs of his kingdom. But Amaſiah, who was not to be humbled by words, was only the more exaſperated at this anſwer, and haſted to go out againſt his rival: the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Bethſhemeſh, where Judah was totally routed. Joſephus adds, that they were ſeized with ſuch a pannic, at the very firſt onſet, that they turned their backs without ſtriking one ſtroke, and left their king at the mercy of the conqueror [y]. Amaſiah was actually taken priſoner, and Joaz marched on with him and his own army to Jeruſalem, where he obliged him to buy his freedom, at the expence of all the gold and ſilver which were found either in the temple or in his own treaſury; after which, having demoliſhed about 400 cubits length of the city wall, and taken ſome hoſtages with him, he returned to Samaria. He did not outlive this victory above one year, after which he was ſucceeded by his ſon Jeroboam, the ſecond of that name, after he had reigned 16 years. As for Amaſiah, though he outlived his diſgrace above 15 years, yet we read no more of him till the latter end of his reign; when, having diſcovered a conſpiracy that was formed againſt him at Jeruſalem, he was forced to flee to Lachiſh, where, notwithſtanding his precaution, he was purſued and murdered by the conſpirators. He was carried back upon horſes to Jeruſalem, and buried with his anceſtors; and his ſon Azariah proclaimed in his ſtead [z].

Amaſiah taken priſoner.

In the mean time, whilſt Amaſiah ſpent the remnant of his reign in a kind of inactive ſecurity in Jeruſalem; Jeroboam

[y] Ant. l. 9. c. 10. [z] 2 Kings xiv. paſſ. to ver. 21. 2 Chron. xxv. p. tot.

calves bellowed out theſe words, with ſuch a loud voice, that it was heard from Gilgal to Jeruſalem; *This is he that is to deſtroy the carved idols, and break the molten images in pieces* (33).

(33) Vid. Doroth. Epiphan, & Iſidor. de more. prophæt. & Chron. paſchal ap Calm ſub voc Eliſee.

Jeroboam II. the brave great-grandſon of Jehu, ſeemed ordained by providence to reſtore the kingdom of Iſrael to its priſtine ſplendor and greatneſs. His reign, which laſted 41 years, beſides thoſe 10 which he had ſpent in copartnerſhip with his father, gave him time more than ſufficient to perform that noble work, to which he was encouraged by the prophets Jonah, the ſon of Amittai (A), and Hoſea, the ſon of Beeri, who were cotemporaries with him, and foretold, that he ſhould complete the deliverance of Iſrael which his father had began, notwithſtanding his cleaving to the idolatries of his predeceſſors. Accordingly, he took the Syrian capital Damaſcus, and Hamath, with all their territories; both which had formerly belonged to Judah [a], and all the country on the other ſide of Jordan, from Hamath to the ſea of the plain, or the dead ſea [b]. The particulars of all theſe glorious actions are unknown to us, having been written in the annals of the kings of Iſrael, long ſince loſt. He died in the 41ſt year of his reign, and was buried with his anceſtors in Samaria, and ſucceeded by his ſon Zachariah [c]. Jeroboam's reign was indeed a glorious one, with reſpect to his conqueſts, but it ſtands branded for various idolatries, and for the injuſtice, luxury, rapine, and other immoralities which reigned at that time; inſomuch, that the prophets Hoſea and Amos, who lived in his days, give us a very dreadful account of

Jeroboam II. king of Iſrael.

[a] See, 2 Sam. viii. 6. 2 Chron. viii. 3. & Num. xiii. 21.
[b] 2 Kings xiv. paſſ. [c] Ibid. ver. ult.

(A) This is the ſame Jonah, or Jonas, as he is called in the goſpel (34), who was afterwards ſent to preach repentance to the Ninivites (35). Uſher juſtly obſerves, that he was a native of Gathepher (36), a town in the tribe of Zebulun (37), in Galilee of the Gentiles (38), againſt that falſe affirmation of the Jews; That out of Galilee there never aroſe a prophet (39). It is uncertain, whether thoſe glorious ſucceſſes, which he foretold to the king of Iſrael, were committed to writing, and ſince loſt, or, which is more probable, were only delivered by word of mouth. We have nothing left of him but the book that bears his name, which relates to his being ſent to preach repentance at Niniveh, the metropolis of Aſſyria, and is therefore foreign to our preſent ſubject.

(34) Matt. xii. 41. (35) Jona. iii. paſſ. (36) 2 Kings xiv. 25. (37) Joſh. xix. 13. (38) Iſai. ix. 1. (39) John vii. 52. Vid. Vid. Uſſer. Ann. ſub A. M. 3197.

the disorders and debauchery, which were committed both in Samaria and in Israel (B), and were sent to foretel the sad

(B) The former of these prophets seems to accuse the Israelites (40) of the same enormities, as had been formerly committed in Gibeath, where the Levite's concubine had been abused to death (41). He speaks of their having multiplyed their idols to a shameful degree all over the kingdom, for which, and for all their other abominable practices, he denounces a total ruin and desolation to the king and people; which he also lived to see accomplished in the sixth year of Hezechiah, when Israel was carried away captive (42).

Hosea's prophecy begins with the command, which he received from God, to go and marry a common prostitute, and to adopt her spurious brood (43); a command, which has given so much offence to the pious, and has administered such occasion of ridicule to the libertines, that we hope it will not be thought improper to set the matter in a true light, for the benefit of those, who have not leisure, or opportunity, to consult the best commentators upon it. And here we may safely reject the solution of those subtile doctors, who pretend, that God may dispense with the laws of purity; or of those, who look upon this marriage to have been transacted only in a vision, or that it is only a parable; such evasions do often leave a greater difficulty, than they endeavour to remove.

Nothing is more obvious, than that the scriptures, we may add all languages, give to men and things the qualities they formerly had; thus the blind and deaf are said to see and hear, the dead to live, sinners to be reformed, and publicans and harlots [not those certainly who continued such, but those who were converted] to enter into the kingdom of God, before the priests, elders, and outwardly sanctified Pharisees (44). Will it not therefore be more natural to think, with better commentators (45), that the woman, whom the prophet is commanded to marry, had been a common prostitute before she became his wife? The priests indeed were forbid to marry such women, but none else; and provided they were reclaimed by it from their wicked lives, there was nothing in such marriages unworthy of a prophet. On the contrary, it was the propereſt emblem of God's merciful dealings with the Israelites, whom he espoused and adopted, notwithstanding all their former wickedness, and from whom he might justly challenge the suitable returns of obedience, faithfulness, and gratitude;

(40) Hos. x. 9. (41) Judg. xix. 14, & seq. (42) Conf. Hos. i. 1. & 2 Reg. xviii. 10. (43) Hos. Ibid. pass. (44) Mat. xxi. 31. & alib. (45) Vid. de Lyra. Riber. Piscat. & al. in loc.

ſad and total ruin, which their ſins would ſhortly bring upon the whole kingdom. Amos, in particular, was ſent from Judah, where he was a common ſhepherd, to denounce the moſt ſevere judgments againſt Iſrael, even to the total diſperſion of it; which he did under the types of graſhoppers, which deſtroyed all the fruit of the land; of a devouring fire; and laſtly, of a plummet line and a tottering wall, ready to bury the idols of Iſrael under its ruins [d]. For theſe prophecies he was accuſed to the king,

[d] Amos vii. paſſ.

titude; but which if they failed of, they could expect nothing but divorcement and rejection, ſuch as a woman in Gomer's caſe would deſerve, if ſhe ſhould relapſe into her former vices, after ſhe had been ſo kindly reclaimed from them (46).

We may add, that Hoſea, or, as the original calls him, הושע Hoſheagh, which word implies a Saviour, was a kind of type of Chriſt, who, we know, came to eſpouſe to himſelf a church, conſiſting, not of righteous, or of thoſe that thought themſelves ſuch, but of repenting ſinners, of all kinds and nations, and to reclaim them from their ſins by his precepts and example, as well as by grace and holy ſpirit. This typical marriage might therefore have a view to him, as well as to the literal ſalvation of Judah, and ruin of Iſrael, with which his prophecies are filled. This may further appear to be the caſe, if we conſider the names, character, and other circumſtances, relating to the children which the prophet had by this woman; particularly their changing of their names from Lo-Ammi, thou art not my people, into Ammi, thou art my people; and from Lo-Ruhamah, ſhe ſhall have no mercy, to Ruhamah, ſhe ſhall obtain mercy; as alſo, their becoming as numerous as the ſands of the ſea; all which ſeem chiefly to relate to the converſion of mankind to the chriſtian religion. But theſe are out of our province.

Hoſea is the firſt, whoſe prophecies we have had tranſmitted in writing; he continued in the exerciſe of his prophetical office near the ſpace of 70 years, during the reigns of Uzziah, or Azariah, Jothan, Ahaz, and Hezechiah. His prophecies are divided into 14 chapters; in the four firſt, he expoſes the various iniquities of the ten tribes; from thence to the 12th chapter, he denounces the puniſhments impending on them, particularly their deſtruction by Shalmanezer. The remainder is full of comfortable promiſes to the godly and penitent: what became of him at laſt, the text doth not tell us, and it is dangerous to truſt to any thing elſe.

(46) Vid. Pfeifer. Dubia. S. Script. Le Scene. Eſſay on a new ver. p. 1. Ch. 10.

by Amaſiah, one of the idolatrous prieſts of Bethel, and by him commanded to return into Judah and propheſy there; which he was forced to do, though not before he had denounced this heavy judgment againſt the meſſenger Amaſiah, that his wife ſhould become an open proſtitute in the city, that his ſons and daughters ſhould fall by the ſword, and himſelf die in a polluted land [e], namely, that of Aſſyria; whither the ten tribes were ſoon after carried away captive, and he, in all probability, along with them (C).

Zachariah. Zachariah ſucceeded his father Jeroboam: he was the great-grandſon of Jehu; and ſo far was God's promiſe to this laſt fulfilled, that the kingdom ſhould continue in his family to the fourth generation; but his threatenings againſt that kingdom did not lag behind, and we may date the downfal of Iſrael from the reign of Zachariah. From that time, we read of nothing but treaſons and rebellions, of murders, anarchy (D), and univerſal deſolation: Zachariah had ſcarce reigned ſix months, before he was publicly maſſacred by Shallum, one of his own domeſtics, accord-

Year of the Flood, 2227. Year before Chriſt, 772

ing

[e] Ibid. ver. ult.

(C) As for Amos, as he was neither prieſt nor prophet, but only called, upon this extraordinary caſe, to the latter, it is probable, that, after his return into the land of Judah, he retired into the city of Tekoah, where he continued to propheſy againſt Iſrael, for ſilencing and expelling him out of their kingdom (47). He foretold, in particular, the calamities which they would fall into after Jeroboam II's death; the murther of his ſon and ſucceſſor; the coming of Pul and Tiglath-pileſer, kings of Aſſyria, againſt Iſrael; and the captivity of the ten tribes. Some other of his prophecies are levelled againſt Syria, Tyre, the Philiſtines, Edomites, Ammonites, and Moabites; and ſome againſt the kingdom of Judah. His ſtyle is plain and low, and his expreſſions, ſuch as one might expect from a ruſtic or a ſhepherd. Other particulars relating to his life and death, which we meet with in ancient fathers, we omit, becauſe we neither think them material nor certain.

(D) Our archbiſhop Uſher (48) obſerves here, that there muſt have been an inter-regnum of eleven years and half, before Zachariah aſcended the throne; without which ſuppoſition, it will be impoſſible to make his death and Shallum's ſhort-lived reign to coincide with the 39th year of Azariah king of Judah, in which it is ſaid to have happened (49).

(47) Amos. ii. 13, & ſeq. iii. paſſ. & alib. (48) Ann. ſub. A. M. 3220. (49) 2 Kings xv. 8. 17.

ing to Joſephus [f], who ſeized upon the kingdom, and, after a reign of thirty days, was himſelf murdered by Menahem, Zachariah's general in the metropolis of Samaria. As ſoon as this laſt was ſeated upon the throne, he returned to Tirzah, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, formerly the reſidence of Jeroboam I. [g], which place refuſing to open the gates to him, he put all the inhabitants to the ſword, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on their pregnant women, that ever were done by the vileſt barbarians. It was not long, however, before he ſaw himſelf invaded by Pul king of Aſſyria (E); and, as he was not in a condition to make head againſt him, he was forced to buy his friendſhip at the price of 1000 talents of ſilver, which he levied upon the wealthieſt of his own ſubjects, whom he obliged to pay 60 ſhekels per head; upon which Pul returned homewards, and Menahem reigned quietly the remaining eleven years of his life, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Pekahiah, in the 50th year of Azariah, or Uzziah, king of Judah [h].

THE

[f] Ant. l. ix. c. 11. [g] See 1 Kings xiv. 17. [h] 2 Kings xv. 13, and 22.

(E) The ſame prelate (50) thinks, that this Pul was the father of Sardanapalus, called from him Sardan-Pul, as Merodach king of Babylon called Merodach-Baladan from his father Baladan. Pul is the firſt king of Aſſyria we find named in ſcripture from the time of Nimrod, and may be reaſonably enough ſuppoſed to have reigned in Niniveh, at the time of Jonah's preaching; and to have been converted by him.

Thoſe who follow the verſion of the ſeventy believe, that Pul was invited by Menahem to come to his aſſiſtance. One of the prophets upbraids indeed the king and people of Samaria, with ſending to Aſſyria for help, for which he threatens them with being ſent thither captives (52); but the original affirms, that he came againſt, or invaded, the land; and the book of Chronicles ſays expreſsly, that God ſtirred up the ſpirit of Pul againſt him, as he did afterwards that of Tilgath-pileſer, who carried away the two tribes and half beyond Jordan into captivity (53). Joſephus reckons this invaſion of Pul to have happened towards the latter end of Menahem's reign (54); but Uſher, whom we follow, places it in the beginning of it.

(50) Ub. ſup. (51) Hoſ. v. 13. viii. 9. 13. x. 6. 13. (52) Chron. ix. 3, & alib. paſſ. (53) Conf. 2 Kings xv. 19, & 1 Chron. v. ult. (54) Ant. l. ix. c. 11.

Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Chriſt, 771.

THE kingdom of Judah all this while enjoyed a perfect peace. Azariah, whom the people had ſet upon the throne, immediately after his father Amaſiah's murder, (that is, as the text expreſſes it) in the 27th year of Jeroboam IId's reign [i] (F), was then but ſixteen years of age, and was wholly directed by Zachariah, not the prophet of that name, who lived after their return from the captivity, but another, who is only known for the great wiſdom and piety of his counſels to the young monarch; ſo that, dureAzariah's piety; ing the life of that faithful counſellor, Azariah became equally conſpicuous for his zeal againſt idolatry, for his pious imitation of his beſt predeceſſors, and for his great and ſucceſs; ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of his neighbours, eſpecially the Philiſtines [k]. He likewiſe fortified his own metropolis, repaired the wall of it, which had been demoliſhed by the king of Iſrael, and built ſeveral fortreſſes and magazines in ſeveral parts of his kingdom, and in thoſe countries which he had taken from the Philiſtines, Arabians, and Mehunims (G). His army conſiſted of 307,500 brave men under the command of two expert generals, Maaſiah and Hananiah, and of Jehiel, his ſcribe, or ſecretary of war, who appointed each band their reſpective turns, according to the muſter-rolls. Beſides theſe, he had alſo 2600 officers,

[i] Ibid. ver. 1. [k] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, & ſeq. See vol. ii. p. 260.

(F) That is, as the ſame Uſher, and the margin of our bibles rightly obſerve, the 27th year from his being admitted co-partner with his father Jehoaſh, though but the 16th from his reigning ſole monarch.

(G) Theſe Mehunims the Chaldee paraphraſt renders מעון בטורא דמישר, The inhabitants in the wilderneſs of Mahon, which was in that part of Arabia-petrea, toward Gerar and Pharan; for which reaſon they ſeem joined with the Arabians of Gur-baal, who dwelt in another canton of the ſame province; and as both were in the ſame neighbourhood of Egypt, therefore the text adds, that Uzziah's fame was ſpread abroad, even unto the entering of Egypt (55).

We ought to obſerve here, that theſe wars of the king of Judah are not recorded in the book of Kings, where his hiſtory ſeems ſtrangely curtailed, but only in that of the Chronicles (56).

(55) Vid. Bochart. Phaleg l. ii. c. 23. Le Clerc. Com. in loc. & al. (56) Comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 1, & ſeq. & 2 Kings xiv. 21, & ſeq.

cers, all famous for their valour and experience; and a prodigious quantity of arms of all ſorts to ſupply his army with, and which he kept in ſeveral ſtrong ſtore-cities all over his kingdom. To theſe he added the invention of new machines for throwing darts, large ſtones, and other deſtructive materials, from his towers and bulwarks, which are ſaid to have been contrived by ſome of his expert engineers. Whilſt he was thus employed in his military affairs, he did not forget the buſineſs of agriculture; on the contrary, the text ſays, that he was a lover of it, that he had great herds of cattle, a great number of fields and vineyards, of huſbandmen and vine-dreſſers; and that he built towers and cots, and digged wells every where for the convenience of his ſervants and cattle. So that, whether we look upon him in peace or war, he ſeems to have arrived at the height of glory and wealth. Army, and magazines.

But all this he unhappily loſt by one raſh act, his attempting to infringe upon the prieſtly office, and to burn incenſe upon the ſacred altar. He was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by the then high-prieſt Azariah, at the head of fourſcore other zealous prieſts, who repreſented to him, in vain, that it was a province which belonged only to the ſons of Aaron; the infatuated king would not deſiſt from it, till he felt himſelf ſmitten with leproſy, in ſuch a ſudden and extraordinary manner, as made him ſenſible, that it was ſent from God, as a puniſhment for his preſumption. The prieſts, as ſoon as they perceived the firſt tokens of that polluting diſeaſe appear in his forehead, were going to force him out of the temple; but Azariah was by that time ſtruck with ſuch terror and remorſe (H), that he

(H) The reaſon of Uzziah's being thus miraculouſly ſmitten with leproſy is only found in the book of Chronicles. Joſephus (57) adds a very remarkable circumſtance, which accompanied this puniſhment, if we may take his word for it; namely, that, while the king perſiſted to threaten the prieſts who oppoſed his impious deſign, God ſent a miraculous earthquake, which had this double effect, that it opened the roof of the temple, through the crack of which that ray of light got entrance which lighted upon his face, and covered it with leproſy; and, 2. that it rent a mountain in two which ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from Jeruſalem, one half of which having rolled about four furlongs, ſtopt againſt another mountain, choaked the high-way, and covered the king's garden all over with rubbiſh.

Some

(57) Ant. l. 9. c. 12.

he saved them that trouble, and made what haste he could, not only out of that sacred place, but even out of the city, and went to live in a separate house, where he continued, infected with that distemper, secluded from common society, and deprived of the regal power, unto the day of his death, and was buried in a sepulchre, apart, adjoining to that of his ancestors [l]. He died in the 52d year of his reign, and the 68th year of his age [m], and was succeeded by his son Jotham, who had taken the government upon him immediately after his father's seclusion. The author of the Chronicles adds, that Uzziah's history was written by Isaiah the son of Amos [n]; but we find nothing now of him in the writings of that prophet, but his name [o].

His death.

Two years before Azariah's death, Pekejah succeeded his father Menahem in Israel; and, after two years reign, was killed in his own palace by Pekah the son of Remaliah, one of his generals, who ascended the throne about a year

Pekejah king of Israel murdered, and succeeded by Pekah.

[l] 2 Chron. xxvi. p. tot. [m] 2 Kings xv. 2. [n] 2 Chron. ib. ver. 22, 23. [o] See Isai. i. 1. vii. 1.

Some of the prophets do, indeed, speak of an earthquake, which happened in Uzziah's days; but, besides, that neither they, nor the sacred historian, mention any thing of its wonderful effects against that monarch; it is plain, Josephus must be out in his chronology, because he makes it to have happened towards the latter end of that monarch's life; (for he says expressly, that he died of grief, soon after his misfortune,) whereas the former of the prophets above-mentioned says, that the earthquake happened in the days of Uzziah and of Jeroboam II. Now it is plain, as the learned Usher observes, that this was long before Uzziah was smitten with leprosy, because his son Jotham, who took the government upon him immediately upon his seclusion, was not born till some time after Jeroboam's death (59). This remark will also hold equally good against the rest of the Jews, who, to make the earthquake and the king's punishment meet, affirm, that they happened in the 25th year of his reign, that is, before Jotham was born. Both therefore, Josephus and they, have joined two events together, to make the king's punishment appear more wonderful, which, it is plain from what has been said above, happened, the one about the middle, and the other towards the latter end of that prince's reign, that is, at about 25 years distance from each other.

(58) Amos i. 1. Zechar. xiv. 5. (59) Vid. Usser. A sub. A. M. 3221.

a year before Jotham ſucceeded his father in Judah. The character of theſe two princes was very oppoſite: Pekah was a wicked prince, and followed the ſteps of his predeceſſors, ſo that his reign proved troubleſome and unſucceſsful, and ended in a violent death: Jotham was 25 years old when his father died, he was a wiſe and pious prince, and appears to have inherited all his father's virtues without any of his vices, and was bleſſed with extraordinary ſucceſs. Pekah, having made a league with Rezin king of Syria, made an attempt againſt Judah; but he was ſoon forced to go back and defend his own territories againſt Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria, who had invaded the land of Napthali, took the moſt conſiderable towns of it, and carried that whole tribe captive into his own kingdom; whilſt Jotham gained ſeveral conſiderable advantages againſt his neighbours, eſpecially againſt the Ammonites, whom he brought under a yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver, 10,000 meaſures of wheat, and the ſame quantity of barley [p]; as we have ſeen elſewhere †. At length, having repaired and beautified the temple, fortified the city, and done many other public acts, Jotham died in peace, after he had reigned ſixteen years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ahaz. As for Pekah, after he had had the mortification to ſee one whole tribe torn from him by a foreign power, and his kingdom, during the laſt ten years of his reign, reduced into anarchy and rebellion; he was murdered and ſucceeded by Hoſhea the ſon of Elah, in the 20th year of his reign [q], and about three years after Jotham's death. Jotham king of Judah.

HOWEVER, he was more ſucceſsful, during thoſe three laſt years, againſt Jotham's unworthy ſon, whoſe impieties made his reign as unfortunate and inglorious, as that of his father had been glorious and ſucceſsful. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, before his kingdom was invaded by the joint forces of the kings of Iſrael and Syria. Ahaz was then under the utmoſt conſternation, at the news of two ſuch powerful enemies coming up againſt him, and ſeem to have expected nothing leſs than the total diſſolution of the Jewiſh monarchy; when Iſaiah the ſon of Ahaz's idolatrous and unſucceſsful reign.

Amos

[p] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. † See vol. ii. p. 128. [q] 2 Kings xv. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxvii. p. tot. See alſo Uſſer. An. ſub. A. M. 3245. and the margin of our Bible on 2 Kings xv. 30.

Amos [r] (I), who had began to prophesy even from the latter end of Uzziah's reign, came to him from the Lord, to assure him, that these two princes should try their strength in vain against Jerusalem, which they were then about besieging [s]. At the same time, to assure him, that the final end of the Jewish monarchy, which he feared, was far enough off, he bid him ask a sign of God, though never so hard, and it should be granted to him. Here the king, whether out of respect, or despondency and unbelief, refusing to ask for the promised sign, the prophet assured him, from the Lord, that before that time came, *a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name* Himmanu-el, *or* God with us, and so on (K).

No

[r] See Isai. i. 1. [s] Ibid. vii. 1, 2. & seq. 2 Kings xvi. 5. See also vol. ii. p. 324.

(I) Isaiah, called from the womb to be a prophet, (60), and endowed with singular courage and eloquence for that important office (61), is affirmed by the Jews, and believed by many Christians, to have been the grandson of Joash king of Judah (62). His first vision was about the latter end of Uzziah's reign (63); but his prophecies relate to his successors, namely, the first six chapters to Jotham, the six next to his son Ahaz, and the rest to Hezekiah; excepting, that several of them are interspersed, which relate to the Messiah, and to the fate of several foreign kingdoms. He is justly esteemed the prince of the prophets, for the inimitable loftiness and majesty of his stile, as well as for the clearness of his prophecies.

He was highly respected by the good kings, especially by Hezekiah, who sent to consult him upon all emergencies; and as ill treated by the bad ones, especially by Manasseh, by whom he is supposed to have been put to a cruel death, as we have hinted elsewhere †.

(K) This we take to be a much more natural sense of that prophecy, than to suppose, as some have done (64), that such a miraculous child was really born in Ahaz's time, to assure him of the promised deliverance; for as there is not the least mention of such an extraordinary birth, so neither do we see, that there was any

(60) Vid. Isai. xlix. 1, & seq. (61) Ibid. l. 4. (62) Ita. Rabbin. Omn. Vid. & Hieron. in Isai. pass. (63) Ibid. vi. 1, & seq. † Vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. sect. 4. Courts of Judicature, not. D. (64) Whitb. in loc. Literal prophec. & al.

No ſooner had the firſt part of the prophecy been verified, and the city been delivered from the impending ruin, than the impious Ahaz gave himſelf up to the vileſt impieties and idolatries, in which he far outwent the very worſt of his predeceſſors; burning incenſe to every deity, in groves, high places, and in the valley of Hinnon, and burning his very children in the fire, after the manner of other nations [t], till God was pleaſed at laſt to give him up to his two grand enemies. Rezin, to make himſelf amends for his

[t] 2 Chron xxviii. 3. & ſeq.

any neceſſity for it, in order to convince the deſponding king, who could not be ignorant of that prophecy of Jacob, that *the ſcepter ſhould not depart from Judah —— till Shiloh was come* (65); much leſs that he was to ſpring of the lineage of David. But what ſtaggered Ahaz's faith, and made him fear, that the regal power was going to depart from his family, was, that his two enemies had combined to ſet up a ſtranger upon his throne (66). All, therefore, that was wanting to diſpel his preſent fears about it, was for the prophet to aſſure him from God, that this Shiloh promiſed to Judah and David, who was to fore-run the total exciſion of the Jewiſh polity, was to be born in a miraculous manner, and with a divine character, and other remarkable circumſtances, ſuch as he might be eaſily ſatisfied, had not as yet happened in his kingdom.

As for that part of the prophecy which is commonly urged on the other ſide, namely, *Before this wonderful child ſhall know good from evil, the land which thou abhorreſt ſhall be forſaken of both her kings* (67); we think, that if it be rightly underſtood, it will rather confirm our ſenſe of the prophecy, and that the words ought to be thus rendered: For, (or rather, as the particle כִּי Ki, ſeems to import here,) Nay before this child can know good from evil, this land which thou (קָץ Kotz, not abhorreſt, as our verſion renders it, but) art ſo ſolicitous about, or giveſt up for loſt, ſhall be bereaved of both her kings; by which, we think, ought to be underſtood, not the kings of Syria and Iſrael, for the former could not be called her (Canaan's) king, and the latter had but a ſhare in it at beſt, but the kings of Iſrael and Judah; as it really was before the coming of the Meſſiah.

However, though we have delivered this our own private opinion, we ſhall venture no further upon the argument, much leſs upon ſome other parts of this prophecy, leſt we ſhould be thought to expatiate too far out of our province.

(65) Gen. xlix. 10. See vol. ii. p. 486. not. G.
(66) Iſai. vii. 6. (67) Ibid. ver. 16.

his ill ſucceſs againſt Jeruſalem, went and recovered Eloth, a conſiderable ſea-port town upon the Red-Sea, which Uzziah had taken from him; he repaired and fortified it, drove the Jews out of it, and peopled it with his Syrian ſubjects; and from that time the Jews never could retake it from his ſucceſſors *. What havock he made in his territories, we have already partly ſeen in the Syrian hiſtory †.

A great ſlaughter of his ſubjects.

THE king of Iſrael was ſtill the more inveterate and ſucceſsful of the two, and it is not eaſy to ſay, how far he might have carried on his conqueſts againſt him, had not a prophet been ſent from God to put a timely ſtop to them. He had already killed in one ſingle battle, 120,000 of his braveſt ſubjects, beſides Maazaiah, Ahaz's ſon, and ſome of the nobleſt that were next his royal perſon; and had likewiſe taken 200,000 captive women and children, whom they were carrying away to Samaria; when Obed, that was the prophet's name, ſtopped them ſhort, and aſked them, whether they did not think it enough to have made ſuch a horrid and univerſal ſlanghter of their brethren, unleſs they carried away a much greater number into ſlavery? He added, that though the idolatries of Judah had drawn thoſe heavy judgments upon that unfortunate tribe, yet if they perſiſted to carry thoſe innocent priſoners into captivity, their cruelty would bring down much ſeverer ones upon themſelves. He concluded, with exhorting them to be contented with the rich plunder they had got, and to ſend their captives back to Jeruſalem; which they at length complied with. This ſpeeeh did even work ſo far upon them, that they did not diſmiſs them without ſome ſignal tokens of pity and humanity [u].

Edom and the Philiſtines invade him.

WHITST Ahaz's affairs were in this diſmal plight, the Edomites and Philiſtines did invade other parts of his land; the former of whom carried away a great number of captives, and the latter recovered ſeveral conſiderable frontier towns from him [x]. In this extremity he had recourſe to his old ally the king of Aſſyria, whom to gain to his aſſiſtance, he made no ſcruple to ſtrip both temple and city of all the gold and ſilver. Tilgath-pileſer received his preſents, but, inſtead of coming to aſſiſt him againſt the confederate kings, he turned his whole ſtrength againſt that of Syria;

* 2 Kings xvi. 6. † See vol. ii. p. 324.
[u] 2 Chron. xxviii. from ver. 6. to 16. [x] Ibid. ver. 17, 18. See vol. ii. p. 260.

Syria, under a pretence of cauſing a diverſion (L); and having killed Rezin, and ſeized upon his capital, Ahaz came thither to pay a viſit to him, upon what deſign is not eaſy to gueſs. Among the curioſities which he ſaw at Damaſcus, he was ſo taken with the elegance of a heatheniſh altar, that he cauſed a model to be taken from it, and to be ſent to Urijah the high-prieſt, with orders, that he ſhould cauſe one to be made after it, and to be ſet up in the temple. Urijah dared not diſobey, but cauſed the altar to be made, and to be placed in the room of the old one, which had been ſet up by Solomon; which laſt was put by on the north ſide of it. At his return, the king highly pleaſed to ſee his orders ſo punctually executed, offered up incenſe, and a vaſt quantity of ſacrifices upon it; but he ſoon after cauſed the temple to be ſhut up, whilſt he reared

His idolatry.

(L) This is, at leaſt, the beſt way to reconcile the book of Kings and that of Chronicles, the former of which ſays, that he came to Ahaz's aſſiſtance; and the latter, that he did not, but rather ſtraightned him (68).

Some indeed (69) think, that Ahaz put himſelf too much in his power, and was become a kind of dependent upon him, living in continual fear of being invaded by him. This is indeed far from improbable, ſince he left his ſucceſſor under an obligation of paying a tribute to the Aſſyrians, whoſe general taxed him with rebellion for not paying it accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. This made Tremellius conjecture to be the reaſon, why he is ſaid to have turned the outward entry, which led from the royal palace to the temple (70), namely leſt Tiglath ſhould aſſault him that way, and ſo break into his palace (71). Another author (72) thinks that the ſame fear made him remove the מוסך Muſſac; or covering of the ſabbath which he agrees, with us, was the throne on which the kings uſed to ſeat themſelves during the ſervice of the temple; and cauſed it to be hid, leſt that prince ſhould carry it away with him. There might indeed be ſome ground for it, if we had the leaſt hint in the text of his coming towards Jeruſalem; but as that is not the caſe, we may ſuppoſe, that Ahaz did remove both that, and all that was valuable in the temple, only to convert it all to his own uſe.

This Tilgath-pileſer is the ſame with Ninus the younger, who reigned in Aſſyria 19 years as will be ſeen in its proper place.

(68) Conf. 2 Kings xvi. 7, & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xxviii. 20, 21.
(69) Vid. Uſſer. An. A. M. 3265.
(70) Tremel. in loc.
(71) 2 Kings xvi. 18.
(72) Calm. Hiſt. V. T. l. v. c. 44. & al.

reared altars in every corner of Jeruſalem, and every where elſe to the Syrian gods, which he ſaid had been ſo ſucceſsful againſt him; and having abandoned himſelf to the moſt abominable idolatries, he finiſhed his impious reign in the 36th year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hezekiah; he reigned ſixteen years [y], and was buried in Jeruſalem, not in the ſepulchre of David, of which he was eſteemed unworthy, but in ſome other place by itſelf [z].

and death.

THE kingdom of Iſrael, all this while was in no better plight than that of Judah: Pekah had paid dear for his ſucceſs againſt it, being murdered by Hoſhea ſoon after his return; that is, in the fourth year of Ahaz (M). This revolution, however, proved ſo diſtaſtful to the Iſraelites, that it cauſed a kind of anarchy, which laſted almoſt nine years; during which time, Hoſhea found it a difficult taſk to keep himſelf upon the throne: and after he had quelled theſe commotions, and began to reign more peaceably, we do not find, that he made any hoſtile attempt, either againſt Ahaz or his ſucceſſor. He had indeed other buſineſs upon his hand, Shalmaneſer had, by this time, ſucceeded Tiglath-pileſer in Aſſyria, and whether Hoſhea had been forced to make uſe of his aſſiſtance to ſettle himſelf upon his throne, or whether his predeceſſor had committed any hoſtilities againſt Iſrael, during his alliance with Ahaz, Hoſhea was by ſome means, not mentioned in the text, become tributary to Aſſyria [a], and was endeavouring to free himſelf from that yoke, by courting So, king of Egypt, to an alliance with him. This attempt proved the ſource of new troubles, which ended at laſt in the total exciſion of the Iſraelitiſh monarchy, as we ſhall ſee very ſoon.

Hoſhea king of Iſrael.

His troublesome reign.

IN

[y] 2 Kings xvi. 2. [z] 2 Chron. xxviii. ult. [a] 2 Kings xvii. 3, & ſeq.

(M) The text ſays (73) in the 20th year of Jotham, but as he reigned but 16 years (74), it can mean no more than 20 years, from the time that he began to reign; that is, in the fourth year of his ſon and ſucceſſor. In the ſame manner we muſt underſtand what is ſaid in another place (75), that Hoſhea began to reign in the 12th year of Ahaz; by which is meant, that he did not properly begin to reign till then, by reaſon of the ſtirs and tumults, which aroſe after the murder of his predeceſſor.

(73) 2 Kings xv. 13. (74) Ibid. ver. 33. (75) Ibid. xvii. 1.

In the mean time, Hezekiah had aſcended his father's throne, in the 25th year of his age, and in the 12th, or, as the text hath it, in the third year of Hoſhea's reign, that is, abating the firſt nine years of anarchy, mentioned in the laſt note. It was not difficult for him to diſcover the ſource of all Judah's misfortunes, and the moſt effectual means to retrieve them: this is what he ſet about with the utmoſt diligence and application. He began with opening the temple, which his impious father had cauſed to be ſhut up, and commanded the prieſts and levites to purify themſelves and it, and to renew the daily worſhip of God, acccording to the law of Moſes. This good work was begun upon the firſt day of the year, it being the ſabbath [b], and was finiſhed on ſaturday the 16th of the ſame month. The king then aſſembled the elders of Judah on the next morning, and went with them to the temple, attended with the prieſts and levites, and a numerous croud of people. Here they began to offer up the proper offerings to expiate the ſins of the nation; after which, they ſacrificed ſuch numbers of burnt and peace-offerings, that the prieſts who aſſiſted at the ceremony, being inſufficient for the ſervice, were obliged to call in the levites to their aſſiſtance, and theſe accepted the office with the utmoſt readineſs and joy (N). All this while, the air was filled with the ſound of the trumpets, and other muſical inſtruments, and with the voices of the ſingers, who accompanied the ceremony with pſalms and hymns, ſuitable to that extraordinary ſolemnity, which was concluded with expreſſions of the utmoſt joy and ſatisfaction, both in the king and people. It could not indeed but be a pleaſing ſight, to ſee

Hezekiah's good reign.

Year of the Flood, 2272. Year before Chriſt, 727.

The temple opened, and purified.

[b] 2 Chron. xxix. 3, & ſeq.

(N) It appears by the text, that a great number of prieſts had proved tardy in obeying the king's command, ſo that they could not vacate at the ſervice of the temple, for want of being purifyed, whilſt the levites, who had ſhewed a more than ordinary diligence in complying with it (76), were honoured with that office, from which their inferior rank excluded them. What part they did bear in it, doth not appear; but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they helped to kill and prepare that vaſt number of victims, which were then offered; whilſt the prieſts were taken up with making the proper aſperſions with the blood, and offering the fat and fleſh of them, as they received them at their hands.

(76) 2 Chron. xxix. 34. xxx. 15, & ſeq.

a king and nation so suddenly turned from the worship of the filthiest idols, to that of the living God [c]. One misfortune there was, however, that the season was past for celebrating the passover; that solemnity was to begin on the eve of the 14th day of that month, and it was now the 17th; but their zeal pointed to them an expedient out of the law of Moses, where it is prescribed, that those, who, by reason of any legal impediment, could not celebrate that festival on the first, should do it on the second month †.

A solemn passover celebrated.

The good king postponed it accordingly, and made use of that interval, to send circular letters through his whole kingdom, to invite his subjects to be present at that feast, on the 14th of the next month. His piety went further; and the miseries, under which the idolatrous Israelites groaned, inspired him with a desire of endeavouring, at least, to work a reformation in that unhappy kingdom: to this end he wrote a most pathetic letter to them, which he sent by proper deputies, wherein he discovered to them the source of all their misfortunes, and exhorted them to return to the worship of the true God, and to present themselves before him at the ensuing solemnity, as the most effectual means, not only to avert his future judgments, but even to obtain from him the gracious recalling of their unhappy brethren, whom the kings of Assyria had carried into captivity [d] (O).

Israel invited to it by the king.

Whilst the king's messengers took their progress from Dan to Beersheba, the Jews were taken up with burning and demolishing all the idols, altars, and other idolatrous monuments, which had been reared in Jerusalem, and flung them into the brook Kedron, so that that metropolis was thoroughly purged, before the appointed festival was come. By this time the city was filled with people, not only from all the parts of the kingdom, but also from that of Israel, out of the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, Manasseh, and Issachar. These did not indeed come in such numbers, there being many even of these four tribes, as well

Several of them come to the feast.

[c] Ibid. p. tot.

† See vol. iii. ch. 7. sect. 4. of the passover, & not. P.

[d] 2 Chron. xxx. 6, & seq.

(O) This shews, that Tiglath-pileser, or his successor, had invaded part of Hoshea's kingdom; and it is probable, that it was at this time that he laid it under a tribute; unless we will suppose with some authors (77), that it had began in Pul's time: see the next note.

(77) Vid. Calmet. Hist. V. T. Tom. iii. Ch. 47. ad fin.

well as of the other five, who made a jeſt of the king's pious invitation; not that Hoſhea did in any way oppoſe it, for it doth not appear that he did: On the contrary, as he is recorded to have been far leſs wicked than any of his predeceſſors [e], it is probable, the bad ſituation of his affairs may have induced him to embrace any means, that would render providence more propitious to him. However, thoſe of his ſubjects, who came to the feaſt, either had not had time enough to purify themſelves, or, which is as probable, the very memory of thoſe neceſſary preparatives had been quite obliterated in Iſrael, during ſo long an interval of diſuſe, ſo that they ventured to eat the paſſover with the reſt, without regard to the illegality of it. Some therefore acquainted Hezekiah with it, but the king, who had nothing more at heart than to cheriſh their pious zeal, eaſily overlooked that circumſtance, and only prayed to God to do the ſame. However, for the ſake of thoſe of his own people, who were alſo unpurified, among whom were ſeveral prieſts and levites, he ordered the feſtival to be celebrated another ſeven days, that none might be excluded from it. This ſolemnity, the like to which had not been obſerved ſince the latter end of Solomon's reign [f], inſpired the people with ſuch uncommon zeal, that, as ſoon as they were diſmiſſed from it, they went about deſtroying all the old relicks of idolatry, each in their reſpective countries, the king himſelf encouraging them by his example, till he had utterly cleared his kingdom from them. Even the very braſen ſerpent, which Moſes had cauſed to be ſet up in the wilderneſs [g], did Hezekiah cauſe to be broken in pieces, becauſe he found, that the people had offered incenſe to it, and in contempt called it Nehuſhtan, that is, a piece of braſs [h].

His next care was to reſtore all the branches of the worſhip of God, to make an exact ſcrutiny into the genealogies of the prieſts, levites, and muſicians, in order to ſettle their ſeveral claſſes, according to David's model. He provided for their maintenance by reviving the laws of Moſes, concerning the firſt-fruits, tythes, redemption, vows, and ſuch like, relating to the levitical revenues, and appointed proper officers for receiving them, ſo that by October following, by which time all the fruits are brought in, they had received their income, and proper diſtribu-

[e] 2 Kings xvii. 2. [f] 2 Chron. xxx. paſſ. [g] Num. xxi. 8. & ſeq. [h] 2 Kings xviii. 4.

tion had been made of it among them [i]. Hezekiah, all this while, was bleſſed with ſucceſs equal to his piety; and as ſoon as he found himſelf ſtrong enough to free himſelf from the tribute, which the Aſſyrians had forced from his predeceſſor, he withheld his hand from paying it, and turned his forces againſt the Philiſtines, over whom he got ſuch conſiderable advantages, that he regained, with uſury, all that they had gotten during Ahaz's unhappy reign *.

Hezekiah's ſucceſs.

Iſrael invaded.

It fared quite otherwiſe with the kingdom of Iſrael, and Hoſhea, little thinking how near it was come to its final period, was only thinking how to free it from the Aſſyrian bondage. But Shalmaneſer, who kept, no doubt, a watchful eye over him, did ſoon diſcover and break all his meaſures. To work his overthrow more effectually, and that he might leave no enemy behind to ſtop his progreſs, he took care to ſecure the land of Moab, by razing their two chief cities [k], according to Iſaiah's prophecy denounced three years before [l], and laying waſte all that land and that of Iſrael, till he was come to the gates of Samaria, and had laid cloſe ſiege to it. Hoſhea, who had not been able to make head againſt him, had, however, ſo well fortifyed himſelf in that city, that it held out almoſt three years againſt the Aſſrian king. The text gives us no further particulars, either of this ſiege or war, except that, after the taking of that metropolis, the reſt of the kingdom was forced to ſubmit to the conqueror, and that both the king and all his ſubjects were carried away into captivity, and diſpoſed of into the ſame provinces of that empire, whither their brethren had been ſent in a former reign (P); but we have

[i] 2 Chron. xxxi. paſſ. * See Vol. ii. p. 260. [k] Ibid. p. 115. See alſo Uſher's Ann. ſub. A. M. 3280. [l] Iſai. xv. 1.

(P) The firſt book of the Chronicles tells us, that God ſtirred up Pul and Tiglath-pilneſer, kings of Aſſyria, againſt the impious Iſraelites, and that the latter did carry away the two tribes and half from beyond Jordan, and ſent them into the countries of Hala, Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan (78). And the book of Tobit adds, that the tribe of Naphthali, of which Tobit was, being carried away by Enemeſſar, who is the ſame with Shalmaneſer, was placed in the province of Media, and himſelf in the capital of it, called Rages, where he left ten talents with his kinſman (79). What thoſe countries were, which we

(78) Ch. v. ult. (79) Ch. i. paſſ.

have a dreadful account of it in ſome of the prophets, who deſcribe the diſtreſs of the people in the ſtrongeſt terms [m]. The Aſſyrians committed the moſt horrid cruelties againſt their captives, ripping up their pregnant women, and daſhing their children againſt the ground [n]; and, having reduced Samaria into a heap of rubbiſh [o], and laid waſte all the land, returned home laden with the ſpoil of Iſrael. As for the land into which the ten tribes were carried, it has been ſought in vain by the learned of all ages: what the moſt probable conjecture is concerning it, will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter. This was the ſad and fatal end of the Iſraelitiſh kingdom [p], after it had ſtood divided from that of Judah 254 years [q]. It happened in the 6th year of Hezekiah, and in the 9th of Hoſhea. A great number, however, of the Iſraelites did eſcape with their lives, ſome into Egypt, and a much greater number into the kingdom of Judah; where they weaned themſelves by degrees from their former idolatries and rebellion, and became ſubjects to Hezekiah and his ſucceſſors. On the other hand, the Aſſyrians, Joſephus ſays Shalmaneſer [r], but it was more probably his ſucceſſor, ſent colonies from ſeveral of their provinces, but chiefly from Cuthah, to repeople the land of Iſrael, from whence theſe new inhabitants came to be called Cutheans [s] (Q).

[m] Hoſ. paſſ. [n] x. 8. 14. [o] Micah. i. 6. & alib. [p] 2 Kings xvii. paſſ. [q] Vid. Uſſer. Ann. in A. M. 3283. See alſo Vol. iii. Chap. vii. Sect. v. firſt paragraph. [r] Ant. l. ix. c. 14. [s] 2 Kings xvii. 24. Vid. Joſeph. ub. ſup.

we mentioned out of the Chronicles, and how they are underſtood, belongs to another chapter; but it is plain by this, that there was at leaſt a double invaſion of the land of Iſrael by the Aſſyrians, and a double captivity.

(Q) The text adds (80), that theſe new colonies were like to have been deſtroyed by lions, Joſephus ſays by peſtilence (81), upon their very firſt ſettlement, for their diſregard to God; ſo that they were forced to ſend into Aſſyria, to deſire the king to ſend them ſome Iſraelitiſh prieſts, to inſtruct them how to worſhip and appeaſe him. This being complied with, they ſet themſelves immediately about it, but without forſaking the worſhip of their own gods, which they had brought from their reſpective countries. And here began a new kind of religion, not unlike that of

(80) 2 Kings xvii. 25, & ſeq. (81) Ant. l. 9. c. 14.

Hezekiah, all this while, had enjoyed a profound peace in his kingdom; and Sennacherib, the new king of Aſſyria, contenting himſelf with the tribute which both he and his predeceſſor paid to him, had ſuffered him to enjoy the fruits of his piety and conqueſts; but as ſoon as he found him to fail in it, he came againſt him with ſuch a powerful army, and took from him ſuch a number of fortified cities, in ſo ſhort a time, as ſeemed to threaten nothing leſs than the total ruin of the whole kingdom. Hezekiah, who ſaw his error too late, had no way left to retrieve it, but by a ſpeedy ſubmiſſion; he ſent an embaſſy to Sennacherib, acknowledging his fault, and promiſing him to ſubmit to whatever terms he ſhould impoſe upon him; and accompanied it with the richeſt preſents, for which he was forced to ſtrip the temple and his own treaſury of all their ſilver and gold. This wrought ſo well upon the conqueror, at leaſt for the preſent, that he returned with his army, without inflicting any other penalty, than a yearly tribute of 300 talents of ſilver and 30 talents of gold. But this reſpite, though ſo dearly bought, did not laſt long; for the treacherous Aſſyrian king, who continued ſtill at Lachiſh, did ſoon after ſend his army, under the command of Tartan, Rabſaris, and Rabſhakeh, directly againſt Jeruſalem; ſo that Hezekiah ſaw himſelf in much greater danger than ever of loſing his kingdom and liberty, if not his life.

WHILST theſe were coming againſt him, the king made all proper preparations for a brave defence; he fortified the city, repaired the wall of it, ſurrounded it with another wall, fenced it with towers, and laid in good ſtore of arms and proviſions for the ſiege. He likewiſe cauſed all the fountains about the city to be ſtopped, and the courſe of the brook Gihon, which watered all that region, to be turned another way, to cut off, as much as poſſible, all ſupply of water from the enemy. This done, he called together all his chief officers to one of the gates of the city; and exhorted them, in a grave and pious ſpeech, to rely wholly of the Iſraelites; conſiſting in the worſhip of the true God and of a number of falſe deities. Hence ſprang that mutual hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, the former abominating even the name of the latter, and theſe always diſclaiming any kindred with them in time of adverſity, though forward enough to claim it in time of proſperity (82).

(82) Id. ibid.

wholly upon God, to behave with becoming valour, and by no means to be diſcouraged at the number and ſtrength of the faithleſs Aſſyrians *. It is not, indeed, eaſy to determine, whether all this was done before his recovery from a dangerous illneſs, or after it, more probably the latter, and that his imminent danger, and the treachery of Sennacherib, brought it upon him; for about this time he was ſeized with a dangerous diſeaſe (R), and forewarned by the prophet Iſaias to ſet his affairs in order, ſince he would certainly die of it. The good king, who, about a year or two before, had received a ſevere reproof from that prophet, and probably alſo about the ſame time from Micah the Moraſhite, for truſting too much upon Egpyt, and ſeeking for help from thence [t], received the dreadful ſummons with inexpreſſible grief, not doubting, in all likelihood, but that he had provoked God by it to ſhorten his days, he being then but in the 38th year of his age [u]. Joſephus attributes this exceſſive ſorrow to another cauſe, namely, his dying then without an heir to ſucceed him [w]; which is not at all improbable, becauſe his ſon was but twelve years old when he aſcended the throne [x]. As ſoon, therefore, as the prophet was gone, Hezekiah turned himſelf towards the wall, and addreſſed himſelf to God in the moſt humble and pathetic terms, accompanied with a flood of tears, which proved ſuch powerful advocates with the divine mercy, that the prophet, who was ſcarce got out of the palace, was commanded by God to return, and carry the dying monarch the joyful news of his recovery, which would prove ſo ſpeedy, that he ſhould be able, within three days, to go to the temple, and pay his thanks to God for it. And, as a farther proof of the efficacy of his prayer, Iſaiah was bid to aſſure him, that his life ſhould be prolonged fifteen years, and himſelf and his kingdom be delivered from the impending danger (S) [y].

THESE

* 2 Kings xviii. 13, & ſeq. [t] Comp. 2. Kings xviii. 21. 2 Chr. xxxii 24, & ſeq. Iſai. xxx, & ſeq. & Jerem. xxvi. 18. [u] Comp. 2 Kings xviii. and the laſt note. [w] Ant. l. x. c. 1. [x] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. [y] 2 Kings xx. 1, & ſeq. Iſai. xxxviii. p. tot.

(R) This diſeaſe, if we may gueſs at it by the remedy which the prophet applied to it, and by the ſpeedineſs of the cure, ſeems to have been a kind of quincy, or impoſthume in his throat, which was happily broke by the lump of dried figs.

(S) This ſickneſs of the king is, indeed, poſtponed in the ſacred hiſtory,

THESE glorious promiſes did not, however, gain credit with the deſponding king; he could not eaſily reconcile two ſuch different meſſages from the ſame prophet, and therefore thought, that he had a right to inſiſt upon ſome more ſignal proof to aſſure him of the laſt. The prophet ſoon obtained, by his prayers, ſuch an authentic proof, as ſhould at once convince, both him and his whole kingdom, that it was backed with the divine ſanction. It was a retrogradation of ten degrees of the ſun's ſhadow, by the dial of the royal palace (T); after which, a cataplaſm of dried

hiſtory, and related after that of his deliverance from the Aſſyrian hoſt (83); but it is plain, that it muſt have happened before it; 1. becauſe the prophet aſſures the king from God, both of that deliverance, and of his recovery; and, 2. becauſe he promiſes him an addition of fifteen years reign (84). Now Hezekiah reigned but twenty-nine years in all (85), from which the fifteen being ſubtracted, it is plain, that he fell ill in the 14th year of his reign, which was the year in which the king of Aſſyria began to invade his kingdom (86).

(T) The text runs literally thus in the original; *and the lord brought back the ſhadow of the ſteps, or degrees, which was gone down by the dial, or degrees of Ahaz, ten degrees or ſteps* (87), which we purpoſely take notice of here, as we did before of a parallel miracle †, to ſhew, that the ſacred hiſtorian had expreſſed him in ſuch terms, as were within reach of the vulgar, and yet very compatible with the ſolar ſyſtem now commonly received.

It is true, that Iſaiah, who relates the ſtory in almoſt the ſame words, and mentions only the ſhadow, when he puts it to the king's option, whether it ſhould go backwards or forwards, doth add, that the ſun went back ten of the degrees which he had gone (88). But it is plain, that he intends no more than the rays of it. Thus the pſalmiſt ſays; *the ſun ſhall not hurt thee by day, nor the moon by night* (89); and in Jonah, that *the ſun beat upon his head* (90), by which can be only meant his beams. There is nothing more common than that expreſſion in all languages, the ſun comes in at ſuch a window, or ſuch a part of the houſe, and the like. The words, therefore, of the prophet may be naturally rendered thus, and the beams of the ſun (being miraculouſly inflected) cauſed the ſhadow to go back over ten of the degrees, or

(83) 2 Kings xx. 1, & ſeq. Iſai. xxxviii. 1, & ſeq. (84) 2 Kings ibid. ver. 6. (85) Ibid. ch. xviii. 2. (86) Ibid. ver. 13. vid. Uſſer. ſub A. M. 3291. p. 70. (87) 2 Kings xx. 11. † Vid. vol. iii p. 79. (88) Chron. xxxvi. 8. (89) Pſal. cxxi. 6. (90) Jonah iv. 8.

dried figs was effectually applied by the prophet's direction; and the king thus happily recovered by the time appointed,

or ſteps, which it had paſt, upon Ahaz's dial, or flight of ſteps. This was miracle ſufficient to convince the doubtful king, without magnifying, or rather multiplying, it, as many of the fathers, and others after them, have done.

For to ſuppoſe, as they do, that the whole fabric of the univerſe went back, or even that the earth alone did ſo, was not only needleſs, becauſe the buſineſs was not to lengthen the day, as it was in Joſhua, but only to put the ſhadow back ſo many degrees: but it ſeems to carry a further abſurdity; for either this extraordinary motion muſt have been cauſed all at once, which, conſidering the velocity of the earth's motion, much more that of the univerſe round it, is ſcarcely conceivable; or if it was done gradually, it would hardly have been perceived, in caſe Hezekiah had choſen to have the ſhadow go forward inſtead of backward. By the tenor, however, of the whole hiſtory, it ſeems, as if the thing was done in an inſtant, and not gradually. What need then is there to ſuppoſe, that God did interpoſe his miraculous power, to cauſe ſuch a retrogreſſion, even in the bare earth, when the end might be anſwered by the ſole inflection of the ſun's rays? To ſay that either of them was equally eaſy to an omnipotent power, is too unphiloſophical to deſerve an anſwer, becauſe it were abſurd to ſuppoſe, that God acts with leſs œconomy in his ſupernatural, than he doth in his natural, works.

This hypotheſis of the inflection of the rays, which is now the moſt received, becauſe attended with feweſt difficulties, will ſave us a great many needleſs enquiries, ſuch are thoſe that follow; What portion of time is implied by thoſe ten degrees: How much the day was lengthened by it: Whether this miraculous irregularity was afterwards recovered, and the courſe of nature was again haſtened by the ſame miraculous power to its priſtine harmony, either by ſubtracting as much from the night as had been added to the day, or by any other way: Whether the miracle was felt all the world over, or only in Judea: And many more of the like nature.

The Jews, indeed, who are ever ready to help us at a pinch, do tell us, that God, who had already ſhortened one day by ten hours, when wicked Ahaz died, that there might be no mourning made for him, did only reſtore the univerſe in ſtatu quo upon this occaſion. But ſuch an expeditious way of anſwering all thoſe enquiries will ſcarcely be allowed of by any but Jews. However, archbiſhop Uſher, who believed, that the whole frame of heaven went backward at this time, doth yet obſerve, that the divine providence ſo ordered it, that the conſtant and ever

ſelf-

pointed, compoſed that noble pſalm, wherein he expreſſes the exquiſiteneſs of his anguiſh and grief, acknowledges the

ſelf like motion and harmony of heavenly bodies, did receive no hindrance from it; he proves it by three previous eclipſes of the moon, out of Ptolemy, whoſe calculation, being traced back from this time, coincide as exactly with the Chaldean account, as if no ſuch retrogreſſion had happened in nature (91); But is not this multiplying the miracle without any neceſſity?

But what confirms ſtill farther our opinion, that all the whole miracle conſiſted in the bare reverſion of the ſun's beams, is, that if either the ſun or the earth be ſuppoſed to have gone back ſo many degrees, it muſt have been perceived all over the world. But the contrary ſeems plain to us, from the embaſſy which Merodach-Baladan ſent to Hezekiah, to inform himſelf about this miraculous phænomenon (92); for if it had been ſeen at Babylon, there would have been no neceſſity for ſending into Judea to know the truth of it; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that he ſent thither to be informed about the cauſe of it. The Babylonians were much better aſtronomers than the Jews, or rather, theſe laſt were known to be perfectly ignorant of that ſcience, as we have ſeen elſewhere †. It ſeems then much more probable, that this retrogreſſion was only felt about Judea; and if ſo, it cannot be better accounted for, than by ſuppoſing an inflection of the ſun's rays.

We need not add, that if it had been felt all the world over, or even beyond Judea, we ſhould certainly find ſome footſteps of it in profane hiſtory, it being hardly to be ſuppoſed, that ſo remarkable a change could go unobſerved, or unrecorded, at a time when the world did yield ſo many good aſtronomers and hiſtorians; or that the memory of it ſhould be ſince entirely loſt, when we can find ſo many footſteps of the ſun's ſtanding ſtill in Joſhua's time, that is, upwards of 730 years before (93). For theſe reaſons, we ſhall wave all farther enquiries, which reſult from the other ſide of the queſtion, and only add ſome few remarks concerning the moſt probable figure of the dial in the text.

And here let it be conſidered, 1. That the original, מעלות Meghaloth, doth ſignify no more than ſteps or ſtairs; 2. That the Septuagint and Chaldee paraphraſts render it, the former ἀναβαθμους, and the latter by אבן שעוא a ſtone of time, accordingly; 3. That

(91) Sub A. M. 3291. p. 71. (92) Vid. 2 Chron. xxxii. 31. † Vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. paragraph before meaſuring of time. (93) Joſh. x. 12. See vol. iii. p. 79. the hiſtory of the Jews under Joſhua.

the infinite mercy of his divine deliverer, and promiſes to be everlaſtingly thankful for it. The next part of the prophet's promiſe, the deliverance from the Aſſyrian power, did

3. That the Jews did not reckon by, or had even a name for, hours, before the captivity (94); 4. that the invention of gnomon dials is reckoned of much later date, it being attributed to Anaximander, who did not flouriſh till almoſt 200 years after Hezekiah; and laſtly, That there is not a word of a ſun-dial in all the writings of Homer: All theſe will at leaſt amount to a ſtrong preſumption, that it muſt have been a kind of ſteep aſcent, leading up to the gate of the palace, and marked at proper diſtances with figures, ſhewing the diviſion of the day; rather than a regular piece of dial work.

We have indeed a much finer deſcription of it in Grotius, out of one Rabbi Eliah Chomer, who pretends, that it was a regular globe placed in the center of a hollow hemiſphere, on which were drawn, at proper diſtances, the ſeveral lines which divided the day into 28 parts (95); but who can believe, after what has been obſerved above, that ſuch a curious and compound piece of art could be the product of thoſe early times? for our part, we cannot think, that even this flight of ſteps was originally deſigned by the architect to ſerve both for that and for a ſun-dial: on the contrary, it ſeems to us more probable upon the whole, that the latter uſe was owing to obſervation. Some ornaments, ſuch as pyramids, obeliſks, flower-pots, and the like, might have been placed upon the rails or battlements of the aſcent, whoſe ſhadow, being in time obſerved to go over thoſe ſteps, at proper periods of the day, might naturally induce ſome curious obſerver to mark down the ſeveral portions of the day; firſt into four parts, according to the Jewiſh cuſtom of dividing it, and then into as many ſub-diviſions as was thought proper; ſo that all that we think is meant in the text before us is, that the ſhadow of the obeliſk, or whatever other ornament did ſerve inſtead of a gnomon, went back again over ten of thoſe ſteps, which it had already paſt. But what portion of time the ſhadow did uſually take in going over thoſe ſteps, is impoſſible to determine; however, though we have ventured to deliver this our opinion, as the reſult of what we find written upon this ſubject; yet, for the ſatisfaction of ſuch of our readers, as deſire to be further informed about it, we ſhall refer them to the authors quoted in the margin (96).

(94) Vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. meaſuring of time. (95) Vid. Grot. in loc. (96) Cyril Alex. & Hieron. in loc. & in Iſaiah xxxviii. 8. Scalig. Grot. Vatabl. Munſt. Salmas. Gaſpar. Sanctius. Le Clerc. Calmet. & al.

did not remain long unfulfilled. The generals presented themselves at the foot of the city wall, to demand a parly with Hezekiah's ministers; and as soon as these appeared upon the battlements, attended with vast crouds of people, who came to hear the purport of their message, Rabshakeh addressed himself to them in a haughty and threatening speech, filled with the bittereſt invectives and opprobrious language, not only against the king, but even against the God of Israel. It was spoken in the Hebrew tongue, to inject the greater terror into the listening people; and when they were desired to speak in Syriac to them, instead of complying with their request, they only renewed their threatenings of reducing the kingdom to the worst extremities, unless they prevented it by a timely yielding of themselves captives to the great Sennacherib [z].

THIS vapouring speech was, by the king's order, answered only by a deep silence; but the Assyrian generals being soon after informed, that their master was forced to go back to defend his own territories against Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who was then invading him; they left Jerusalem and marched directly after him. But before Senacherib departed from Lachish, he sent a threatening letter to Hezekiah, to assure him, that, if he still persisted in his refusal of yielding himself his captive, he would shortly come again with double fury against him, and make him severely feel the effects of his own folly and vain confidence in his God, whom he should find as weak and impotent against his irresistible power, as those of many other nations had hitherto proved. As soon as the king had read the letter, he went up to the temple, accompanied with his chief ministers, and spread it before the Lord, and, in the humblest terms, besought him, that he would make good his late promises, and vindicate his honour against his insolent and blasphemous enemy, who had dared to level the God of heaven to the senseless idols of the more senseless heathen. He had scarce ended his prayer, when he received a gracious answer by the prophet Isaiah, importing, that though Sennacherib would certainly bring back his forces against Jerusalem, yet God would so protect it against them, that they should not shoot an arrow against, nor open a trench before, it; that this proud insulting enemy should be forced to flee with shame and

Sennacherib's proud letter.

[z] 2 Kings xviii. 17, to the end. 2 Chron. xxxii. 9, & seq. Isaiah xxxvi. 2, & seq. xxxvii. 1. ad 10.

and loſs, and fall at length by the ſword in his own land. This prophecy was likewiſe ſoon after verified. Sennacherib returned againſt Judah, fluſh'd with his late victory over the Ethiopians [a], and breathing death and deſtruction againſt the whole kingdom; but before he could have time to commit any hoſtilities againſt it, the beſt part of his army was ſmitten by an angel in one night, Joſephus ſays with peſtilence [b], inſomuch, that 185,000 of them were found dead by the next morning. This dreadful Judgment did ſo alarm the proud Aſſyrian monarch, that he retired with the utmoſt confuſion and ſpeed into his own capital, where he was ſoon after aſſaſſinated by two of his ſons, and ſucceeded by a third [c]. Thus was Iſaiah's prophecy exactly fulfilled againſt that blaſphemous tyrant [d], and the kingdom delivered from the moſt imminent danger. As for Hezekiah, though one would expect, that ſo many extraordinary bleſſings would have inſpired him with ſentiments of the deepeſt gratitude, yet they wrought a quite different effect upon him; ſo that, inſtead of acknowledging the amazing goodneſs of his great deliverer, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo elated, that he brought a train of evils upon himſelf and kingdom, which, however, upon his repentance, were adjourned till after his death [e]. Hezekiah was a pious prince, but vanity ſeems to have been his predominant paſſion, and to have been ſwelled to an unreaſonable height by ſuch a wonderful ſeries of ſucceſſes; and God made uſe of the following juncture, at once to make him ſenſible, and to cure him of it.

His miraculous overthrow.

THE king had, about this time, received a ſpecial embaſſy from Berodach, or, as Iſaiah calls him, Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon, to congratulate him upon his late ſucceſs and recovery, and to inform himſelf about the prodigy of the ſun's retrogreſſion [f]; and, as his ſucceſs and the ſpoils of his enemy had made him exceeding rich, he took a particular pleaſure in entertaining the embaſſadors with a ſight of all the wealth, grandeur, and ſtrength of his court and kingdom (V). This brought Iſaiah to the king, who had

[a] See Uſher's ſub A. M. 3292. et Iſaiah c. xviii. & xx. [b] Ant. l. x. c. 2. [c] 2 Kings xix. 1, & ſeq. to the end. 2 Chron. xxii. 1. ad 22. Iſaiah xxvi, xxvii p. tot. [d] Ibid. [e] 2 Chron. xxxii. 25. 26. [f] Ibid. ver. 32.

(V) The jubilee year ſeems likewiſe to have been about this time (97), at which ſolemnity there flocked a vaſt concourſe of people

(97) Vid. Uſſer. in A. M. 3295.

had no sooner acquainted him with his own weakness and ostentation, than he received this dreadful message from God; that those very Babylonians, whose eyes he had glutted with all the glory of his kingdom, would, in a short time, not only strip it of all that was valuable in it, but even carry away captive some of his off-spring, and make them eunuchs in their monarch's palace; at which Hezekiah was brought to such a sense of his oversight, that he acknowledged the mildness of his sentence, since he was suffered to end his days in peace [g]. Among others of his public acts, he is recorded to have made a large pool and a conduit, to supply Jerusalem with water; and to have been an encourager of husbandry, himself having numberless flocks and herds in his own pasture-grounds, besides vines and other grounds. He died in peace, in the 54th year of his age and 29th of his reign, according to the words of the prophet, and *was buried in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David.* His funeral obsequies were performed with uncommon magnificence, not only in the city, but also throughout the whole kingdom [h] (W).

Year of the Flood, 2306. Before Christ, 693.

Manasseh's wicked reign.

MANASSEH was but 12 years of age when he succeeded Hezekiah; and, whether he was naturally vicious, or fell into the hands of wicked counsellors, we may date the ruin

[g] 2 Kings xx. 12, & seq. Isaiah xxxix. p. tot. [h] Comp. 2 Kings xx. 20. & 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. & seq.

people to Jerusalem; which could not but add very much to the magnificence of that court and metropolis, because upon such occasions the wealthy men of the kingdom were used to pour their rich presents into the temple, especially after such signal successes and deliverances as they had lately had; and the text says, that they did so accordingly (98).

(W) Besides the prophets Isaiah and Micah, of whom we have had occasion to speak, Nahum did likewise prophesy in the days of Hezekiah. It is he, who foretold the dreadful destruction of Niniveh, which happened afterwards in the days of Josiah, and describes it in the most lively colours, comparing it to that of No, a populous city in Lower Egypt, lately taken by the Assyrians, who committed the most horrid cruelties against her inhabitants (99).

(98) 2 Chron. xxxii. 23. & seq. (99) Nah. pass. &c. 3. 8. & seq.

ruin both of the kingdom and religion from the fatal day of his aſcending of the throne. He ſeems not only to have ſtrove to outdo all his predeceſſors in wickedneſs, idolatry, tyranny, and ſacrilege, but even to have ſhewed an impious emulation to undo all that his pious father had done, and to act in direct oppoſition to him. Hezekiah's firſt care had been to root all idolatry out of his kingdom, and to reſtore the worſhip of God and the ſervice of the temple, to its priſtine order and ſplendor. His graceleſs ſon, on the contrary, made it his ſtudy to baniſh religion and morality out of it, and to revive all the old idolatry, and to introduce new and unheard of deities, idols, and ceremonies; beſides witch-craft, ſorceries, and every wicked cuſtom, that was uſed among the Heathen far and near. Baal became now the favourite object of his worſhip; the ſun, moon, planets, and a vaſt multitude of other heatheniſh gods, had alſo their altars and groves erected to them, both in Judah and Jeruſalem. Moloch and the valley of Hinnon became more frequented than ever, the impious king encouraging his ſubjects to ſacrifice their children there, as Ahaz had done before. But the moſt execrable piece of wickedneſs and ſacrilege was his introducing of the vileſt of idolatries into the very temple of God, and cauſing a *graven image of the grove*, a filthy idol, worſhipped with the filthieſt ceremonies, to be ſet up in the moſt ſacred (X) place; as if he had deſigned to drive the God of Iſrael out of his habitation, and to diſclaim at once all thoſe great bleſſings, which he had made to David and Solomon, and to all that did worſhip him there [i].

idolatries.

ſacrilege.

For theſe abominations he was often and ſeverely reproved by ſeveral prophets, who foretold him, that he was provoking

[i] 2 Sam. vii. 13. 1 Kings viii. 29. ix. 3. & al. paſſ.

(X) Some think, that he did even cauſe the ark to be taken out of the moſt holy place, to make room for his molten idol; becauſe it is ſaid in the Chronicles, that Joſiah did order the Levites to depoſite it again into its place (100); but from the words which do immediately follow, *it ſhall be no longer a burden upon your ſhoulders, or unto you*, we are more inclined to think, that the prieſts had timely coveyed it out of the ſanctuary before the idol was brought in; and that it had been kept in their cuſtody till Joſiah's reign.

(100) 2 Chron. xxxv. 2.

provoking God to bring such dreadful desolations upon him and his kingdom; that Jerusalem would become like a dish, that is wiped clean and turned upside down. But these threatenings were so far from reforming, that they hardened him the more, and made him seek only for the most violent means to silence not only those prophets, but all that dared to express a dislike to his impieties. Jerusalem became soon after the scene of the most horrid cruelties, which Manasseh, now become a tyrant of the first magnitude, caused to be exercised on prophets and priests, nobles and people, indifferently, till he had filled that metropolis with blood and with butchered bodies, from the one end to the other [k]. At length, providence was pleased to put a signal stop to his bloody career, by delivering him into the hands of some of the chief commanders of the Assyrian army, who came upon him so suddenly, that, seeing no way to escape, he went and hid himself in a thicket. He was, however, soon brought out of it, and loaden with chains, carried away into Babylon, and there cast into a dungeon by Essar haddon or Assaradin, king of Assyria, who, according to Ptolemy's canon, had made himself master of Babylon about six years before, and was by this time become sole monarch over both empires [l].

His murders and tyranny.

His miserable captivity.

Restored to his liberty.

THE text doth neither tell us how this was done, whether by an open invasion, or, which seems more likely, by some sudden incursion, nor in what year of Manasseh's reign it happened; the Jews affirm, that it was in the 22d year, in which they are followed by the generality of our annalists. However that be, the distressed king soon opened his eyes to all his miscarriages and impieties, which his prosperity would not suffer him to see; and, in the bitterness of his soul, did send so many deep sighs to heaven, so humble an acknowledgment of his fault, and such earnest prayers for mercy and pardon, that he at length obtained both that, and a happy deliverance out of his captivity (Y).

How

[k] See 2 Kings xxi. 1. ad 16. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 ad 10. [l] See Usher sub. A. M. 3323.

(Y) These remarkable circumstances are not mentioned in the book of Kings, which says only, that he reigned fifty-five years, without taking notice either of his captivity, repentance, or reformation. All these particulars are only found in the Chronicles (1).

Archbishop

(1) Ibid. xxxvi. 11, & seq.

How long his impriſonment laſted (Z), or by what means he regained his liberty, the text doth not ſay; thus much is plain from it, that from the greateſt ſinner, he returned the greateſt penitent (A), and from the bloodieſt tyrant, His repentance and reformation.

Archbiſhop Uſher obſerves (2), from the following chapters out of the ſame author, that the kingdom of Iſrael, had not been ſo far emptied of its inhabitants, but that there was a conſiderable remnant of them left behind, the far greater part of whom were carried away captive about the ſame time, and perhaps by the ſame forces, which took Manaſſeh priſoner. This laſt and total captivity, that prelate thinks to have been foretold by Iſaiah about ſixty-five years before againſt Iſrael, under the name of Ephraim (3). We read, indeed, of ſeveral Iſraelitiſh tribes being invited to the paſſover at Jeruſalem in a ſucceeding reign, but we take them to be thoſe who came and ſheltered themſelves in the kingdom of Judah, during the ſiege of Samaria, to eſcape being carried into bondage by the Aſſyrian king; as we hinted under the laſt reign.

(Z) Some will have it, that it laſted as long as Eſſar-haddon lived, that is, as our Chronologers compute it, about ſix years (4). Joſephus only ſays, that the king of Babylon gave him his liberty after ſome time, but doth not ſay how long (5); but the general opinion is, that he was ſet free the very ſame year that he was taken priſoner. This is alſo the opinion of the Talmudiſts, who place both his repentance and impriſonment in the 34th year of his age; and this ſeems the more probable of the two, becauſe the author of the book of Kings makes no mention of this captivity, but allows him his fifty-five years reign, as if no ſuch thing had happened to him.

(A) We have a prayer among the apocryphal books of the old teſtament, intituled, *The prayers of Manaſſeh king of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon*, which, if it was penned by him, expreſſes the greatneſs of his guilt, repentance, and miſery, in the ſtrongeſt terms; particularly with reſpect to the laſt, it has this expreſſion, *That he was ſo loaded with iron bands, that he could not lift up his head.* But we have a more authentic proof of theſe, the wonderful change that was wrought in him; though we ſhould be loth to deny, that this prayer was compoſed by him, during his impriſonment, becauſe we find an expreſſion in the book of Chronicles (6), which ſhews, at leaſt, that there was ſome ſuch prayer of his compoſing kept upon record; and it is

(2) Sub A. M. 3327. (3) Iſai. vii. 8. (4) Vid. Uſſer. ub. ſup. Calmet. Hiſt. V. T. ſub. A. M. 3310. (5) Ant. l. x. c. 4. (6) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.

became one of the beſt monarchs. So that after his return, he beſtowed his whole time and application in repairing the damages, which his impiety had cauſed, both in religion and in his kingdom. One of his firſt cares was to clear the ſanctuary and the court of the temple, of thoſe idols which he had cauſed to be ſet up there, and which the prieſts had not had the courage, or power, to remove during his abſence; and to reſtore the ſervice of it to its antient order and ſplendor. He then ſent circular letters throughout his kingdom, exhorting his ſubjects to follow his example, and to demoliſh all the groves, altars, and idols, which had been reared during the former part of his reign, and this was readily complied with alſo by the people every where; only the high places were left untouched, the king, wanting either power, courage, or zeal to go through with theſe, by reaſon of the people's obſtinate fondneſs for them. He took the ſame care to repair and fortify the city and other places of his kingdom; and having reigned peaceably about 33 years after his return from Babylon, he died in the 55th year of his reign, and 67th of his age. He was buried in his own garden, probably by his own choice, the ſenſe of his former miſcarriages not ſuffering him to think himſelf worthy to be depoſited among his anceſtors; and was ſucceeded by his ſon Ammon [m].

His death. Year of the Flood, 2356. Year before Chriſt, 643.

AMMON was but 22 years old when he came to the crown, ſo that he could have obſerved nothing in his father's example, but the greateſt tokens of piety and goodneſs; and yet ſo infatuated was he, that he gave himſelf up to all the vile idolatries of the former part of his reign. He began even to give ſome early proofs, that he deſigned to outdo him in his moſt abominable debaucheries; but before he had reigned two years, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him by ſome of his chief officers, who aſſaſſinated him in his own palace, and buried him in the ſame

Ammon's idolatry, and death.

[m] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. ad 20.

is ſcarce poſſible to pen one more expreſſive of his miſery and repentance, than this we are ſpeaking of.

It was alſo about this time, or ſoon after it, that the ſiege of Bethulia happened, at which Holofernes was treacherouſly murthered by Judith; but as the ſtory is apocryphal, and has no connexion with the hiſtory of the kings of Judah, we ſhall ſay no more of it here.

ſame garden with his father. They did not, however, go long unpuniſhed: the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, who had had no ſhare in this rebellion, roſe up in arms immediately upon the news of it, and having revenged their king's murder by that of the conſpirators, they placed his ſon Joſiah upon the throne, who was then about eight years of age [n].

IT is amazing to think how the whole kingdom could be ſo ſoon over-run with all kind of wickedneſs and idolatry in the ſhort time of Ammon's reign, after it had been ſo thoroughly purged from them by his father; and yet it was grown to ſuch a degree of impiety, when Joſiah came to the crown, that the prophet Zephaniah, who was cotemporary with him, gives us a moſt dreadful catalogue of the licentiouſneſs and irreligion, that then reigned through the whole kingdom. Among the princes, judges, and magiſtrates, reigned injuſtice, oppreſſion, cruelty, and all manner of debauchery; among the prieſts, pride, avarice, corruption, and a ſhameful traffick of religion; among the people, ignorance and irreligion, men ſwearing with the ſame breath by the LORD and by Malcom; altars reared every where to Baal, to the whole hoſt of heaven, and to all the other deities of the heathen [o]; the very ſanctuary itſelf was again polluted by the filthy idol of the grove, and its court furniſhed with male proſtitutes, and with women who wove hangings, and tents to hide the unnatural and abominable ceremonies of its votaries [p].

IN this ſad and horrid condition was the kingdom, when the infant monarch took the reins of it; ſo that it required nothing leſs than a miracle to reform it. But as Joſiah had been miraculouſly promiſed above 300 years before, by a prophet ſent on purpoſe to Jeroboam at Bethel †, one who was to work the greateſt reformation, that ever was done in the land, ſince it was to reach through the two kingdoms, and this Joſiah was the perſon deſigned by God for that glorious work. However, his tender years would not permit him immediately to undertake any thing, except perhaps adviſing with ſuch pious counſellors, as could beſt inſtruct him, both about what was to be done, and the propereſt means of accompliſhing it. He married in the 15th year of his age, and in the 16th he had a ſon

Joſiah's good reign.

[n] Ibid. xxxiv. ver. 21, to the end. 2 Kings xxi. 19, & ſeq.
[o] Zephan. paſſ. iii. 1, & ſeq. [p] Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 6, & ſeq. † See before, p. 83.

and a ſucceſſor born unto him, whom he named Eliakim (B); after which he ſet himſelf about his premeditated deſign, with a zeal, diligence, and intrepidity, which, conſidering his years and the arduouſneſs of the taſk, could be owing to nothing leſs than a ſupernatural impulſe. His extraordinary ſucceſs and expedition, and the univerſal deſtruction he made, both in Judah and Iſrael, not only of all the idols, altars, groves, and other idolatrous monuments, but alſo of the high places, which ſeveral of his predeceſſors had in vain attempted to aboliſh, do ſhew indeed, that he was aſſiſted by the ſame divine power, that had inſpired him with the deſign. This laſt kind of worſhip was not indeed an idolatrous one, becauſe it was directed to the God of Iſrael, to whom the prieſts, the ſons of Aaron, offered ſacrifices upon thoſe altars, which had formerly been reared by Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob; but it was afterwards expreſly forbid by the law of Moſes, and the tabernacle and temple ordered to be the only places for ſuch ſacrifices, unleſs it was otherwiſe commanded by inſpired perſons, and upon ſome particular occaſions, as we have elſewhere hinted *. The more effectually therefore to cure this obſtinate evil, Joſiah cauſed all thoſe places to be polluted with dead mens bones, and ordered all thoſe prieſts, who had vacated at that unlawful worſhip, to be for ever excluded, both from all ſacerdotal functions, and from the privilege of eating of any holy things. He likewiſe ordered all the wooden idols, altars, and other combuſtible materials, which had ſerved to any idolatrous purpoſes, together with the chariots and horſes, which had been dedicated to

A total reformation in his kingdom.

* See vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. not. H. of the altar of burnt offering.

(B) Probably in full confidence, that God would proſper his deſign, אליקים Eliakim ſignifying, God ſhall eſtabliſh, make to proſper, &c. the text doth not indeed mention the time of his birth, but it is eaſily inferred from being 25 years when he began to reign (7), for his father died in the 39th year of his reign (8), and was ſucceeded at firſt by Jehoahaz, who was younger by two years than Eliakim, whom Pharoah-necho ſet upon the throne ſome three months after (9).

(7) Vid. 2 Kings xxiii. 36. (8) Ibid. xxii. 1. (9) Ibid. xxiii. 31, & ſeq.

to the ſun (C), the veſſels where the perpetual fire was kept to his honour, the image of the grove, and all that he found of that nature in the temple, to be burnt, and the aſhes of them to be thrown over the graves of their votaries, and thoſe that could not be burnt he cauſed to be flung into the river Kidron.

FROM Jeruſalem he went to the mount of Olives, called alſo the mount of corruption, from the great number of idolatrous altars, which had been ſet up there by Solomon, and repaired from time to time by ſeveral of his impious ſucceſſors, and demoliſhed and defiled them all. He did the ſame at the valley of Hinnon, a place infamous for the horrid cruelties, that were practiſed by the worſhippers of Moloch; and thence marched directly to Bethel, the place

(C) Theſe chariots and horſes, the text ſays (10), ſtood at the entrance into the houſe of the Lord; but whether they were real, or only carved, or molten, is not eaſy to determine. The antient Perſians, we are told, did indeed uſe to conſecrate white horſes and chariots to the ſun, with which they adorned their proceſſions (11); in which they were imitated afterwards by other nations (12). We can ſee no reaſon, therefore, why ſo many learned commentators ſhould ſcruple to ſuppoſe, that the Jews had adopted this, among other far worſe heatheniſh idolatries, and rather chuſe to fancy, that theſe chariots and horſes were only carved, or caſt, and ſet up in a chappel dedicated to the ſun, or barely carved in baſs-relief, or even painted againſt the walls of it; eſpecially, conſidering how ſoon the prophet Amos, and from him St. Stephen (13), charges them with having carried about the tabernacle of Moloch, that is, of the ſun, as we have ſhewed more than once, and the ſtar of their god Remphan.

What convinces us farther, that theſe were real chariots drawn by horſes, and bearing ſome image of the ſun, is, that the text expreſly ſays here, that Joſiah did not burn chariots and horſes, as he would have done, if they had been only carved or painted, but that he took away the horſes, and burnt the chariots (14). The reader may, if he pleaſes, ſee what we have conerning this kind of idolatrous proceſſions, in another place, out of ſome verſes of the 16th pſalm †.

(10) Ibid. ver. 11. (11) Vid. Herodot. lib. 7. Xenoph. Q. Curt. al. & Ovid. faſt. lib. 1. Juſtin. l 1. § 10. vid., & Bochart. Hieroz. pt. i. l. 2. c. 10. & al. (12) Vid. Hyde Rel. vet. Perſ. Kopping. Antiq. Rom. (13) Amos v. 25. Acts vii. 43. (14) 2 Kings xxiii. 11. † Vid. vol. iii. p. 19. not. O.

where Jeroboam, the firſt king of Iſrael, ſet up one of his golden calves; which he deſtroyed, together with the groves, idols, and altars, cauſing the bodies of the idolatrous prieſts to be digged up and burnt upon them. It was upon this occaſion, that having obſerved a kind of monumental inſcription upon one of the tombs, he was informed, that it was that of the prophet, who came from Judah to denounce to Jeroboam that total deſtruction of idolatry, which he was then fulfilling; whereupon the good king ordered, that a particular regard ſhould be paid to his aſhes; by this means thoſe of the lying prophet, who had been the cauſe of his diſobedience and untimely death, and had ordered his body to be buried cloſe by him, eſcaped being diſturbed, and perhaps being burned with the reſt. After this, Joſiah took a circuit through all the cities of Iſrael, many of which lay almoſt deſolate, and deſtroyed every where the idols and altars, which either the Iſraelites, or the Aſſyrian colonies, had ſet up, and put all their idolatrous prieſts to death; and having thoroughly purged both kingdoms from every kind of idolatry, he returned to Jeruſalem, had ſet himſelf about reſtoring the worſhip of God and the uſual ſervice of the temple (D).

By

(D) It is very likely, that the king was encouraged to this good work by the prophet Jeremiah, who began to propheſy in the 13th year of his reign (15). Jeremiah was a prophet altogether miraculous, being choſen to this office even from the womb, and called to the exerciſe of it whilſt he was but a child; he was the ſon of Hilchiah, not the then high-prieſt of that name, as ſome have imagined, but of the race of Ithamar, and lived at Anathoth (16), a place within two or three miles from Jeruſalem, it being the ſeat of one of their anceſtors (17); ſo that it is hardly poſſible, that he ſhould be unknown to ſo pious a prince. It is true, we find nothing like it in his writings; but it muſt be remembered, that he delivered his prophecies at firſt only by word of mouth, and did not begin to pen them down till the fourth year of Jehoiakim; but we find him very early, at the gates of the temple, denouncing God's heavy judgments againſt Judah, and exhorting them to avert his anger, by abandoning their impieties and idolatries (18. As he continued to propheſy till the taking of Jeruſalem, and was often conſulted by ſeveral kings and nobles, we ſhall have occaſion, more than once, to ſpeak of him in the ſequel.

Zephaniah

(15) Jerem. i. 1. (16) Ibid. & ver. 5, 6. (17) Vid. 2. Kings ii. 26. (18) Jerem. c. vii. & ſeq.

By this time Joſiah had attained to the 26th year of his age and 18th of his reign, and beheld with regret the dilapidations of that ſacred place, which made it neceſſary to have them repaired before all things. To this end, he ordered the great coffer, into which the poll-money and free-will offerings uſed to be depoſited, to be opened, and the money to be diſtributed among ſuch faithful overſeers, as would ſet about the work out of hand; and, to encourage them to be doubly diligent in it, he told them, that he would depend upon their fidelity for their right management of the money committed to them. Whilſt this was doing, the high-prieſt, who probably, preſided over the work, ſent word to the king, that he had found the book of the law (E), which he had ſent to him by the ſecretary

The temple repaired.

The book of the law found.

Zephaniah did likewiſe propheſy in the ſame reign, and much to the ſame purpoſe with what we mentioned of Jeremiah; the main ſcope of their propheeies being chiefly levelled againſt the various abominations committed in Judah and Jeruſalem (19); and both were probably deſigned to exhort the people to imitate the king's zeal and piety, and to prevent them murmuring againſt or obſtructing his reformation.

(E) This is generally agreed to have been the archetype, written by Moſes, and by him ordered to be depoſited, with the ark, in the moſt holy place (20), but which ſome pious high-prieſt had cauſed to be thus hid, in the reign of Ahaz or Manaſſeh, to prevent its being deſtroyed with all the other copies of it; for it plainly appears by the tenor of the hiſtory, that this was the only perfect one left (21).

But it is much diſputed, whether it was the whole Pentateuch, emphatically called התורה, Hathorah, the law; or only Deuteronomy, or even barely the 28th, 29th, 30th, and 31ſt chapters of it. Joſephus, by calling it the ſacred books of Moſes (22), ſeems to declare intirely for the firſt; others have declared for the ſecond (23), becauſe the book of Deuteronomy is a kind of repetition or epitome of the Moſaic law; laſtly, a late commentator, among ſome others, holds the laſt of theſe three opinions (24), and thinks, that nothing more is meant here, than that ſhort ſummary which is found in the 28th and three following chapters of that book, in which are contained all the bleſſings and curſes, which ſo alarmed the pious monarch. This is, indeed,

(19) Zeph. i. 1, & ſeq. ii, iii. paſſ. (20) Deut. xxxi. 24, & ſeq. (21) It. Jud. fer. omn. vid. lib. Nitzachon. (22) Ant. l. x. c. 5. (23) Procop. Gazen. & al. ap. Patric. in loc. (24) Calmet. Comm. in loc. & Hiſt. V. T. l. 3. c. 8.

tary of the temple. Josiah delayed not to read it; and when he found what dreadful judgments were denounced in

deed, that part, which, we observed elsewhere, Moses enjoined their future kings to write, and preserve a double copy of, to regulate their conduct by (25), and which he commanded Joshua to set up upon mount Gerizim (26); perhaps it might also be all that he ordained to be read by the priests, in the audience of all the people, every seventh year, at the feast of Tabernacles (27); though it is called the law in all those places.

But if either this short epitome, or even the whole Deuteronomy, was all that the high-priest found hid in the temple, when was the rest of the Pentateuch recovered? If it be said, that there might be some copies of this last still extant, then this summary must have been in it; and it will be surprising, that some one or more should not have been brought to so good a king, after he had given such signal proofs of his piety and zeal; and if any such had been presented to him, he must either have shamefully neglected the reading of it, or if he had not, he could never have been under such surprise and fear, at the reading of that which the high-priest sent to him. We therefore think, with the far greater number of Jews and Christians (28), that it was the whole Pentateuch; and that there might be still several imperfect and mutilated copies dispersed here and there, which might be now rectified by this prototype, after it was now brought to light.

If it be asked, how the king could run over those five books so quickly, as to come presently to those blessings and curses, which are contained in the very latter end of the last of them; it may be answered, that that might be the very reason; for as their manner was to write upon volumes of a considerable length, which were rolled up round one or two sticks, it might so happen, that these last chapters proved on the out-side, and that the king, impatient to know the contents of it, might have curiosity to read in it, before he had unfolded a round or two. We are, however, very far from rejecting the notion of the Jews, who believe, that providence directed him to that very part (29). Some thing like which we find happened under the gospel (30).

What appears most surprising is, that all the copies of the scriptures, which the good king Hezekiah seems to have caused to be written and dispersed about his kingdom (31), should be so soon vanished,

(25) See Vol. iii. p. 41. not. F. (26) Ibid. & alib. (27) Ibid. p. 43. (28) Vid. Munst. Grot. Jun. Usser. Le Clerc. Patric. Prideaux. & al. mult. (29) Vid. Munst. in loc. Prid. Connect. lib. 1. (30) Acts viii. 26, & seq. (31) Vid. Prov. xxv. 1.

in it, againſt thoſe very abominations, with which he had found the whole land over-run at his firſt coming to the crown, he rent his cloaths, and expreſſed the moſt lively tokens of grief, not doubting, but both he, and his whole kingdom, would ſoon feel the effects of thoſe threatenings. There lived at that time, in one of the colleges of Jeruſalem, a famed propheteſs named Huldah; to her therefore Joſiah diſpatched ſome of his prime officers, with the high-prieſt at their head, to inquire, what would be the fate both of the king and people, ſeeing they had incurred the curſes contained in that ſacred volume; and theſe brought him word back from her, that God would not fail to inflict all thoſe ſevere puniſhments upon his faithleſs and ungrateful ſubjects; but that as for himſelf, the concern and remorſe, which he had lately expreſſed for it, had ſo far ſuſpended the divine vengeance, that he ſhould be happily gathered unto his fathers in peace, before the nation felt the dire effects of them.

It was in the ſame year, and probably upon the reading of that ſacred book, that Joſiah became ſenſible, that they had been guilty of a ſhameful neglect of the three grand feſtivals enjoined by Moſes. To retrieve this fault, he aſſembled all the heads of the people from all parts of the two kingdoms to the temple, where, having mounted the royal tribunal, he acquainted them, how they had happily recovered the volume of the Moſaic law, and read it himſelf before them; he then acquainted them with his deſign of expiating, as much as poſſible, their former neglect, by a more careful obſervance of it; and, as the ſolemn feaſt of the paſſover was near at hand, which he was reſolved ſhould be celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he exhorted them to follow his example, and to prepare themſelves for that grand feſtival. Whilſt the people were purifying themſelves, Joſiah commanded the prieſts to make a more ſtrict ſearch in the temple, and to caſt out and deſtroy all the prophane and idolatrous lumber that was found vaniſhed, that neither Joſiah nor the high-prieſt had ever ſeen any of them, till this one was brought to light. All that can be ſaid in the caſe is, that Manaſſeh, during the former part of his reign, had made ſuch havock of them, that if there were any left, they were only in few private hands, who preſerved them with the utmoſt caution and privacy. The Jews do even add, that he cauſed not only the ſcriptures, but all the books that had the name of God in them, to be deſtroyed.

The paſſover kept.

found in it, and to bring the ark, and all the ſacred utenſils, which had been removed out of it in ſome former reigns, and to depoſite them in their former place and order: All theſe were readily complied with both by prieſts and people; after which they went, in due time, about killing the paſchal lamb. This is again noted to have been obſerved with greater zeal and magnificence, than had been done by any of his predeceſſors ſince Samuel's time. After this, the king took a ſecond progreſs through the kingdom, to purge it of all thoſe abominations, which he might chance to have overlooked at the firſt circuit; he expelled all the wizards, enchanters, and ſuch-like dealers in dark practices, out of the land; ſettled courts of judicature every where, giving ſtrict charge, both to the magiſtrates, and alſo to the prieſts and Levites, to ſee, that the people were inſtructed in, and kept obedient to, the law of Moſes [r].

THUS did that good monarch endeavour, with the ſincereſt zeal, to reſtore the pure worſhip of God through his dominions, and to clear it from all the dregs of ſuperſtition and idolatry; in hopes, if poſſible, to avert his impending judgment from falling upon them. But for all this, the text obſerves, that his anger was not abated in the leaſt againſt the people; and we need not wonder at it. They were, as their whole hiſtory ſhews, ready for every market. They could ſo far comply with their pious monarchs, as to ſhew an outward zeal for God, and a diſlike for idolatry; but what proves their want of ſincerity, whenever they acted ſuch a part, is their readineſs to relapſe into the vileſt abominations, whenever they met with any encouragement for it under a wicked reign. Theſe forced reformations therefore could not but render them more odious in the ſight of God, ſo that having denounced a total deſtruction againſt the land, by his prophet Zepaniah [s] and by the propheteſs Huldah, he haſtened to take the good prince to himſelf, according to his promiſe, that his eyes might not behold the dreadful calamities that were to fall upon his nation.

Joſiah mortally wounded at Megiddo.

JOSIAH had by this time reigned 31 years in profound peace, when Pharaoh-Necho came up againſt the Aſſyrians, or rather Babylonians, as far as the city Carchemiſh, which was ſituate upon the river Euphrates. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether

[r] 2 Kings xxii, & xxiii. paſſ, 2 Chron. xxxiv, & xxxv. paſſ.
[s] Zeph. i, 1, & ſeq. [s] Zeph. i. & ſeq.

whether Joſiah looked upon the deſign of this expedition to be levelled againſt his own territories (G); or, which is ſtill more probable, whether the kings of Judah were under a kind of tribute and obligation to thoſe of Babylon, ever ſince Manaſſeh had been reſtored to his kingdom; which would have made a breach of faith in Joſiah, to have ſuffered an enemy of theirs to paſs through his territories, in an hoſtile expedition againſt them; or, laſtly, whether he had entered into ſome alliance with them; he came with a powerful army againſt him, and encamped in the valley of Megiddo. Here Pharaoh endeavoured in vain to diſſuade him from concerning himſelf in the war between him and the Babylonians, by aſſuring him by his embaſſadors, that he had no hoſtile deſign againſt him; Joſiah would not be perſuaded, but diſguiſed himſelf, and drove directly againſt him. The text ſeems even to intimate, as if his chief deſign had been to fight him in perſon; but before he could reach him, he received a mortal wound, and was forced to be put into another chariot, and brought out of the field of battle. He died as ſoon as he had reached Jeruſalem [u], in the 39th year of his age, greatly lamented by all his good ſubjects; particularly by the prophet Jeremy, who is ſuppoſed to have compoſed that moſt excellent elegy, known to us by the name of the *Lamentations*, upon his death [w]; wherein he expreſſes the mournful ſtate of the kingdom,

Year of the Flood, 2389. Year before Chriſt, 610.

[t] See 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. [u] Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 29. & ſeq. & 2 Chron. xxxv. 29, & ſeq. See alſo vol. ii. p. 62.
[w] Vid. Hieron. præf. in thræn. Uſſer. & al.

(F) This place, Iſaiah tells us, had formerly belonged to Sennacherib (32), and was now under the Babylonians; for theſe had, ere now, reduced the Aſſyrian empire under their yoke, as we have hinted in ſome former note.

(G) This valley being in the tribe of Manaſſeh (33), Joſiah might not only reſent his paſſing thro' his territories without his leave, but alſo think, that his deſign was to invade them, notwithſtanding all his proteſtations to the contrary, and his pretended commiſſion from God to make war againſt the king of Babylon (34). It is likely indeed, that this laſt pretence from an Egyptian prince could not make any great impreſſion upon him, becauſe he had only

(32) Ch. x. 9. (33) Vid. Joſh. xvii. 11. (34) 2 Ch. xxxv. 20.

kingdom, with an energy and pathos, which we can better feel than deſcribe. This is the only poetic piece of that kind in holy writ, for length and method; the compoſition is of the acroſtic kind, and as the ſubject of the whole is mourning, which is always moſt naturally and freely vented and expreſt, when confined to number, ſo here every verſe is a ſentence, which abounds ſtill with ſome new, ſtrong, and lively image of the deepeſt grief (H). There was indeed the greateſt cauſe to lament ſo good a prince's fall, ſince with him expired at once the religion, happineſs, and glory of the nation.

Jehoahaz's ſhort reign:

JOSIAH was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoahaz, whom the people ſet upon the throne, in the 23d year of his age; not in right of ſucceſſion, for he was the youngeſt of Joſiah's (I) ſons, only his bare word for it; and, if real, might be ſuppoſed not to come from the true God, but from his Egyptian deities. But Joſiah was given up to die by this expedition, and was ſuffered to ruſh into it, without conſulting the Lord about the juſtice or ſucceſs of it.

(H) The text ſays indeed, that Jeremiah compoſed a lamentation, which was ſung by a number of ſinging men and women, both at his funeral, and paſſed into uſe afterwards upon all mournful occaſions, and that they are written in the Lamentations (35). And Joſephus adds (36), that they were ſtill extant in his time; by which one would be induced to think, that he meant the ſame with thoſe we have under that name.

But as Joſiah's death was ſudden and unexpected, it is hardly credible, that ſuch a long elegy as this, could be compoſed, and ſet to muſic, againſt his funeral; and is more probable, that that which accompanied his obſequies was much ſhorter, ſuch perhaps as David made upon the death of Saul and Jonathan (37), and was ſince loſt; and this we are ſpeaking of was compoſed in ſome ſubſequent reign, or perhaps, more probably, upon occaſion of the Jewiſh captivity, (38); we find likewiſe, that the prophet Ezekiel was commanded by God to compoſe ſuch another lamentation upon this laſt occaſion *, though not equal to it in beauty and eloquence.

(I) It appears by the firſt book of Chronicles (39), that Joſiah left four ſons, the youngeſt is there, and by Jeremiah, called Shallum, but is the ſame with Jehoahaz (40); it is plain, moreover, that he was at leaſt two years younger than his brother Eliakim, who

(35) Ibid. ver. 25. (36) Ant. l. x. c. 6. (37) 2 Sam. i. 17, & ſeq. (38) Vid. int. al. Lament. i. 3. * Ezek. xix. 1, & ſeq. (39) Ch. iii. 15. (40) Jerem. xxii. 11. 12.

ſons, but by downright faction. He began to give them early proofs, that he deſigned to reign as wickedly as ſome of his predeceſſors had done, but it was ſoon put out of his power: however, Jeremiah was at firſt ſent to him from God, to exhort him to imitate his father's piety, inſtead of making a ſhew of bewailing his death; adding, that if he did not, he ſhould be carried away captive and die in a ſtrange land [x]. Pharaoh-Necho came accordingly againſt Jeruſalem, in his return from the Aſſyrian expedition, and dethroned him in the third month of his reign; and having ſet his elder brother Eliakim, whoſe name he changed into that of Jehoiakim (K), upon the throne, and laid him under the yearly tribute of 100 talents of ſilver and one talent of gold; he put the captive prince in bands at Riblath, and carried him into Egypt, where he ended his days [y] (L).

depoſed, and

carried captive into Egypt.

JEHOIAKIM

[x] See Jerem. xxii. 1, & ſeq. [y] 2 Kings xxii. 31, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1, 2, 3, & 4. and Ezek. xix. 1, 2, 3, 4.

who was twenty-five years old when he ſucceeded him, which he did three months after. Archbiſhop Uſher, who thinks, that the people choſe him in haſte, leſt Pharaoh-Necho ſhould ſurpriſe them without a head, ſuppoſes that they exchanged his name Shallum, which they thought unfortunate, becauſe the only king of Iſrael of that name had been murdered in the firſt month of his reign, for that of Jehoahaz, which they thought carried a more promiſeing omen (41).

(K) The ſame learned prelate ſuppoſes this change of names to have been deſigned by the Egyptian king, as an acknowledgment, that he owed his victory over the Aſſyrians to the God of Iſrael, by whoſe command he had undertaken that war againſt them (42); being a kind of abbreviation of יְהוֹיָקִים Jehovah-Jakim, that is the God of Iſrael hath or ſhall make it to proſper, &c. But, as it was the cuſtom of conquerors to give new names to thoſe whom they thus brought under tribute, in token of ſubjection, this laſt ſeems as likely to have been the motive of that change.

(L) It is not eaſy to gueſs what induced the Egyptian monarch to ſhew ſuch preference to Eliakim, and to uſe Jehoahaz with ſuch ſeverity. It can hardly be ſuppoſed, that he laid ſo much ſtreſs upon the right of primogeniture, as to puniſh this laſt for having uſurped his brother's crown; perhaps the Jews have found out, for once, the reaſon of it from the words of Ezekiel; the prophet

(41) Sub A. M. 3378. (42) Sub A. M. 3394. p. 82.

Jehoiakim's wickedreign.

JEHOIAKIM was nothing terrified by this from following his unhappy brother's steps, nor the people from conforming to his wicked ways; for this Jeremiah was ordered by God, in the very beginning of his reign, to denounce his severe judgments against them, unless they repented. The time chosen for this was the feast of tabernacles, when there was the greatest concourse of people from all parts of the kingdom, and the place the court of the temple. He threatened them, among other things, with the destruction of the city and temple; and for this he was seized by the priests and people, and accused as a seditious person, worthy of nothing less than death. He was, however, acquited and set at liberty by the more equitable princes and elders of the court; who, being persuaded that he spoke by divine command, reminded his accusers of some other prophets, who had formerly denounced the same heavy judgments unpunished and unmolested [z]. Jeremiah was not the only one who was sent upon this dangerous errand; Uriah, another prophet, was forced to fly towards Egypt, for having dared to utter much the same prophecies against Judah and Jerusalem; but the king was so exasperated at him, that he sent some of his men to fetch him back; and as soon as he was come to Jerusalem, he ordered him to be put to death, and his carcass to be thrown among those of the viler sort. Jeremiah had doubtless undergone the same fate, had he not had a powerful protector with the king, Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, who had formerly been in great credit and authority under Josiah, who found means to screen him from the fury of the king and

Jeremiah accused.

Uriah put to death.

[z] Jerem. xxvi. 1, ad 19.

prophet represents that young prince as a couragious undertaking youth, under the figure of a young lion ready for the prey, and concludes this expression; *The nations heard of him, he was taken in their snare, and brought into Egypt, loaden with chains* (43).

From this passage they conclude, that as soon as he had got himself chosen king, he put himself at the head of an army, resolved to revenge his father's death, and that he was overpower'd by him; but whether Pharaoh came against him to Jerusalem, or Jehoahaz went out against him to Carchemish, they are not agreed; but either of these was enough to induce the conqueror not only to dethrone, but to carry him away prisoner, lest he should in time undertake the same exploit against him (44).

(43) Ch. xix. 2, 3, 4. (44) Vid. Sanct. & Munst. in 2 Reg. xxiii. 33.

and people [a]; though he had foretold, about the ſame time, the acceſſion of Zedekiah to the crown of Judah, and of Nebuchadnezzar to that of Babylon [b].

ABOUT four years after, finding, that his prophecies had had no effect either upon the king or people, he foretold the deſtruction of Jeruſalem and of the temple, and the Babyloniſh captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, which he ſaid would laſt ſeventy years, ſoon after which that monarchy would be at an end, and the land become deſolate [c] (M). And in the ſame year being ſhut up in priſon, either for that or ſome former prophecy, he cauſed Baruc, who was his ſcribe, to write from his mouth the tenor of the ſame threatenings, and to go and read them in the hearing of all the people, who were then aſſembled at the temple, it ſeems, upon ſome ſolemn faſt (N). Baruc obeyed, and ſome of the chief miniſters, being informed of it, got the roll from him and brought it to the king, who

The Babyloniſh captivity foretold.

was

[a] Ibid. ver. 20, ad fin. [b] Ibid. xxvii. 1, ad 11. [c] Ibid. xxv. 1, 2, & ſeq.

(M) This captivity was likewiſe foretold, though not in ſuch plain terms, by Iſaiah (45), under the type of Tyre; and alſo by Habakkuk. This laſt, expoſtulating with God about the incorrigible hardneſs of the Jews, is anſwered, that they would be ſhortly invaded and captivated by the Chaldeans (46). He likewiſe foretold the vaſt ſucceſſes of Nebuchadnezzar; and when he repined at the proſperity of that wicked prince and people, he is anſwered, that they alſo ſhould in due time become the ſcorn of other nations, and a prey to thoſe whom they had ſubdued.

(N) Probably that of expiation, which, as we obſerved elſewhere, happened on the 10th day of the month Tiſri, anſwering to the latter end of our September; for it is here obſerved to have been towards winter; and we do not find, that they had any other faſt before the captivity †; neither do they ſeem to have been ſenſible enough of their approaching calamities, to have appointed one for that purpoſe. It is indeed ſaid there, that it was in the 9th month, that the king flung the book into the fire (47); but that interval may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have elapſed, before thoſe nobles were acquainted with the matter, or could find a proper time to inform the impious king with ſuch diſagreeable news.

(45) Ch. xxiii. 15, & ſeq. (46) Habak. i. 2, & ſeq. † Vid. vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 4. of Expiation Day, & ſeq. & Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3397. p. 83. (47) Jerem. xxxvi. 22.

Jehoiakim's impiety; was then sitting by the fire. He had scarce read a column or two in it, before he cut it in pieces, and flung it in the fire, notwithstanding the endeavours of those that were present to prevent it. Jeremiah and his messenger had doubtless felt the effects of his fury, had they not, as it were by a miracle, been kept out of his reach; however, his impiety did not go long unpunished. The prophet was ordered to write the same denunciations again[d], which were punished. soon after fulfilled, by the coming of the Babylonish king with a powerful army, and a more effectual commission from God, against him and his whole kingdom; as we shall see in due time.

NEITHER were idolatry and contempt of God's worship, the only crimes with which Jehoiakim's reign is branded; he added to them most horrid cruelties and tyrannies, rapines and bloodshed; building and adorning the most sumptuous palaces, by violence and oppression; perverting justice, inventing crimes against the innocent to put them to death, and many more such like impieties; besides his being deaf to the admonitions of so many prophets. For these Jeremiah pronounced at last this dreadful sentence against him; That he should be given up into the hands of his most dreaded enemy, even of Nebuchadnezzar, that he should die unpitied and unlamented, that he should have the sepulture of an ass, and that his carcass should rot upon the ground[e]. By this time also two singular predictions of that prophet had been fulfilled, which ought both to have added weight to the rest, and opened the infatuated prince's eyes to his imminent danger. Jeremiah had, some time before, forewarned him from relying upon the assistance of the king of Egypt, whose army was still at Carchemish, since it would be totally overthrown by the more successful arms of the young Nebuchadnezzar[f], the prince pointed out by providence to subdue, among many other nations, that rebellious one of the Jews. This happened accordingly in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, when that young victorious prince, having been taken into partnership of the empire with his father, and sent against the king of Egypt, gave him an entire defeat at Carchemish, took the place, put the whole garison

[d] Ibid. xxxvi. 1, & seq. [e] Ibid. ver. 30, 31. comp. with ch. xxii. ver. 13, to the end. [f] Ibid. xlvi. 1, & seq.

gariſon to the ſword, and beat back the troops that came to its aſſiſtance †.

THIS victory proved the unhappy prelude of Judah's miſfortunes: the conqueror marched directly againſt Jeruſalem and took it (O); rifled the temple of its moſt precious furniture, and the royal palace of its moſt hopeful and beautiful young princes, to be made eunuchs in his own court, according to Iſaiah's prophecy to Hezekiah [g]; and the city of all its choiceſt youths, whether for blood, learning, wit, or beauty, to be likewiſe ſent to Babylon. Among theſe laſt was Daniel and his three companions. Jehoiakim was at firſt put in bonds, and deſigned to be ſent away with the reſt; but, upon his ſubmiſſion and promiſe of paying a yearly tribute to him, the king changed his mind, and left him as a kind of viceroy under him over the kingdom. But, whilſt Nebuchadnezzar was taken up with his other conqueſts he found means to rebel againſt him, after a three years ſubjection and continued about three years without paying him any tribute: his rebellion coſt him dear, for that prince, exaſperated againſt him, inſtead of coming in perſon, ſent an army into Judea, conſiſting of Syrians, Chaldeans, Ammonites, and Moabites, who waſted the whole kingdom, carried away 3023 priſoners; among whom, Joſephus ſays, was the prophet Ezekiel [h]; but it is more likely, that he ſtayed at Jeruſalem till the next reign; took and murdered the unfortunate Jehoiakim, and dragged his carcaſs out of the city gates, where they left it unburied, according to Jeremiah's prediction (P).

Jeruſalem taken.

Jehoiakim's death.

† See vol. ii. p. 63. Uſſ. ſub A. M. 3397. [g] Dan. i. 2, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [h] Ant. l. x. c. 8.

(O) This Uſher proves to have happened in the ninth month, from the anniverſary faſt which the Jews have kept ever ſince in memory of that calamity. This is the more worth obſerving, becauſe the ſeventy years captivity, foretold by Jeremiah, muſt be reckoned from this epocha (48).

(P) This laſt circumſtance of the king's death is only inferred from the tenor of the prophecy above-mentioned; for neither the book of Kings, nor that of the Chronicles, make mention of it; the former of which doth even ſay, that he ſlept with his fathers (49); by which muſt be only meant, that he died as they did

(48) Vid. Uſſ. ub. ſup. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

(49) Conf. 2 Kings xxiv. 6.

Jehoiachin's wcikedreign.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Jehoiachin, called alſo Jeconiah, and in contempt Coniah (Q), who was then but 18 years old; whether he took the crown contrary to Nebuchadnezzar's mind, or endeavoured to ſhake off his yoke, the text doth not ſay, but only obſerves, that he was as wicked as his father. However, that monarch came up againſt him before he had reigned three months: Jehoiachin came out to him, not in hoſtile, but ſubmiſſive, manner, attended with his mother and his whole court; but they found him inexorable, and were all ſent away captives into Babylon, and died there, according to the prophet's prediction, mentioned in the laſt note. The temple, palace, treaſury, and the whole city were a ſecond time ranſacked, and ſtript of all that was valuable in them; even many precious ornaments and utenſils of the temple, which had continued there ever ſince the time of Solomon, became a prey to the conqueror: he likewiſe tranſported 10,000 men, famed either for their valour or wiſdom; beſides 1000 of the beſt artificers in gold, ſilver, and other metals, and materials; in a word, he left ſcarcely

Year of the Flood, 2400. Year before Chriſt, 599.

and captivity.

did. Joſephus, who relates this ſtory a little differently, and throws the fault upon the perfidy of the Babylonians, doth, however, own, that his body was caſt out of the city, and left expoſed in the field (50). Other Jews think, that he died as they were carrying him priſoner into Babylon, and that they left his body in the high-way, without farther care (51).

The laſt quoted place out of the Chronicles ſays, that his acts and abominations were recorded in the book of the kings of Iſrael and Judah. Theſe abominations may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be his idolatries, murders, oppreſſions, and rebellion; but the Targum mentions, moreover, his having the image of Baal upon his forehead; others ſay, that he had ſeveral charms and ſtigmata found upon his body, which proved, that he dealt in deviliſh arts (52); and much more to the ſame purpoſe.

(Q) He is called by this laſt name in Jeremiah, who uttered this dreadful prophecy againſt him (43),—That he ſhould be given into the hand of the king of the Chaldeans;—that he and his mother ſhould end their days in a ſtrange country, wiſhing ſtill in vain to return into their own land: As it happened accordingly not long after.

(50) Ant. l. x. c. 8. (51) Abarban. ap. Patric. in 2 Kings xxiv. 6. (52) Vid. de his. Auct. tradit. Hæbr. in paralip. Hieron. in loc. Eupolem. ap Euſeb. Toſtat. & al. (53) Ch. xxii. 24. & ſeq.

ly any behind, but the very common people to cultivate the land. Among his captives of note was the famed Mordecai, and, as is moſt generally believed, the prophet Ezekiel. After this he ſet Mattaniah, who was the ſon of Joſiah and uncle to the unhappy Jehoiachin, upon the throne, and changed his name into that of Zedekiah; and, having laid him under a certain tribute, and taken an oath of fidelity and ſubjection [i], returned to his dominions.

ZEDEKIAH began to reign in the 21ſt year of his age, and proved as impious as his late predeceſſors; however, he continued faithful to the king of Babylon ſome few years, during which, he received ſome embaſſies from the kings of Ammon, Moab, Edom, Tyre, and Sidon, who were all under the ſame yoke with him; ſeemingly indeed to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the crown, but in fact to enter into a confederacy with him againſt the Chaldeans †. The young prince gave but too much heed to their propoſal; but Jeremiah, who was warned of it, ſent to every one of the embaſſadors chains and yokes, which he bid them carry to their reſpective maſters, adviſing them in the name of God to ſubmit themſelves willingly to the king of Babylon, and not provoke him to lay a much ſeverer yoke upon them, by giving credit to their lying ſoothſayers and ſtar-gazers [k]. There were, at the ſame time in Jeruſalem, ſeveral pretended prophets, who endeavoured to perſuade the too credulous king, that, in ſpite of Jeremiah's predictions to the contrary, the captivity would be ſhortly at an end, and that, the ſacred veſſels which had been carried away, would be all reſtored to the temple; to which Jeremiah replyed, that thoſe few, on the contrary, which had been left behind, would be carried off with the reſt. Thus for ſome years, there was nothing ſcrcely to be heard but victory and deliverance on the part of the falſe prophets, and deſolation and ruin from the mouth of Jeremiah. This raiſed him many a bitter enemy, not only in Judea, but even Babylon: for he had taken the opportunity, as often as Zedekiah ſent his yearly tribute thither, to write letters to the captives, exhorting them to bear their yoke patiently, and not to expect a deliverance before the ſeventy years were expired; and they, in return, wrote letters into Judea, to deſire, that he might be apprehended

Zedekiah's reign.

Deceived by his falſe prophets.

[i] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13. Ezek. xvii. 10, & ſeq. † See vol. ii. p. 115. [k] Jerem. xxvii. paſſ.

hended and punished, as a dangerous enemy to his country, who uttered, not what the God of Israel, but the king of Babylon, dictated to him [l].

THIS contest lasted some years, during which, his enemies had in vain essayed to stop his mouth, by causing him to be apprehended and imprisoned. The infatuated king was at length persuaded, by his false prophets, to shake off the Babylonish yoke, and that rash enterprise compleated both his own and his kingdom's ruin, and hastened the total destruction of the temple and city. He was then in the ninth year of his reign, when Nebuchadnezzar came with a powerful army, wasted the whole country, seized upon his fortresses, and at length laid close siege to Jerusalem, before Zedekiah could make any provision either for his own defence or escape [m]. It was then, seeing his error too late, he sent privately for Jeremiah, to consult with him what to do; but the prophet only told him, that the city and temple would certainly be destroyed, and himself and all his subjects carried into captivity (R); which answer did so exasperate the king, that he ordered him to be immediately carried into prison [n]. In the mean time Pharaoh-Hophra, or Apries, came with an army against the besiegers: Josephus says, that Zedekiah had made an alliance with him, before he ventured to throw off the yoke [o]; if so, he was the only one that kept it with him; for as for all those other princes, who sent their embassadors to him at the first, it is plain, that they were so

Rebels against Nebuchadnezzar.

Jerusalem besieged.

[l] Ibid. [m] 2 Kings xxv. 1, & seq. Jerem. xxxix. 1, & Joseph. Ant. l. x. c. 10. [n] Jerem. xxxiv. 1, & seq. [o] vol. ii. p. 67.

(R) About the same time, Ezekiel prophesied at the captivity (54) much the same things that Jeremiah did at Jerusalem; only with this difference seemingly, that the one said, the king should never see Babylon; whereas the other said expressly, that he should be carried thither prisoner, and end his days there. This seeming contradiction, Josephus tells us (55), staggered the king's faith, and made him give less heed to them; but the difficulty was, rather how to reconcile Ezekiel to himself, who adds, that he should die there, though he did not see it. However, Nebuchadnezzar found out the way of doing it, by putting out that unfortunate prince's eyes.

(54) Ezek. xxii. 13. xxiv. 1, & seq. (55) Ant. l. x, c. 10.

ſo far from aſſiſting him, that they rather became his enemies and accuſers. However that be, Nebuchadnezzar did not think fit to let the Egyptians come up to him, but raiſed the ſiege for the preſent, and marched directly againſt them. This ſpread ſuch an infatuation among the people in the city, that, looking upon themſelves as already out of all danger, they ventured even to force into their ſervice thoſe very ſervants whom they had but lately diſmiſſed, it being the ſabbatic year; not ſo much out of regard to the law of Moſes, as out of the fear they were in of their revolting to the Chaldeans. The king, however, was not ſo ſanguine, but ſent to deſire Jeremiah to put up his prayers to God for him and the nation; but was anſwered by him, that the Chaldeans would renew the ſiege with freſh vigor, and that his Egyptian allies would leave him to their mercy, and return into their own country. Soon after this, the prophet attempted to make his eſcape, but was caught in his flight, and brought before the princes, who ordered him to be ſcourged and flung into a dungeon. In the mean time, Nebuchadnezzar, having routed the Egyptians, returned to the ſiege, and carried it on ſo vigorouſly, that the inhabitants began to labour under ſuch great ſcarcity of proviſions, that they found it impoſſible to hold it out longer. During this laſt ſiege, the king ſent often to Jeremiah, in hopes of receiving at length ſome comfortable news; but neither his reſentment, nor the grievous things which he was made to ſuffer, could make him ſend a better anſwer, than that they muſt be all carried into captivity. Happy had it been for them if they had taken his counſel, and tried to ſoften their conqueror by a timely ſubmiſſion; but, inſtead of it, the king, to avoid the threatened captivity, endeavoured to make his eſcape by night, attended by his nobles and guards. The Chaldeans, who were ſoon appriſed of it, purſued after them, and brought them back to their exaſperated monarch at Riblah; where he glutted his revenge upon the unfortunate king of Judah with the utmoſt cruelty, by cauſing all his children to be butchered before his eyes, and ordering them immediately after to be put out, that no object might afterwards obliterate the idea of that bloody ſcene. This happened towards the end of the eleventh year of his reign; he was ſoon after ſent into Babylon, loaden with chains, and ended his days in a priſon. Zedekiah's miſerable end. Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before Chriſt, 588.

In the mean time, the Chaldeans having entered the city, fell a plundering the temple, palaces, and noblemens houſes, The city plundered.

houſes, and ſeized every where upon the richeſt ſpoil. Nebuzar-adan, who commanded them after Nebuchadnezzar's departure, cauſed the two braſen columns, that ſtood in the court of the temple, to be broken in pieces (S), and all the gold, ſilver, and coſtly furniture to be taken away, whilſt the reſt of his army made the ſame havock in the city; and on the third day after his entrance into it, which was the tenth of the fourth month, anſwering to our Auguſt 27 [p], and a ſabbath-day; he ordered the temple, palace, and the whole city to be ſet on fire, and
and burnt. burnt to the ground. The walls, towers, and other fortifications were next ordered to be demoliſhed, and all the Jews, down to the very common people, to be carried away priſoners, except ſome few of the baſer ſort, whom he left to till the land [q]. As for Jeremiah, Nebuchadnezzar had given his general ſuch charge concerning him, that he was well treated and ſet at liberty, and went and lived with Gedaliah (T), whom that general left as a kind of governor over the miſerable remnant left behind.

THIS

[p] Uſſer. ſub. A. M. 3416. p. 91. [q] 2 Kings xxv. paſſ. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 11, & ſeq. Jerem. xxxix. paſſ. Joſeph. Ant. l. x. c. 11.

(S) The ſame which Solomon had cauſed to be made by the famous Hiram (56), and which we have ſpoken of in the deſcription of the temple. Theſe, together with the large molten ſea, lavers, and many more of the like nature, though all of them maſter-pieces in their kind, had hitherto been ſpared by other conquerors, but became now a prey to the fury or avarice of the Babyloniſh general, who cauſed them to be all carried away, with a vaſt multitude of other ſacred utenſils, ſuch as cauldrons, cenſers, tables, tongs, forks, and many others, whether of gold, ſilver, or copper.

(T) This Gedaliah, was the ſon of Ahikan, a perſon in ſuch credit in all the later reigns, that he had been able to ſkreen that prophet from the reſentment of the king and fury of the people; ſo that it is very probable, Jeremiah, in gratitude to his father, obtained this favour for him from Nebuzar-adan. And this might alſo be the motive that induced him to go and live with him in Judea, rather than to go into Babylon, when that general put it to his option, not without ſome conſiderable encouragements, to invite him to the latter.

(56) 2 Chron. iv. 11, & ſeq.

THIS was the dreadful end of that glorious kingdom, and of the Iſraelitiſh monarchy, after it had ſtood 468 years from the time that David began to reign over it, 388 years from the revolt of the ten tribes from it, and 134 years from the exciſion of the Iſraelitiſh common-wealth [r]; and had continued under the ſun-ſhine of the divine protection, which nothing could have eclipſed, but their almoſt conſtant and horrid ingratitude, and invincible itch of imitating the idolatries and witcheries of other nations: crimes, which though become as abominable to God, as they were univerſally practiſed by mankind, yet ſeem to have flowed from a purer ſource, though corrupted by degrees to this vaſt height, by the amazing degeneracy of mankind; but for this we ſhall refer the reader to the appendix here annexed. How the Jewiſh captives fared in Babylon, will be ſeen in the next chapter: all that remains to be taken notice of, with reſpect to the Jews that were left in Canaan, is, that treacherous and bloody action, which was committed upon Gedaliah, the Jewiſh deputy, by one of the princes of Judah.

HIS name was Iſhmael, he had eſcaped the common fate, by taking timely refuge with the king of Ammon. After Nebuzar-adan's departure, he obſerved, that great numbers of diſperſed Jews flocked to Gedaliah, who gave them a kind reception, and plenty of proviſions to ſubſiſt upon, till they could come to till the land; and being moved with envy, and inſtigated by the Ammoniti ſh king, came to him with ten reſolute fellows to Mizpah, with a deſign to aſſaſſinate him. Gedaliah was indeed warned of his intent, but was ſo far from giving credit to it, that he entertained him with all the tokens of friendſhip and reſpect, and gave thereby the treacherous Iſhmael an opportunity of murdering both him and all the brave Chaldeans he had about him. Two days after, meeting with about fourſcore Iſraelites clad in mourning, who were going to bewail the ruin of the city and temple, and to offer up their devotions there; he by ſome means enticed them to Mizpah, where he murdered them, and threw their carcaſſes into a well. He was returning into the land of Ammon, with a number of priſoners which he made at Mizpah, among whom were ſome princeſſes of Judah, whom the Babyloniſh general had left with Gedaliah; but was purſued by Johanan and ſome other Hebrew captains, who

[r] See Uſſer. ub. ſup.

who rescued all the prisoners, and forced him to fly for his life, with only eight of his men.

THIS barbarous action made the Jewish officers, and the rest of the people, so afraid of the Chaldeans resentment, that they began to think of fleeing into Egypt for safety. They consulted Jeremiah about it, who gave them this answer from the Lord ten days after, that if they tarried in Judea, they should be protected from the Chaldeans, but that if they persisted in their design of going down into Egypt, they should all inevitably perish there, and share in the dreadful calamities of that perishing kingdom. This speech, however, was so far from deterring them, who were always bent upon disobedience and contradiction, that, suspecting him to have been instigated by Baruc, rather than inspired by God, they both ventured to go down, and to force them two to go along with them. As soon as they had reached the city of Taphnes, Jeremiah began to foretel the taking of that place, and the desolation of that kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar [s]; which happened accordingly soon after, as we have seen elsewhere *, and shall have occasion again to mention in the next chapter. What became of Jeremiah is not known; some suppose him to have been stoned by his countrymen; but that is meer guess-work, and it is not material enough to enquire further about it.

An APPENDIX,

Concerning the Rise and Progress of IDOLATRY *and* WITCHCRAFT.

WE hope our readers will not think it amiss, if we close this Jewish history, with a short enquiry into the origin and progress of those two epidemic evils, idolatry and witchcraft, which had so long and so universally infected the world, and more particularly the Israelites; and proved so obstinately rooted in the latter, as to bring a total excision of one of their kingdoms, and so long and severe a captivity upon the other.

WE

[s] 2 Kings xxv. 23, & seq. 2 Chron. ub. sup. ad fin. Jerem. xl, & seq. pass. * See vol. ii. p. 65.

We ſhall, however, forbear deſcanting upon the manifold opinions of the learned about this matter, becauſe we think, that they have gone a great way for the cauſes of it, and overlooked thoſe more natural ones which were juſt at their elbow. But here, with reſpect to the firſt of theſe evils, we would be far from rejecting that probable opinion of ſome judicious men [a], which fetches its origin from the promiſe, made to Adam, of the ſeed of the woman, or the Meſſiah and Mediator; from the progenitorſhip of whom Ham and Canaan having been excluded, for their irreverent behaviour towards their naked father, our authors ſuppoſe Canaan might be induced to obliterate and revenge that loſs and diſgrace, by corrupting the true meaning of the prophecy; and inſtead of one mediator, to be born in after-ages of the line of Shem, to introduce the worſhip of a multiplicity of them, not of human race, but of ſome ſuperior nature, among their poſterity. And if it be at leaſt a very probable opinion, that it was this very Meſſiah who appeared in ſome viſible ſhape, and had frequent intercourſes with Adam and the patriarchs; or though even theſe apparitions were, as others will have them, only thoſe of angels, deputed by God, and ſpeaking in his name †, but from whoſe intercourſe he and his curſed poſterity may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been excluded; how natural was it for him to arrogate a ſuperiority over his rival, as well in the number and frequency, as in the intimacy and excellence, of thoſe heavenly viſiters, by rearing an infinite multitude of altars to them. Thus, for inſtance, Egypt was the place, where Miſraim, if not Ham, fixed his abode; and how thriving a ſoil it proved for them, needs not to be repeated here; whereas the holy patriarchs, who offered their ſacrifices to the true God upon thoſe altars only, which they occaſionally reared in thoſe places where he appeared to them, having but a very ſmall number of them, appeared vaſtly inferior to them in this reſpect in the eyes of an ignorant world.

But though this accounts probably enough for the riſe of polytheiſm, yet it leaves us wholly in the dark about the more abſurd and unnatural worſhip of ſtocks and ſtones, under various figures of the planets, and of ſeveral parts of the animal and vegetable creation; which is more particularly

[a] Vid. int. al. Alix. in Pentateuch. not. T. & 535. not. S.

† Vid. vol. ii. p. 412.

cularly the subject of our present inquiry. For we cannot see, which way these can be said, in any sense, to have been introduced in consequence of the former. As for those who derive them from the custom of deifying their heroes, and erecting statues and monuments to them, which came in time to be worshipped, instead of the prototypes, we can by no means agree to them; because it doth not appear to us, that those apotheoses began any thing so early as the times we are speaking of; they seem rather to have been introduced in consequence of the notion of polytheism; so that we must seek elsewhere for the source of idolatry. For as for what we have said on this head in the history of Egypt *, the reader may remember, that we did not give it as our particular opinion, but either as the best account, which the priests of that nation could give for their various kinds of worship to Herodotus, or as the conjectures of that, or other authors, concerning their superstitious and nonsensical mythology.

But as to us, we rather think, that the origin and progress of idolatry is plainly pointed out to us, in the account which Moses gives us of Laban's and Jacob's parting [b]. The reader may remember, that these two, after a sharp contest, being ready to depart, the one into Mesopotamia, and the other into Canaan, agreed to bind themselves and their posterity, by a solemn oath on both sides, to live in peace and friendship with each other. Now the way they took to ratify and perpetuate the memory of this covenant was, the rearing up a heap of stones in the place; which seems, therefore, to have been founded upon some ancient and common custom of that nature, and well known to them both, and only differently interpreted by them, according to their different religions. Jacob, who was a worshipper of the true God, called this monument Galeed, or Gall-hed, a heap of witness, that is, an authentic record of his having appealed to the God of heaven for the faithful performance of the agreement on his part: This was the pure original sense of this ceremony. Laban, on the other hand, interprets it according to the corrupt theology of his time and country, in terms to this effect; this heap be both a Galeed, or record of our mutual oath; וְהַמִּצְפָּה Ve-hammitzphah, and also a watchman, or rather a watch-tower, from which the gods, that is, that of Abraham, and that, or those, of Nahor, may behold

* Vol. i. p. 561. & seq.

[b] Gen. xxxi. 44, & seq.

behold and puniſh the aggreſſor, when we come to be at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that there will be none elſe to ſee and judge between us.

IT is true, indeed, that Laban's words might be capable of a more figurative conſtruction, did not the outcry which he made after his gods [c] ſhew him to have been ſuch a thorough-paced idolater, as to be incapable of being underſtood in any other ſenſe. This made Jacob, who doubtleſs could beſt judge of his meaning, carefully avoid ſwearing by any other oath than by the Dread, that is, by the God, of his father Iſaac [d].

HOWEVER, not to lay greater ſtreſs upon this than we need, it is plain, that if ſuch a cuſtom as this was once introduced, of erecting monuments in memory of any ſolemn covenants, the tranſition was eaſy into the notion, that the Godhead, or rather ſome deity, took its reſidence in it, in order to puniſh the firſt aggreſſors; and how ſoon this might be improved by an ignorant and degenerate world, till not only birds, beaſts, ſtocks, and ſtones, but ſun, moon, and ſtars, were called into the ſame office; though uſed perhaps at firſt, by the deſigning part of mankind, as ſcare-crows, to over-awe the ignorant. This is indeed the moſt that it ever did, even whilſt idolatry was at the heighth; whilſt the more cunning ſort laughed at it, and only made it to ſerve their own ends.

THE next improvement might be that of witchcraft, and the ſame kind of policy might oblige thoſe Matchiavels to wink at, if not to encourage, a numerous herd of inferior knaves, as muſt naturally be bred out of the dregs of this corrupt theology, under the denominations of aſtrologers, enchanters, ſorcerers, teraphim-makers, retainers of familiar ſpirits, ſooth-ſayers, fortune-tellers, and many more of the ſame nature, who were all greedily reſorted unto by the populace upon all occaſions; though in matters, of great moment, they were forced to receive their directions from their principals.

HITHERTO we have avoided meddling with the common opinion, which makes the devil the cauſe of all theſe miſchiefs; if he was really ſo, what we have ſaid will only ſhew how eaſy it was for him to compaſs his end. But tho' the ſcriptures ſeem plainly to intimate ſome kind of intercourſe between ſome men and women and ſome kind

[c] Ibid. ver. 30. & ſeq. paſſ.

[d] Ibid. ver. 53.

kind of ſpirits, as in the caſe of Egyptian conjurers and the witch of Endor; yet we do not find, that the devil is any where charged with having debauched mankind into idolatry or witchcraft, how glad and ready ſoever he might be to encourage them, after men had once introduced the notion of them into the world. This we purpoſely take notice of, becauſe the hypotheſis we are ſpeaking againſt ſuppoſes ſuch an extent of power in him, as would be highly derogatory of the divine goodneſs, whilſt it left the bulk of mankind under a kind of inevitable neceſſity of falling into all his ſnares, with thoſe little aſſiſtances they had, either from the dim light of reaſon, or the book of nature.

THERE is indeed a great deal of difference between ſuppoſing, that the devil firſt blinded mankind, and then led them into all manner of wickedneſs; and ſaying, that men, having ſhamefully corrupted themſelves, proceeded from one wickedneſs to another, till at length, being given up to their abominable luſts, they became the ſlaves of that evil ſpirit, and were eaſily enticed by him into this exceſs of impiety.

WE may add, that mankind, if we except the families of a few patriarchs, carrying their views no farther than this life, their inſatiable deſire after wealth, their care of preſerving it, an unaccountable itch to pry into futurity, and the like, did naturally lead them into all that variety of ſuperſtitious traſh, we have been ſpeaking of. Could any thing therefore more effectually cure the Iſraelites, too prone to imitate them in all theſe, than to make their worldly happineſs riſe and fall, according as they ſhewed the greater abhorrence or fondneſs for every thing that bordered upon idolatry and witchcraft.

THUS then the antient and truly religious cuſtom of ratifying oaths and contracts by ſuch monuments, which was only an appeal to God's all-ſeeing eye, inſenſibly degenerated into the groſſeſt and abſurdeſt idolatry, under the multiform notion of guardian idols or gods, protectors of houſes, lands, kingdoms, &c. Thence ſprung the trades of conjuring each reſpective deity to its particular idol, and uſe; of foretelling things by a pretended intimacy with thoſe deities; the art of ſtar-gazing and aſtrology; of making teraphims, idols, and other charms, offenſive and defenſive, under their proper conſtellations; with the whole train of heatheniſh ſuperſtition, forbid under ſuch ſevere penalties by the Jewiſh law-giver.

BUT

But if this ſhould not ſufficiently account for the origin of witchcraft, what we ſhall add concerning one branch of it, as yet unmentioned, may perhaps do it more effectually; we mean the heretofore ſo much boaſted craft of enchanting ſerpents, inſomuch, that we read of whole nations that pretended to it; and ſome learned fathers ſeem to expreſs ſuch an admiration of it, as if they had really ſeen, or had been ſome other way fully convinced of it. But the notion muſt have been of much older date, ſince the pſalmiſt, ſpeaking according to the vulgar opinion, compares the ſad miſchiefs of an evil tongue to the poiſon of the deaf adder, that ſtoppeth her ears againſt the charms of the moſt cunning enchanter [e]. What pains hath it not coſt ſome antient fathers [f], and, of late eſpecially, the learned Bochart [g], to find out a ſerpent that anſwered the character given here by the pſalmiſt. Deaf ones we need not be at a loſs for; we have a ſort in England, which, though not exactly of the ſame colour with thoſe of our author, but rather of a reddiſh copper hue, ſeem to be quite deaf, and their bite is reckoned mortal: but David ſpeaks of one that ſtoppeth her ear to the charmer's voice; and this has given occaſion for various conjectures, which may be beſt ſeen in the author himſelf. For our part, we ſee no reaſon to underſtand theſe words literally, any more than if he had compared an evil tongue to the voice of a ſyren, the claws of a harpy, the eyes of a baſiliſk, or of any other fabulous creature; we hope, that in neither caſe there is now any neceſſity, either for diſproving the reality of ſuch creatures, or for vindicating the ſacred poet's alluſion to them. All that we pretend here is, to enquire, how the notion of this pretended art came to be introduced, and ſo univerſally received, in the world; and this cannot, we think, be done, without fetching its origin from the old ſerpent in paradiſe [h].

And here we need not obſerve, how much every circumſtance in the hiſtory of his ſeducing the woman; his being, according to the common verſion, called the moſt ſubtle of all creatures, his being choſen by the devil, as the fitteſt inſtrument to deceive her, the curſe pronounced againſt

[e] Pſal. lviii. 4, 5. [f] Orig. Euſeb. in Pſal. lix. Auguſt. de Geneſ. ad litt. lib. ix. Reſponſ. ad quæſt. 44. vid. & Scalig. de Animal. lib. 1. [g] De Animal ſacr. lib. iii. c. 6. [h] Gen. iii. 1.

gainſt him by God, and the enmity intailed between his and her ſeed, might contribute to the notion of ſerpents being infected with ſome diabolical peſtiferous quality, which made them thus ſtrangely deſtructive to mankind. But what we would firſt of all take notice of is, that though, in our former account of our firſt parents ſeduction †, we followed the current of all verſions, which repreſent that reptile as the moſt ſubtle of all living creatures, yet the term ערם Harum, which Moſes there makes uſe of, ſignifies quite another thing, namely, in its primitive ſignification, naked; accordingly he ſays, in the preceding verſe, that our firſt parents were ערומים Harumim, naked; ſo that, in a figurative ſenſe, it may properly enough ſignify a harmleſs inoffenſive creature. It ſeems even probable, that the ſacred hiſtorian takes notice of this circumſtance, as one main reaſon of Eve's being ſo eaſily deceived by it; for what could be more fit for the devil's purpoſe than ſuch a one, which was furniſhed with neither legs, claws, horns, or any one ſingle part, even for its own defence? had it indeed been really the craftieſt of all animals, Adam could not but have known it, ſeeing he gave them all names according to their natures; and then Eve could not but have been particularly miſtruſtful of him, ſo that he would have been the laſt that the devil would have pitched upon to tempt her. Hence we would obſerve, 1. That it was chiefly this naked, defenceleſs, and inoffenſive appearance, though adorned perhaps with all thoſe beauties of ſhape, colour, and wings, which we mentioned before under that head *, that gained credit with her; and, 2. That whenever the ſame term is uſed afterwards to ſignify cunning, as it ſometimes doth; it is only the word Harum, naked or ſimple, ironically applyed.

HERE was then a creature, which, from being originally harmleſs and inoffenſive, became the moſt dangerous and deadly one in the whole creation: a wonderful change of nature, to all outward appearance, without change of ſhape; a power to kill infuſed into it, without the addition of any offenſive part; inflicting a ſure and ſpeedy, a painful and unaccountable, death, and yet not able to give the body a greater wound, than that of a ſeemingly ſlight prick. What could an infant world attribute all theſe ſurpriſing effects to, but to ſome deadly occult quality, which the devil

† See vol. i. p. 196. * Ibid. p. 200.

devil left behind him with it? or what could be more apt to cultivate that notion, if not to give the firſt riſe to it, than the enmity intailed between mankind and the ſerpent, after the prophetic ſenſe of it had once been obliterated with the far greateſt part of the world? and whence ſhould they expect a remedy againſt this ſuppoſed preternatural evil, but from pretended preternatural means? ſo that though we are far from thinking, that it ſent men to the devil for help, for charms, and enchantments, yet it might eaſily induce thoſe who firſt found out a cure for the bite of thoſe venemous creatures, to aſſume to themſelves ſome ſupernatural ſkill, in order both to gain greater credit and admiration among the people, and to prevent their prying too narrowly into their ſecrets. How much farther theſe pretended enchanters improved this notion of a preternatural, or diabolical, vertue in ſerpents, above all other creatures, is plain, from that vaſt variety of ſurpriſing tricks, which they attributed to them [1]; one of which, and that not by far the moſt extraordinary, was that of ſtopping their ears, that they might be proof againſt all enchantments; and it is this, we ſhall now endeavour to account for.

It is not to be doubted, but theſe cunning artiſts had acquainted themſelves, as far as they could, with all the various kinds of ſerpents; ſome of which, ſuch as our common ſnakes, being found to be perfectly harmleſs, might ſerve them to amuſe the ignorant, by pretending, that they had charmed them into that inoffenſive familiarity, which they beheld with the utmoſt wonder; others, of a more dangerous nature, ſuch as the viper or adder, but which only bite when hurt or provoked, might be either tamed by degrees, and by gentle uſage, or rendered harmleſs by breaking thoſe two teeth, through which they inject their poiſon; the latter therefore might be uſed as an amuſement, and the former to try experiments, to find out remedies; and both together to deceive the world, by ſhewing their pretended capacity, or incapacity, to hurt or kill, according as they were, or were not, inchanted. But as they found their remedies ineffectual in many caſes, and againſt the bite of ſome kinds of ſerpents, they had no other way to ſave themſelves, than by pretending, that thoſe

[1] Vid. Auct. ſup. citat. &. Pomponac. de incant. Trithem. Steganogr. Texir. Hiſt. Perſ. Delrio. Diſquiſit. magic. & al. mult.

thoſe had a particular vertue, which was proof againſt their charms; and as the deaf kind is the moſt deadly, and hitherto found to be incurable, nothing could be more natural, than for the pretended enchanters to affirm, that their charms conſiſted in the ſound of certain words, pronounced in the hearing of thoſe reptiles, which could therefore have no effect againſt them, becauſe they had the ſkill of turning a deaf ear to them. Hence came the notion of their hearing but with one ear, which they ſtopped either with the end of their tail, or by laying it cloſe to the ground, whenever they found themſelves in danger of being enchanted; and many others equally abſurd, invented on purpoſe to account for the pretended ſuperiority of ſkill in this creature, above that of the enchanter.

THUS we hope, that the hiſtory of Jacob and Laban makes it at leaſt very probable, that idolatry, with all its long train of vain and abſurd, of vile and abominable attendants, was at firſt foiſtered into the world from the primitive notion of God's omnipreſence; which, through the degeneracy and ignorance of the world, which could not perhaps comprehend the poſſibility of the deity being preſent and attentive to every part of the creation, branched itſelf out into that infinite multitude of deities, of various ſizes and natures, as beſt ſuited with their corrupt notions and morals. We may add, that the righteous line of Shem is not the only people, who are recorded to have preſerved this pure and primitive notion, ſince, as we obſerved formerly †, the inhabitants of Thebais, or upper Egypt, did worſhip none but the Cneph, or ſupreme deity, whilſt the lower part of the country was immerſed in the groſſeſt idolatry. How far the early notion of good and bad ſpirits might further contribute to corrupt this pure and primitive ſenſe of God's omnipreſence, and degenerate by degrees into a belief that they were, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, the eyes and hands of the deity, and the inſtruments of his favour or juſtice, we need not ſay; and if this was the caſe, how eaſy was it for the corrupt phyſiologiſts of thoſe times to turn them all into deities, and even aſſign them their ſeveral provinces over every creature, according as they found it beneficial or hurtful to mankind. Hence proceeded, moſt likely, the worſhip of crocodiles, ibis, rats, onions, garlick, and many more among the Egyptians; and of the heavenly bodies, both by them and the reſt of the world *.

Now

† See vol. i. p. 101. * Ibid. p. 96. not. x. & p. 97.

Now there is nothing more plain, than that all this infinite variety of ſuperſtitions was owing to that inſatiable deſire after thoſe various kinds of happineſs, which their vitiated taſte made them ſeek after, according to their different inclinations, from thoſe imaginary diſpenſers of them. So that if the Iſraelites could but have kept themſelves wholly free from it, it would have proved the moſt effectual means, perhaps, of recovering the reſt of mankind, by ſetting before their eyes a whole nation, enjoying the heighth of grandeur and happineſs, not from thoſe fancied deities which engroſſed the worſhip of other nations, from whom they were ſo far from expecting any bleſſings, that they had both them, and their ſtupid votaries, in greateſt contempt and abhorrence; but under the influence of the only ſupreme creator of heaven and earth, whom alone they acknowledged to be the bountiful giver of all good. Here then was at once the ſource of their guilt and unhappineſs, that they thwarted, inſtead of complying with, the deſigns of providence; and, by their ſhameful imitation, confirmed other nations in their deluſions and idolatry, whom they were deſigned to cure by their utter deteſtation of them.

But there was ſtill a farther aggravation of their guilt and impiety, the inhuman cruelties which were practiſed at the worſhip of ſome, and the filthy and unnatural ceremonies which were uſed at that of other, of theſe falſe deities. All theſe may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been invented by crafty and deſigning men, meerly to gratify the depraved appetites of a ſenſeleſs vulgar, in order to make it ſubſervient to their more latent views; but when they came to be adopted by God's peculiar people, in ſpight of all his moſt expreſs prohibitions and threatenings, they carried a much higher degree of guilt in them, becauſe they tended to caſt a double diſhonour upon him, among thoſe wiſer heathens, who were ignorant of his laws againſt them, and yet abhorred them, as being manifeſtly contrary to his nature. For what opinion could they have of the God of Iſrael, or how could they believe him to be the ſupreme being, and yet ſuffer his people to commit ſuch abominations? What muſt even the very Iſraelites themſelves think of him, if they could ſuppoſe, that he would indulge them in thoſe very impieties, for which he had ſo ſeverely puniſhed the nations, whoſe land they now inhabited?

To all this let us add their obstinate unbelief, which hardened them against the most pathetic remonstrances, and dreadful threatenings of their prophets, whom God still sent to them upon all such defections; and who never appeared in greater number, than they did towards the approaching captivity, which their multiplied impieties were hastening upon them, and proved at last the only effectual means of curing them at once of their idolatry and unbelief. Whether the severity of their thraldom, the monstrous variety of superstition, which they beheld among the Babylonians, or the continued exhortations of Ezekiel and other prophets, who were with them in the captivity, contributed most to this extraordinary change, we will not pretend to say, but this is plain, that ever since their return from thence, they have always expressed the greatest abhorrence to those two crimes. Yet even in these two respects, they seem rather to have gone into the other extreme, and to have strove only to atone for former faults, by running into others, if not equal in guilt, yet at least equally dangerous. For the truth of this, we need but refer the reader to what we have had frequent occasion to observe concerning them. Thus, for instance, idolatry, once their most favourite vice, has been since had in such abhorrence among them, that they would not stoop before a statue, though it were to pluck a thorn out of their foot *; and may we not reasonably suppose, that it was in order to make amends for their former unbelief, that they so greedily swallowed down such a number of monstrous fables, of which, those we have quoted in this history out of their Talmud, are but a small scantling; and prefer that pretended oral law or tradition, wherein they find such plenty of materials to exercise their faith, to the sacred writings, wherein they find little or nothing like it? well might our Saviour charge those of his time with *straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel* †; and an honest rabbi of theirs advises them to insert the decalogue in their Talmud, as the only means to prevent the shameful and almost universal breach of it amongst them.

HOWEVER, it behoves us to spare and pity them in this respect, since it was their unaccountable fondness for these traditions above the sacred writings, that inspired them with

* See vol. iii. p. 170. not. F. † Matt. xxiii. 24.

A MAP of the Kingdoms of JUDAH and ISRAEL according to this History

PART OF THE MEDITER-RANEAN SEA

The Lake Phiala the true Spring of Jordan

Paneas

M. Antilibanus

Dan

Cadesh

Samachonite Lake

Sephar

M. Tabor

PLAIN of ZEBULUN

Acco

Nazareth

Naim

M. Hermon

Sea of Tiberias

M. Carmel

R. Kishon

Endor

Shunam

Plain of Jezreel

Magdiel

Bezec

Arba

Dothaim

Dor

Aser

Bethshan

Jezreel

Tabbath

PLAIN of SARON

Bether

Mt. Gerizim

M. Ebal

Samaria

Sichem

Thenath

Endumia

Lydda

Shilo

Acrabbim

Arimathea

Joppa

Gezer

Emmaus

Gebah

Ajalon

Gophna

Bethshemesh

Bethel

Eshtaol

Michmash

Bera

Bethoron

Ephraim

Kirjath-jearim

Bethagla

Gibeah

Jericho

PLAIN of SEPHELA

Beeroth

Rama

Gilgal

Gath

Anathoth

Ashdod

Jarmuth

Adullam

Engaddi

Ascalon

Jerusalem

Bethany

Mareskah

Gibeon

Sochoh

R. Kedron

Gaza

Makkedah

Bethlehem

Lachish

Etam

Gerar

Keilah

Nezib

Tekoah

Bethzur

Hebron

M. Ziph

Moladah

Betonim

Beersheba

MOUNTAINS OF EDOM

R. Jordan

GREAT PLAIN

Dead Sea or Asphaltite Lake

PART OF ARABIA

S. W. Sculp.

with that bitterneſs and malice againſt the Meſſiah, the redeemer of mankind, which made them perſecute him to that ſlaviſh death, from which we derive our freedom and aſſurance of a better life; eſpecially, ſince their continuing to this day in unbelief affords us ſo irrefragable an argument for the authority of the Old Teſtament, and conſequently for the truth and divinity of the New; into which we are not without ſome ſure hopes of their being admitted in God's good time ‡.

‡ Vid. Rom. xi. paſſ.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of ASSYRIA.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of ASSYRIA.

WE have already accounted for the name of this country, declaring it to have been derived from Aſhur, its firſt planter after the flood [a], and have obſerved [b], that its name extended very far weſtward over the whole country of Aram, or Syria (A), which at this time Its name.

[a] See vol. i. p. 459. [b] See vol. ii. p. 262.

(A) Bochart (1) divides the Aſſyrians into two ſorts, thoſe properly ſo called, beyond the Tigris, and derived from Aſhur, and thoſe on this ſide of the Euphrates, who derived their name from צור Sur, or Tyre (2), by means of an article prefixed thereto, as in הצורים Haſſurim, but whatever there may really be in this, it will, upon examination, be thought to be of no great weight. The deſcent of the two nations is ſo different, the one from Aſhur, the other from Aram, and their diſtance from each other ſo wide, that we can never think ſo ſlight an accident, as an article perfixed to Sur, ſhould cauſe the potent and ancient nation of the Aramites, or Syrians, to be called, by all the nations about, Aſſyrians; and particularly, when there is ſo much to be ſaid againſt it, as may be found in the next note.

(1) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 34. (2) See vol. ii. p. 331.

gives appellation to moſt of the country between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Eaſtward, ſouthward, and northward it muſt alſo have extended its name, where-ever its monarchs had eſtabliſhed themſelves by the fortune of their arms (B).

IF we conſider the monarchy of Aſſyria geographically, we have already done much towards a deſcription of it, in what we have formerly ſaid of the ſeveral countries whoſe hiſtories go before, and which may, in this light, be conſidered as provinces of Aſſyria, and more we ſhall do towards this work in our deſcriptions of ſeveral other countries, whoſe hiſtories are to follow, and which the order, we have hitherto obſerved, requires us to defer to the places naturally belonging to them; and the ſame order obliges us here to confine ourſelves to the proper Aſſyria.

Extent. THE preciſe extent of this country may not exactly be known, and it might be labour quite in vain to attempt to ſettle it; but taking it to have been the ſame with the province of Curdeſtân at this day, it lay eaſtward of the Tigris, and extended almoſt north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt from the ſprings of that river and the lake Van, to the province of Khuzeſtân in Perſia; or, according to Ptolemy, it lay along

(B) Where ever this monarchy extended itſelf, it is apparent, that it extended its name together with its dominions; ſo Meſopotamia, the Aram-Naharaim of the Jewiſh writers, is ſaid (3) to have been called the Mid Aſſyria; and ſo alſo Babylon and Chaldea were reckoned to be a part of that country (4), as well as the reſt, we may ſuppoſe, that owned ſubjection to the kings of Niniveh. In conformity to this, we are told by Trogus Pompeius (5), that the Aſſyrians, by contraction, came to be called Syrians. It was the firſt great monarchy, and its name grew venerable in proceſs of time, even to thoſe who had formerly ſuffered by its power; and hence out of vanity, or from a long ſettled cuſtom, the nations round about affected to call themſelves Aſſyrians, or elſe others affected to call them ſo, or, thirdly, they may have been commanded ſo to denominate themſelves by the conqueror. To diſmiſs this, we would take notice, that there ſeems to be nothing more uncertain, than what the Greeks and Latins mean by Aſſyria and Aſſyrian; they are of ſuch comprehenſive latitude with theſe writers, as to take in all the country and people between the Mediterranean, on the weſt, and the river Indus, on the eaſt.

(3) Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. 7. p. 453. (4) Ammian. Marcel. l. 23. c. 20. (5) Juſt. l. 1. c. 2. See vol. ii. p. 262.

along the eastern banks of the Tigris, from mount Niphates to mount Zagros, being bounded on the east by mount Choatras. Such was its situation and boundaries, as should seem, and is agreed upon by geographers; but for its exact extent we chuse to pass that over, as a thing uncertain, and not within the compass of our knowledge.

THIS country, which must, in its happy times, have been a land of plenty (C), has almost ever since the fall of its empire been decaying; a misfortune which has been particularly incident to it, by the very nature of its situation, which has, at times, made it the seat of war between potent empires and nations; and it is now become a wilderness, a desart, excepting some little land that may be cultivated about the few and inconsiderable towns which stand within its borders [c], so that there is but little to be said of its productions and properties.

WE have already said as much of the first postdiluvian state of this country and its ancient cities, Niniveh and the rest, as we have been able to gather, so that we have here nothing to do, but to refer back the reader to what of that kind is in the former part of this work [d], and proceed to the division and arrangement of it by the Greeks.

PTOLEMY [e] divides Assyria, beginning from the northwest to the south-east, into the several provinces of Arra-

 pachitis,

[c] Rauwolf's Trav. p. ii. c. 9. [d] See vol. i. p. 370. [e] Lib. 6. c. 1.

(C) A land of plenty and pleasure it must undoubtedly have been; but this may not have been the country designated in scripture (6) by a *land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards, a land of oil-olive, and of honey*, as Bochart thinks (7), and Rauwolf (8); for Rabshakeh, who speaks of this (9), may, as is most likely, have understood his words, as of some of the new conquered provinces of Assyria, and not of Assyria itself, properly so called; so that this does not amount to a positive proof of what is asserted concerning the fertility and amenity of the Proper Assyria; though indeed it must be confessed to be a very strong circumstance to make us believe, it was no ways inferior to the country or countries intended by the text above; we may easily conceive the conqueror would have seized on the best for himself, and not have bestowed it on the foreign captives he made and transplanted.

(6) 2 Kings xviii. 32. (7) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 19. (8) In his travels. p. 11. c. 9. (9) 2 Kings ub. sup.

pachitis, Adiabene (D), Arbelitis, Calacine, or Chalachene, Apolloniatis, and Sittacene, but there is no pretending to set bounds to these several divisions, or assigning to each the cities, that may, in former times, have belonged thereto. Nor are these all the parts of Assyria mentioned by ancient geographers: we have the name of Aturia [f], or Atyria (E), as a part of this country,

[f] Strab. l. 16. ineunt.

(D) The whole country has been sometimes called by the name of this part of it. So Pliny observes (10), that the country of Adiabene was in former times called Assyria; the same says Ammianus Marcellinus (11) who (12) derives the name from two rivers of the country, called Diaba and Adiaba, rejecting the common opinion, which derives it from the Greek word Διαβάινειν *transire διὰ τὸ εἶναι πλειοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ· ἢ δυσχερεστέραν ποιεῖν τὴν διάβασιν*, because of the many rivers which make it difficult to travel or pass (13). Thus is it also, that Suidas (14) accounts for this name; to which he adds fabulously, that here is the mouth of Avernus, which sends up so pestiferous a vapour, that no bird or beast may take in the least scent of it, but death must be the unhappy consequence; and that hence also it was called Adiabene, or Impassable. To pass over other obscurities concerning the derivation of this name (15), Bochart (16) gives it an Assyrian or Chaldean origin, forming it from the Chaldee חדי״ב, or חדי״ב Hadjab, or Hadyab, as it is called by the Talmudists and the Chaldee interpreter; as also חדי״בא Hadjaba, or Hadjava; whence he deduces (17) Ammianus Marcellinus's (18), Adiavena, which whence it became the name of this part of Assyria may be observed anon.

(E) This also, though apparently but a small district of this country, extended itself over the whole, and, according to Bochart (19), was a name synonymous with Assyria, allowing only for the difference of a dialect; the former being the Hebrew, and the other the Chaldee, way of writing this name; the Chaldees constantly converting the Hebrew שׂ Sin into the ת Tau; so that what the Hebrews pronounce Assyria, they pronounce Atyria. Whatever there may be in this, the Greeks plainly took Aturia, or Atyria, to be no more than a province or district of Assyria. Strabo (20) divides Aturia from Arbelitis by the river Lycus; whence it is plain, it was by the Greeks reckoned as a part only of this country, however the name may have been common to all of it.

(10) Hist. Nat. l. 5. c. 12. (11) Ubi sup. (12) Ibid. (13) Vid. Bochart. Phaleg. l. 4. c. 19. (14) Ad vocem Αδιαβηνὴ (15) Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. vol. ii. l. iii. c. 17. (16) Phaleg. ub. sup. (17) Ibid. (18) Ub. sup. (19) Phaleg. ub. supr. (20) Lib. 16. ineunt.

country, as also Artacene (F) and Chalonitis [g] (G).

AMONG the rivers of Assyria, we may justly reckon the Tigris (H), not only because it bathed all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers of this kingdom fell into this; as also, because the great cities of this kingdom [h], Niniveh, Ctesiphon, and others, were situated thereon. The other rivers of less note were, the Lycus, the Caprus, and the Gorgus (I), at

g Plin. l. 6. c. 26. h Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. tom. ii. l. 3. c. 17.

(F) This is supposed to have derived its name from the city of Erech (21), or Arec. This is the opinion both of Scaliger and Casaubon (22); and if so, we have nothing to do with it at present, for it was not in this country, but in the land of Shinaar (23), on this side of the Tigris.

(G) This may have been the same with Cala and Calacine, for which we must refer to what we have already said (24) before, only observing, that the Callonites of Polybius (25) may have been the same.

(H) Said to have borrowed this name from the number of tigers on its banks; and the rather, as there are two other rivers in this country, the Lycus and the Caprus, which seem to borrow their names from a cause of the same nature, the one being denominated from a wolf, the other from a goat (26); others derive it from a Persian word, signifying an arrow *; by this, and the former, importing it to be rapid and violent in its course: But this is contradicted by Pedro de la Valle (27), who says, it is a slower stream than the Euphrates; and Thevenot (28) seems to assign a reason why the Tigris should not be so very swift, saying, it is not only more crooked and full of meanders than ever he saw, but also choaked up with islands and great banks of stone. Bochart derives it from its old Hebrew name Hiddekel; and the Arabs, at this day, call it دجلة Dijlat. The inhabitants hereabouts call it Hiddekel to this day (29).

(I) The Lycus and the Caprus, according to Bochart (30), are the two rivers Diaba and Adiaba, or Diava and Adiava. דיבא Diava,

(21) Genes. x. 10. (22) Vid. Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. ub. supr. (23) Genes. ub. sup. (24) See vol i. p. 371. in the notes. (25) Lib 5. c. 54. (26) Vid. Cellar. ub. sup. * Vid. Gregor. posthum. p. 189. (27) In his travels. (28) In his travels, part 2. c. 13. (29) Rauwolf's travels, part 2. c. 9. (30) Phaleg. ub. sup.

at almoſt an equal diſtance from each other, and ſuppoſed to have been all between the two cities of Ninus, or Niniveh, and Seleucia.

CONCERNING

Diava, he obſerves, is lupus or lupinus, wolf, or wolfiſh; דיבא Diava, being Chaldee for a wolf; and hence he derives the Greek Lycus, which ſignifies the ſame. Hadiaba, the name of the other, he derives, or at leaſt is ready ſo to do, from an Arabic word ſignifying ſwift; but this is a moſt obſcure point; and therefore we proceed to take notice, that theſe two rivers are now called, or ſuppoſed to be ſo, the great Zab and little Zab. According to Bochart (31), this latter name is corrupted from Diaba, or derived from the Hebrew זאב Zeeb, which differ but in dialect. Thevenot (32) calls theſe rivers Zarb, but ſpeaks as of but one, which he ſaw fall into the Tigris; he calls it a large river, makes it above half as broad as the Tigris, and obſerves, that it is very rapid, that its water is whitiſh and very cold, which he would ſeemingly account for by its falling from the mountains of Curdeſtân, and being merely ſnow-water. This agrees very well with Bochart's thoughts of the ſmaller of the two rivers above, the Adiaba, which he would have to derive its name from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; but for dimenſion, might, one would think, better agree with the larger. And here, by the way, our traveller illuſtrates, in ſome ſort, a paſſage in the Nubian geographer (33), who, as he is tranſlated, ſays, the two Zabs are great rivers, and, when united, equal to above one half of the Tigris; though he ſays a little before, their mouths were ſix and thirty miles from each other. It is aſked, how in this caſe theſe two rivers ever ſhould unite? and whether or no the true meaning might not be, that both together would be more than half of the Tigris, or fill the ſame river one half fuller than it would be without them? Thevenot ſeems to anſwer this queſtion by affirming they do.

Bochart (34) alſo ſeems to think the Gorgus and the Caprus are two names in Ptolemy for one and the ſame river; and particularly, becauſe he finds none but the two above mentioned elſewhere; but De Liſle's maps have three, one to the northward of the two Zabs, which is the weſtermoſt of the three, and therein differs from Ptolemy's maps, which make the Gorgus the eaſtermoſt; we leave the reader to make his choice. Hardouin would have this river to be the Zerbin of Pliny, (35). Cellarius (36) knows not what to ſay to it, obſerving only that Γορσος is Velox, which might have tempted

(31) Ibid. (32) In his travels to the Levant, part. 2. c. 13. (33) Clim. 4. part. 6. (34) Ubi ſup. (35) Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 26. (36) Geogr. Antiq. vol. ii. l. 3. c. 17.

CONCERNING the natural and artificial rarities of this once famous land we have nothing material to say, and therefore must here close up this section.

SECT II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Customs, Arts, Learning, and Trade, of the ASSYRIANS.

Antiquity.

ASSYRIA, which stands foremost of all in profane accounts, is in scripture the second most antient kingdom after Babel, or Babylon. It was founded by Ashur, and not by Nimrod, as some have contended (K), who embrace tempted Bochart to think it the same with his Adiaba, which he would have to be denominated from its swiftness.

(K) The text (37) which mentions the first foundation of this kingdom is variously interpreted, either, *out of that land went forth* Ashur, *and builded* Niniveh, as it stands in our Bibles, as well as in the best versions of the Greek, the old Latin, and the Dutch; or, he [meaning Nimrod] *went out into* Assur *and builded* Niniveh; as it stands in the margin of our Bibles, and as it is translated by Vatablus, Junius, Bochart, Cocceius, Schotan, Heidegger, Spanheim, and Le Clerc. Now the whole of the controversy (38) turns upon this, whether the word Ashur in the text, signifies the son of Shem, or whether it signifies the country of Assyria; for both ways it is often assumed in scripture. Those who are for the last interpretation, are judged to force the text, being obliged to supply a defect in the Hebrew, by inserting a particle [into] to serve their purpose, while those who vindicate the other follow the natural order and construction of the words of the original as they stand. But not to dwell on these grammatical niceties, we chuse to recur to such arguments, as may be reasonably offered to set this matter in a clear light.

It is on all hands allowed, that the land of Ashur, or Assyria, derived its name from Ashur the son of Shem; and, according to what we read in scripture (39), it must have been, that he went out of the land of Shinaar, where all the descendants of Noah were at the time of the dispersion, in order to plant or take possession of the country since called by his name; and can any thing be more natural, than to suppose, that the text before us is meant of

(37) Genes. x. 11. (38) Vid. Perizon. Origin. Babylon, c. 4. p. 39. (39) Ubi supr.

brace the Cteſian ſyſtem; and was in the beginning a kingdom diſtinct from Babylon, though in proceſs of time they coaleſced into one, in conſequence of mutual conqueſts. Aſhur departed from the land of Shinaar [i] upon Nimrod's uſurpation, and built Niniveh and other cities, as Rehoboth, Cala, and Reſen; in [k] Niniveh, it is likely, he reſided, and thus erected a new kingdom, which, borrowing his name, was called Aſhur, or Aſſyria. According therefore to our chronology, we have nothing to object againſt the antiquity of the Aſſyrian kingdom, though as delivered by Cteſias [l], and others, who ſome how or other happen to exceed him, as, for example, Syncellus [m], if barely the antiquity of it be conſidered: which would not well ſtand by the Hebrew computation. But by the Samaritan, which we embrace, this boaſted Aſſyrian monarchy, inſtead of running up too far, will fall ſhort by about 358 years, as will appear by this. The whole interval, according to us, between the flood and the birth of Chriſt is 2997 years: the beginning of Cyrus's reign is, by common conſent, fixed to 559, or 560 years before Chriſt: if to this number 350 years be added for the duration of the empire of the Medes, according to Cteſias, and 1300 more for the duration of the Aſſyrian, according to the ſame hiſtorian and his followers, the firſt year of the reign of Ninus, the firſt pretended monarch, will coincide with the 2209th year before Chriſt, or 789 years after the flood; whereas

[i] Geneſ. x. 10. [k] Ibid. ver. 11. [l] Apud. Diodor. Sicul. [m] Chron. p. 165.

of this migration of his? And who is ſo likely to have founded Niniveh and the other cities as himſelf? except we can imagine it likely, that Nimrod made a conqueſt of this country before Aſhur had well ſettled himſelf in it. If this had been the caſe, the country it is likely, would have been known by his name, rather than by that of his great uncle. We elſewhere (40) read, indeed, that Aſhur founded Babel; but no where is it ever ſuggeſted, that Nimrod went into Aſſyria and founded Niniveh.

It is objected as an improbabilty, that Moſes ſhould introduce a paſſage relating to a branch of Shem, when he was profeſſedly writing about that of Ham; but this is frivolous. Parentheſes of this ſort are common enough in ſcripture; as in that concerning Iſh-boſheth

(40) Iſaiah xxiii. 13.

whereas, according to us, Ashur built Niniveh and founded the Assyrian kingdom about the year 431 after the flood, or 358 years earlier; so that with us, its defect, not its excess, in point of antiquity, may be made an objection to the prophane account of this monarchy. In a word, we have no objection to the antiquity of the Assyrian kingdom, which may claim place among the first; but then we make a wide distinction between this simple kingdom and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards, and that for reasons to be found in the ensuing section.

BEING so destitute as we are of sufficient authorities and instruction, we can say nothing in particular of the government of this people, except what may be gathered from the conduct and deportment of their princes, in the very little we have of their history. That they were a small kingdom under hereditary chiefs for many ages is not to be doubted, no more than that their government was very simple, in conformity to what has been observed and related Government.

Ish-bosheth (41), and in that concerning Hiram's fleet (42), introduced in the midst of other discourse. A late author (43) affirms, the scripture expresly calls the land of Assyria the land of Nimrod. Bochart shewed him the way, and this would go hard against us, if the thing really were so; though, if it was really the case, we might cite the text in Isaiah in the note above, in opposition to the text in Micah, which seems to favour this notion. Micah expresses himself thus (44), *They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword; and the land of Nimrod in the entrance thereof.* By this the land of Nimrod seems to be quite distinguished from the land of Assyria: So far is this text, as pretended, from proving they are but one and the same; for the and is sometimes taken disjunctively; but in the passage before us nothing requires it. Several expositors (45), both Jewish and Christian understand thereby the two countries of Assyria and Babylon, which were both united in the Assyrian monarchy about the time of this prophecy; for Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, under whom Micah flourished, was carried away captive to Babylon by the army of Assyria, when Esarhaddon was king both of Assyria and Babylon, as will be seen in the course of this history.

The author (46), we have been contending with, resolving to wrest the thing his way, and citing the text in Isaiah, which we think

(41) 2 Sam. iv. 4. (42) 1 Kings x. (43) Bedford, in his Script. Chron. demonstr. p. 773. (44) Ch. x. 6. (45) Perizon. ub. sup. P. 47. (46) Bedford. ub. sup. in his preface to the reader, p. 3.

related of their neighbours, the Syrians [n] and Mesopotamians [o] (L). When, in after-times, they rose up to the sublimity

[n] See vol. ii. p. 286. [o] Ibid. p. 285.

think makes for us, viz. *Behold the land of Chaldeans; this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness*, takes the liberty of inserting the word Nimrod after the word Assyria, distinguishing it by an Italic letter and a comma after it, as if it could be a part of the text. This is entirely inexcusable in him, who is quite angry (47) with Sir Isaac Newton, for a little presumptive addition of the same sort (48). Sir Isaac Newton, indeed, had an hypothesis to serve, and so has our author; so that one would have thought, he might have overlooked a liberty in Sir Isaac, which he resolved to take himself; except he imagined Sir Isaac had not the right to do it he had, which he would be a little puzzled to make out.

(L) There is a difficulty which offers itself with regard to Mesopotamia, which seems to have been very early united under one monarch, and to have affected to rule over its neighbours by the violent means of conquest, when Cushan-rishathaim came over the Euphrates, and made conquest of the children of Israel, exacting from them tribute for the space of eight years (49). Who this Cushan-rishathaim was, and how he came to be so great a king, as he seems to have been at first, is a great obscurity. But by the scripture (50) it appears, this Mesopotamian kingdom, as formidable as it may have been at first, soon mouldered away, and perhaps became extinct, by the successes of Othniel against it (51). Le Clerc (52) observes, there is no mention made of this Cushan-rishathaim, in the Ctesian series of Assyrian kings; and that, according to Eusebius's computation, he should have been cotemporary with Belochus, the nineteenth Assyrian king according to him (53); and tho' Josephus (54) calls him Chusarth king of Assyria, misled by the Ctesian history, he does not see, why we should depart from scripture to pin our faith upon him. It is impossible even to suppose such an inaccuracy in the scriptures, as the calling of this man an Aramite of Mesopotamia, if he had been an Assyrian. All we would add is, that this Mesopotamian kingdom or monarchy was a transitory thing, and that it, in all likelihood, soon broke into the many petty royalties we have observed there in the preceding part of this history many ages afterwards (55).

(47) Ibid. (48) In his Chronol. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 68, & 217. (49) See vol. iii. ch. 7. s. 6. par. 10. (50) Judg. iii. (51) Ibid. (52) In Judic. cap. III. 8. (53) See the series of the Assyrian kings in the following section. (54) Antiq. Jud. l. 5. c. 3. (55) See vol. ii. p. 309.

ſublimity of empire, their government ſeems to have been truly deſpotic, and the empire to have been hereditary, which is all we can ſafely ſay of it.

Laws.

WE have nothing to build upon, or to ſay in particular of their laws. We would preſume, they were few and vague, depending upon the arbitrary will of the prince; for theſe emperors affecting even divine honours, as will be ſeen in their hiſtory, and ſetting themſelves above all the gods of the people they vanquiſhed [p], and ſometimes requiring, that none other under heaven ſhould be worſhipped but themſelves [q], and even preſuming to paſs ſentence on the whole world [r] by the word of their own mouth; it cannot but be imagined, there could not be any ſettled form of law for the government of this people, except we ſuppoſe their kings to have approached ſo very near to the divinity they would have imperiouſly arrogated, as never to change, but to continue always the ſame, which cannot be ſuppoſed.

Religion.

THEIR religion is alſo pretty much in the dark: in general we know, they were idolaters, and that they had their idols and their temples. Niſroch is likely to have been their principal God, at leaſt at one time; but Selden declares *, he knows nothing at all of him (M), and therefore any enquiry after ſo palpable an obſcurity may be needleſs. Nergal was not properly, as ſhould ſeem, an Aſſyrian deity, and we ſhall reſume him when we come to treat of the ancient Perſian religion: Adramelech may perhaps be properly termed a god of this country, and is ſaid to have been repreſented as a mule, or a peacock [s] (N): Ana-

[p] 2 Kings xviii. 33, &c. [q] Judith iii. 8. [r] Ibid. ii. 2. * De Dis Syris Syntagm. ii. c. 10. [s] Vid. eund. ibid. c. 9.

(M) All that can poſſibly be ſaid of him is mere conjecture. Beyer (56), who takes upon him to ſupply, in this reſpect, what is wanting in Selden, ſuppoſes, he may have been Saturn or Belus, or, with Kircher (57), that he was repreſented in the form of a ſhip, in remembrance of the ark; but this is mere fancy, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the courſe of this hiſtory and that of Babylon. He is in the Septuagint called Meſarach and Aſarach.

(N) Hence he is thought to have been related to Juno (58).

(56) In Additam Seld. Syntagm. 11. cap. 10. (57) In Pantheo. (58) Beyer. Additam. ub. ſup. c. 9.

Anamelech (O), in like manner, is said to have been represented as a horse, or a pheasant, or a quail [t]; but these are all rabbinical dreams, and to be considered accordingly. For this small part of their religion, and something more which we shall recollect in the religion of Babylon, which may have been the very same, we are beholden to the scripture and the Jews, the rest we must more immediately trace out elsewhere, and accordingly look back to the superstitions of the Philistines, Syrians, and Phœnicians.

Derceto (P), who, according to Ctesias [u], must have been an Assyrian deity, has been supposed to be the Philistine dagon, but we have denied it [w], and already given the reasons for our rejection of this notion [x]; and though we have ventured to call her the goddess of Ascalon [y], we considered the country then in subjection to the Assyrians. Derceto, as the Greeks call her, (what her Assyrian name may have been we cannot guess) is plainly an Assyrian deity, of an inferior order, and particularly in subjection to a goddess our author [z] calls Venus, who may have been the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis [a], or the Phœnician Astarte on mount Aphac [b]. Thus we conjecture; but this Assyrian Venus will be more regularly spoken of, when we are to treat of the religion of Babylon, which was doubtless the same with that of Assyria, being derived from one origin, as the two nations were considered to have been by Ptolemy, who calls the kings of Babylon, in his astronomical canon, Assyrians. We shall therefore only for the present observe, that the Assyrians [c] and Syrians [d] paid particular devotion to fishes, in memory, as we are told, of the goddess Decerto of Ascalon, who was wholly, or partly, metamorphosed into a creature of that sort [e]; and

[t] Vid. eund. ibid. [u] Apud Diodor. Sic. l. 2. [w] See vol. ii. p. 226. [x] Ibid. in the notes. [y] Ibid. in the text p. 227. [z] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. [a] See vol. ii. p. 288. [b] Ibid. in the notes. [c] Diodor. Sicul. ub. sup. [d] See vol. ii. p. 297. [e] Diodor. Sicul. ub. sup.

(O) Both Adramelech and Anamelech are supposed to have been the same with Moloch (59).

(P) She is called by other names, as Adergatis, Atargata, Atergatis, and the like; but we shall forbear saying any further of her till we come to treat of the Babylonian Venus.

(59) Selden. De Dii Syr. Syntagm. ii. c. 9. See vol. ii. p. 118.

and that they honoured Semiramis in the form of a dove, or pigeon, either becauſe ſhe was nurſed by them when expoſed after her birth [f], or becauſe they attended her at her death, when, it is fabled, ſhe was changed into a bird of that ſort [g], which is all we have to ſay of the Aſſyrian religion in this place, except we repeat, that Semiramis was ſometimes repreſented, as ſuppoſed [h], with a pigeon on her head, and called the Sign; as alſo, that ſhe was repreſented without that diſtinction, and in a particular poſture of pointing to the great goddeſs [i], for a reaſon already given [k]; as alſo, that Sardanapalus was deified, and repreſented in a particular habit [l]; ſo that it may hence appear, they deified all their kings in general, whence muſt have ſprung a very multifarious idolatry, which is at preſent very much in the dark to us.

THEIR cuſtoms, their arts, their learning, and their trade, muſt certainly have differed but little, if at all, from what will be found of the ſame concerning the Babylonians, ſo that we ſhall ſuſpend what might be gathered in relation thereto, till we come to the Babylonian affairs, only referring the reader back to the language of Syria and the alphabet of the Syrian character, for the language and character of this people, which we have declared to have been the ſame [m]. Their cuſtoms, arts, &c. Their language and alphabet.

SECT. III.

Of the ASSYRIAN *Chronology, to the Fall of the Empire.*

WE ſhall doubtleſs be excuſed, if we are very ample, and even diffuſe, in our reſearches after the Aſſyrian chronology, it being not only of the greateſt importance towards fixing the chronology of ancient kingdoms, but alſo for vindicating the authority of ſcripture, which is quite averſe from the common prophane account.

BUT firſt we would premiſe, that the cauſes, which may have induced or miſled hiſtorians ſo to err, when they treat of the antiquities of nations, were apparently two, ignorance and vanity. Their ignorance muſt have principally The cauſes, why the antient prophane hiſtory is ſo monſtrouſly corrupt and falſe, in what regards Aſſyria, &c.

[f] Idem. ibid. [g] Idem. ibid. [h] See vol ii. p. 290. [i] Ibid. ibid. [k] Ibid. ibid. [l] Ibid. ibid. [m] Ibid. p. 298.

pally proceeded from the loſs of records, and the neglect, of the earlieſt people of the more ancient nations, to keep any ſort of regiſter of what concerned them. The world was peopled by ſucceſſion, and the progreſs of wealth, power, and learning was gradual; taking riſe in the more early parts, ſo that nothing is more natural to aſſert, than that ſome nations began to keep records before others were in being.

SOME nations there were who never kept any records at all, as may have been the caſe of the Scythians, and as appears by their conteſt with the Egyptians for antiquity[o]; and thoſe who did, could not poſſibly do it at once, or from the beginning, for want of letters and other material conveniencies; and beſides, ſuppoſing them to have been ever ſo early in a condition to regiſter their affairs, they could for a long time have had nothing worth the preſerveing, and much leſs the reading. The firſt ages muſt have been employed in huſbandry, and providing for the neceſſities of life; mankind increaſing into multitudes, and nations growing populous, conteſts, it is likely, aroſe between them about property and dominion, and theſe broils may for ages have diverted their thoughts from any thing elſe. In ſhort, we muſt ſuppoſe the world to have been in a calm of peace, and ſome nations to have made great progreſs in learning, before we can, with any reaſon, ſuppoſe any hiſtorical monuments, truly ſuch, to have been taken in hand; and ere this, the traditions concerning the origin of the world, and the riſe of themſelves, may have been quite perverted, or totally loſt.

BUT ſuppoſing there may have been other nations beſides the Jews, who had preſerved their primitive traditions entire, they may have periſhed by various means. Theſe nations may have, as it were, become extinct, or their records may have been deſtroyed by the malice, or, what is the ſame, the zeal, of parties, whether religious or civil. Kings have been known to deface the memory of their predeceſſors, that they might, without a rival, be admired by poſterity, of a humour with that Chineſe emperor who reigned about 209 years before Chriſt *, or, perhaps, to eſtabliſh an æra as Nabonaſſar [p], who may alſo have had an ambition to appear the headmoſt of the Babyloniſh kings; but, by the way, this ſeems not to have been the caſe

[o] Juſt. l. 1. c. 1. Coupl. Tab. Chron. Sinic. p. 17.

* Martin. Hiſt. Sinic. l. 6. p. 239.

[p] Syncell. p. 207.

case with him, as we must have occasion to observe, more than once, hereafter.

SUCH may have been the interruptions of the regular descent of history to us; though wars, whether foreign or domestic, must have been more particularly fatal to the archives of all nations in general. It has been, almost ever, the policy of conquerors to destroy them, to obliterate the remembrance of what the vanquished may formerly have been, as also to remove all monuments, which, by the sight of them, might excite to rebellion and revolt. Conquerors also there have been, who have been moved merely by ignorance or superstition to do the same; as may be observed of the Mohammedans, where-ever their arms have prevailed. And though it may be said, that the Romans were, in this respect, favourable to the Greeks, we do not understand, that these last were over and above indulgent to those they conquered, the Egyptians excepted, whom they may have spared for the same reasons the Romans spared them; because they beheld them as their masters in literature and knowledge.

IF then we call to mind the many revolutions which every nation has in its turn undergone, we need not wonder, why the antiquities of the several parts of the world are so utterly unknown, or, what is next of kin to it, so deeply involved in the mist of fable.

THE Babylonians, or Chaldees, are allowed once to have had a regular body of genuine history from the origin of things, and, by the fragments of it, we understand it to have been agreeable to what we read in the mosaical writings, which perhaps may have been taken from the Chaldeans, from whom the Jews were descended. But this Babylonian account has been long since destroyed, and absurd traditions and ridiculous tales have taken its place; which is the more to be regretted, as we are assured by Josephus [q], it was a most valuable remain.

FOR us to have received any tolerable account of the origin and remote history of nations, they should, from the beginning, have communicated their records with each other; and the historians of every country should have been as sedulous in collecting and digesting the affairs of the neighbouring kingdoms, and states, and actions they knew, as of their own: and in this case, nothing but an universal ruin could have made the desolation, their

[q] Contr. Apion.

ſucceeding generations have beheld as well as we. But the nature of things would never allow of this, as may be obſerved by thoſe who are converſant in very ancient tranſactions; and particularly that ridiculous vanity, which may be ſaid to have begun with the world, and will, it is likely, end with it, has at all times rendered it impracticable.

A COUNTRY no ſooner began to flouriſh and refine, than vanity, that darling folly of men and nations, took birth, and increaſed with its ſplendor and proſperity; and preſently it could admit of no competitor, but muſt look on all its neighbours round with contempt; and this doctrine infuſed into the natives, a national pride is contracted, than which nothing is ſo unpardonable, nothing more repugnant to reaſon and good ſenſe, and nothing, in the main, ſo deſtructive to the peace and happineſs of mankind. And this vanity, added to the complete ignorance of what has paſt aforetime in the hiſtorians, for the moſt part, of antiquity, has been productive of the monſtrous births which are a reproach to the ſcience.

WE might point at many glaring inſtances of the ill effects of what we are here complaining; but ſhall on this head juſt touch upon the Greeks, to whom we are chiefly indebted for the ancient prophane hiſtory, confining ourſelves to what at preſent is before us, till we ſhall have occaſion to reſume them hereafter. They, we may aver of them, were more infected with this folly of vanity, or, at leaſt, as much as any nation, that has ever ſubſiſted under the ſun. It is plain, they deſpiſed the hiſtory of all other nations beſides their own, never concerning themſelves therewith, any farther than it interfered with themſelves, and even then they introduced it rather to adorn their own character, than to preſerve any thing to us by way of information.

AND this in nothing appears more plainly, than in their ſlighting, and even deſtroying, the Perſian records, when they became maſters of that empire. No one of their hiſtorians, that we are aware of, ever conſulting them to complete a ſeries of the Perſian affairs: Nor was there a nation they were ſolicitous about but the Egyptians, who affected a deep ſilence, and cared not to tell them any thing very much to the purpoſe. Some of the Greeks indeed, whoſe good ſenſe got the better of their national pride and prejudices, as Eratoſthenes, Hecatæus the Abderite, and Menander the Epheſian, may be quoted, as exceptions

ceptions to what we have been ſaying, as well as ſome foreigners, ſuch as Beroſus, Manetho, and ſome others, who were encouraged to write the hiſtories of their reſpective countries for the uſe of the Greeks. But all this but adds weight to the guilt of that aſſuming people. It is plain, they did not in the leaſt regard them; for not one of them has reached our days, nor ſo much as one Greek that had made any large extracts from them, if we except Joſephus and the Chriſtian chronologers, Africanus, Euſebius, and Syncellus, if they may be allowed to have been of the number.

No polite nation has ever been more egregiouſly faulty, in mixing truth with fiction; and yet they ſeem to have thought no nation fit to meddle with hiſtory, though their own, but themſelves; as may be ſeen by Diodorus Siculus, who, in writing of the Egyptians and Chaldeans, never mentions a word of Beroſus and Manetho, preferring his own crude indigeſtions to any thing in them. And ſo with regard to Aſſyria, inſtead of reſorting to ſuch as might truly inform him, ſuch as Polyhiſtor may have ſometimes been, for ought we know, he runs riot after Cteſias, a moſt fabulous writer, as will be amply demonſtrated in the courſe of this ſection: But, being a Greek, he was preferred by the vain partiality of his countrymen, and his hiſtory has had the good fortune of reaching down to us, while others have ſuffered the fate which Cteſias and Diodorus had deſerved; the fate which Trogus has undergone, who, by his epitomiſer, is not much to be lamented.

THESE writers were like moſt of our moderns, who, for what concerns the Mohammedan hiſtory, conſult the Byzantine hiſtorians; or, by liſtening to the lame relations of ignorant travellers, give into endleſs errors they might have avoided, by looking into the tranſlations and extracts the learned would furniſh them, if they would be at the pains of inquiring after them.

AND now, to return more immediately to our point, there have been great and powerful nations, who have for many ages paſt been no more; of this number are the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Lydians. Their records and their hiſtorians have long ſince been annihilated. The Greeks, by a vain negligence and inſolent contempt of them, knew little or nothing concerning them; and no other nation, the Jews excepted, can tell us any thing about them. Hence, and for reaſons to be hereafter ſub-

joined, we make no account of the common histories of these nations, and particularly of the Assyrians. We are now to enter upon an obscure task, which has confounded some of the best chronologers, who have unwarily been driven to endless shifts, to make out what they adhere to. But as our design is to shew they have been all misled, some few excepted, as Marsham, Newton, Cellarius, Montfaucon, Du Pin, and some others, we shall take little or no notice of them.

A TABLE of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to Eusebius, and Syncellus.

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
	Years.		Years.
* * * * * * *		1 Belus reigned	55
1 Ninus reigned	52	2 Ninus	52
2 Semiramis	42	3 Semiramis	42
3 Zameis, or Ninyas	38	4 Ninyas, or Zames	38
4 Arius	30	5 Arius	30
5 Aralius	40	6 Aralius	40
6 Xerxes, or Baleus	30	7 Xerxes	30
7 Armamitres	38	8 Armamithres	38
8 Bel-ochus	35	9 Belochus	35
9 Bal-eus	52	10 Balæus	52
10 Altadas	32	11 Sethos	32
11 Mamitus	30	12 Mamythus	30
12 Manchaleus	32	13 Aschalius	28
13 Spherus	20	14 Sphærus	22
14 Mamitus	30	15 Mamylus	30
15 Sparetus	40	16 Sparthæus	42
16 Astacadis	40	17 Ascatades	38
17 Amyntes	45	18 Amyntes	45
18 Bel-ochus (Q)	25	19 Belochus	25
	(R)		
19 Bellepares	30	20 Belatores	30
		20 Lam-	

(Q) Or Bolochus; he had a daughter called Atossa, as also Semiramis, who reigned with him twelve years (60).

(R) Bion and Alexander Polyhistor (61) divide this series of kings into dynasties, which we have distinguished by this chasm. This

(60) Euseb. Pamph. Chronic. lib. poster. p. 80. (61) Apud Agath. l. 2. p. 63.

According to Eusebius.		According to Syncellus.	
20 Lamprides	32	21 Lamprides	30
21 Sosares	20	22 Sosares	20
22 Lampares	30	23 Lamphraës	30
23 Panyas	45	24 Panyas	45
24 Sosarmus	19	25 Sosarmus	22
25 Mitreus	27	26 Mithræus	27
26 Tautanes (S)	32	27 Teutamus, or Tautanes (T)	32
26 Teuteus	40	28 Teutæus	44
* * * * * *		29 Arabelus	42
* * * * * *		30 Chalaus	45
* * * * * *		31 Anebus	38
* * * * * *		32 Babios (V)	37
28 Thinæus	30	33 * * * * *	
29 Dercilus	40	34 Dercylus	40
30 Eupales	38	35 Enpacmes	48
31 Laosthenes	45	36 Laosthenes	45
32 Pyriatides	30	37 Pertiades	30
33 Ophrateus	20	38 Ophratæus	21
34 Ophratenes	50	39 Epheceres	52
35 Ocrazapes	42	40 Acraganes	42
36 Tonos Concoleros, by the Greeks, Sardanapalus	20	41 Thonos Concoleros	15
Total	1240	Total	1460

A TABLE

This Belochus, who finishes this dynasty, is called by the same authors (62) Belleus the Dercetad, and in him, say they, the race of Semiramis became extinct; when Beletaras, Beletores, or Bellepares, the king's gardener, in a most extraordinary manner, seized on the empire for himself, and delivered down the same to his successors, till it fell under Sardanapalus. The first dynasty of these kings then, ending with Belochus, must be called Dercetadæ, from Derceto, the mother of Semiramis (63).

(S) According to Eusebius (64), under this king Troy was taken.

(T) Syncellus (65) transcribes the same from Eusebius in the note above, observing it was in the year of the world, 4124.

(V) Though Syncellus, in the note above, seems to agree with Eusebius, as to the reign of the king who was on the throne of Assyria

(62) Ibid. (63) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. (64) Ubi supr. p. 90. (65) Chronograph. p. 151.

A TABLE of the Successions of the ASSYRIAN Kings, according to the Canon of Scripture, and as they stand in this History.

According to Scripture.	According to this History.
1 Pul.	1 Pul.
2 Tiglathpilesar.	2 Tiglathpilesar.
3 Shalmanesar.	3 Shalmanesar.
4 Sennacherib.	4 Sennacherib.
5 Assar-haddon.	5 Assarhaddon.
* * * * * *	6 Saósducheus.
* * * * * *	7 Nabuchadonosor, or Chyniladon.
* * * * * *	8 Sarac, or Sardanapalus.

The first Table.

IT is surprising, how many sagacious and inquisitive men, historians and chronologers, both in antient and modern

Assyria when Troy was taken, he brings that event down to this reign. He observes (66), that this king was by the Greeks called Tithon, the father of that Memnon, who was by his father sent an auxiliary against the Greeks, and fell by the hand of Achilles. He tells us the copy of a letter from Priam to him was handed about in his time; and also that he was called Tautanes the second. This story is borrowed from Ctesias (67), who calls this king Teutamus, with Syncellus, but makes him a distinct person from Tithon, the father of Memnon. This romantic author [Ctesias] tells us, he sent 10,000 Ethiopians, with as many Susians, people widely different from each other, together with 200 chariots, to the succour and assistance of king Priam, who was his tributary. Tithon, according to this same author, was at that time governor of Persia, in highest favour with the king; and his son Memnon, who commanded these auxiliary forces, was then in the flower of his days, and had built a palace in the castle of Susa, which retained the name of Memnonia to the times of the Persians, and had paved a public way, which retained his name many ages afterwards. But it seems (68), the Ethiopians next to Egypt denied all this story, and pretended Memnon was their countryman, and made show of his palace, which in our author's days they continued to call Memnonia. More is said in contradiction to Ctesias's story, but we may perhaps have anticipated too much upon this head, and therefore drop the subject for the present.

(66) Ibid. p. 155. (67) Diodor. Sicul. Bibliothec. Hist. l. 2. p. 77. (68) Vid. eund. ibid.

dern times, have blindly given into the errors and general forgery of the first table. To reconcile it with scripture, to which it is quite repugnant, they have raised such hypotheses, as are contradictory to all history sacred and prophane, though at the same time nothing is easier, than to detect the whole imposture, so gross and palpable it seems to be. The two lists which form the first table are derived, notwithstanding the variations in them, from one formed by Ctesias, who concluded his history of the Assyrians with a list of kings from Ninus to Artaxerxes [r]. Castor copied him, who was again copied by Eusebius [s]; who, as Ctesias had taught his author, begins with Ninus, which Syncellus, on the other hand, begins with Belus, and assigns him a reign of 55 years, though Castor [t], whom in this he follows, declares the length of Belus's reign to be uncertain. But this is not the only difference between them; Syncellus has in his list four kings which are wanting in that of Eusebius, and which are no where else to be met with; which whence it should come to pass, we shall forbear to enquire (W), and the rather, as we shall endeavour, with the concurrence of several great men before-mentioned, to destroy the whole on both sides; but first we would observe, that Syncellus exceeds every body in the number of years he allows for the duration of the Assyrian monarchy, for while St. Augustin [u] allows it but 1305, Castor 1280, Eusebius 1240, Velleius 1070, Syncellus gives it 1460, therein greatly exceeding his original author Ctesias, and his two copyists, Diodorus and Trogus, who mention but about 1300.

SINCE therefore these computations are primarily borrowed from Ctesias, and lengthened and shortened apparently

[r] Phot. Biblioth. p. 134. Tmemat. 72. Vid. etiam Diodor. Sic. l. 14. [s] Vid. Marsham, Can. Chron. secul. 17. De Regib. Assyr. [t] Apud Syncell. p. 206. [u] De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 20.

(W) Though it may be in vain to inquire after this seeming interpolation of no less than four kings in Syncellus, we may offer it as an argument to prove the unsettledness of the whole series. It was certainly a vague period of history; and, from the variations of it, may be shrewdly suspected of being raised upon no sure foundation, upon no such solid basis as truth. As the whole must have been a fable, those who treated of it used it as such, by altering it as they saw good; or else, we cannot see why the several authors and transcribers should not agree together in essentials, which we find they do not.

rently to the fancy of the several writers his successors, it will be absolutely necessary for us to enquire into what foundation he builds upon, whether his superstructure be raised upon truth or falshood. Aristotle, who was almost his contemporary, declares him a writer unworthy of credit, and whoever peruses his Indica must immediately conclude him to have been a man of no sort of sincerity; nor is Aristotle the only one of the antients that has declared against him, nor his Indica the only proof we have, that he was a fabulous writer, as may be gathered from what is to follow.

WERE his character better established by much than it is, his list of the Assyrian kings would be no proof of the duration of that empire, nothing being easier than to invent names, and to add what lengths of reign we please to them [w], and especially for a man who pretends actually to have seen such things in India, as never were, and never can be. Upon this the question might naturally enough be asked, Might not Ctesias as well forge his Assyrian history, as create the world of monsters he talks of in India? And might we not as justly suspect him of falshood, when he pretends to have compiled his history from original records, as when he gravely avers to have been an eye-witness of what no mortal alive can believe?

AND this question may be the more pertinently asked, as both his relation of the Indies and his history of the Assyrians are equally marvellous, and equally impossible. Who can see Ninus at the head of millions of men, at a time when the earth must have been but thinly inhabited, when mankind must have been a good deal in a state of simplicity and nature; who can read this and add faith to the historian? or who can read the story of Semiramis; her mighty valour and heroic deeds at the age of twenty, or thereabouts; her two millions of men employed in the building of Babylon, her 300,000 skins of black oxen, made up in the form of elephants, and other things of this nature, and not conclude, that what contained it was no genuine history, but a most bare-faced romance? In a word, his Assyrian history, as it stands in the next section, is most evidently calculated to astonish and amaze, and to strain credulity beyond all possible bounds.

WHAT particularly argues his list of the Assyrian kings of the grossest forgery is, that it is a medly of Greek, Persian,

[w] Du Pin's Histor. Biblioth. des Histor. p. 284.

Perſian, Egyptian, and other names. Sphærus, Lamprides, Laoſthenes, Dercylus, are Greek names, and very common ones. Amyntas is the name of a king of Macedon; Arius is the name of a king of Sparta. Pyritiades is regularly, as ſhould ſeem, formed from Pyritis, a medicinal herb, with which Cteſias, as a phyſician, muſt have been well acquainted. Xerxes, Armamithres, Mithræus, are Perſian names. Soſarmus, according to himſelf, is the name of a king of the Medes, which how it ſhould come to paſs, may not be ſo very unaccountable, conſidering the tranſition of the empire from the Aſſyrians to the Medes; but how Sethos, the name of an Egyptian king, ſhould alſo have been the name of an Aſſyrian, is what we are wholly at a loſs for. Nothing is more obvious to thoſe who have dipt into genuine hiſtory, and eſpecially the ſcripture, than the wide difference between the Aſſyrian names and the Perſian, and the ſtill wider between the ſame and the Greek; ſo that nothing can be ſaid in his behalf, except that he tranſlated ſome of the original names, which is abſolutely falſe; nay, he is confeſſedly ſo ignorant in this particular, that he had even no notion at all of the Aſſyrian names, how they were pronounced or uttered; ſo far was he from knowing how they were compounded, and whence they were formed; a moſt glaring inſtance of which will be ſeen anon.

AGAIN, in all long liſts of kings the ſame names, or ſome ſuch, are obſerved often to return; and this is no where more remarkable than in the five names of the Aſſyrian kings, which are all that are recorded in the canon of ſcripture. Pul, or Phul, Tiglath-pileſer, or Tiglath-pul-aſſur, Shalmaneſer, or Shalman-aſſur, Eſaraddon or Aſſur-haddon. For the Aſſyrians, to all appearance, borrowed their names from their own gods [x], or from the gods of other nations in repute among them. Theſe gods ſeem to have been Bel, or Pul, Chaddon, Haddon, Adon, or Adonis, Melech, or Moloc, Atſur, or Aſſur, Nebo, Nergal, Merodach; as for inſtance in the following, beſides the names above, Adra-melech, Shar-aſſur, Nabonaſſar, or Nebo-adon-aſſur, Bel-adon, Chyniladon, or Chen-el-adon, Nebo-pul aſſur, Nebuchadnezzar, Nabuchadonoſor, or Nebo-chaddon-aſſur, Nebuzaradan or Nebo-aſſur-adon, Evil-merodach, or Ilvoradamus, and many more

[x] Vid. Selden de Dis. Syr.

more that might be brought to illuſtrate this point. After this, who muſt not reject the wild and arbitrary names in Cteſias? who is ſo ignorantly extravagant, as to ſuppoſe Sardanapalus to have been the Greek name for the laſt Aſſyrian king, though ſo naturally derivable from Aſſur-adon-pul, while he pretends his Aſſyrian name to have been Tonos Concoleros, a name which bears no manner of relation to the Aſſyrian language, or any other that we at preſent are aware of; a name moſt evidently coined to amuſe and catch the ear.

IF in ſeven Aſſyrian names, all that are mentioned in the canon of ſcripture, five of them belonging to ſo many kings, and two to the two ſons of Sennacherib, there appears ſuch ſimilitude and near relation, would not the ſame, in all likelihood, have been often repeated, and continually but varied, in a long liſt of 36 of them according to Euſebius, or 41 according to Syncellus? but nothing of this kind is in either of them to be obſerved; the names of all of them are different and independent, except in a caſe or two; and to crown all, in neither of them is there one name at all belonging to any of the Aſſyrian kings in ſcripture. To ſuppoſe theſe names to have been unknown to the Greeks, would be next to ſuppoſing they were perfect ſtrangers to the Aſſyrian affairs; and ſo all that Cteſias has written, and others after him, would fall ſelf-condemned to the ground. But this is what we can very ſafely contradict; they were actually known to the Greeks, or the moſt curious of them, and particularly to Herodotus, who, though he mentions but one king of Aſſyria, calls him exactly by his true name, the termination excepted, Sennacherib; and we may thence very fairly conclude, that had he completed the hiſtory of Aſſyria he promiſed, we ſhould have read the names of the reſt of the Aſſyrian kings in him with as much accuracy; and the rather, as we have the experience of his conforming with ſcripture, in the names of ſeveral of the Egyptian kings: In conſideration of which, and the contradictory writings of Cteſias, it may be juſtly wondered, why Herodotus ſhould labour under ſo much obloquy and contempt with many of great learning and judgment, while all the abominable untruths of Cteſias, though obvious to every ſenſe, are ſwallowed and received for granted, even though he in every particular claſhes with ſcripture, while the former confirms it, where-ever he happens to ſpeak of things there

handed

handed down to us. A monstrous inequality some of the best and most religious of us have been absurdly guilty of; an inequality never to be excused, but in those who have nothing to plead in their behalf but ignorance and want of discernment. But this will be more properly discussed in the preface, and therefore we return to what more immediately concerns us.

THE names in Ctesias, and the number of them, are not alone what may prompt us to pronounce him guilty of forgery; the length of the reigns may be urged as another argument against him; except it be answered, that in those very early days, so nearly bordering on the times of the deluge, such length is not to be wondered at. But this would be no answer at all, especially for at least three fourths of them, who must have lived when the life of man was reduced to its present standard. And this remote antiquity is what must also be urged against Ctesias, and particularly, as he writes in direct opposition to the scripture. Ninus, according to him, must have reigned before the days of Abraham, and conquered Persia, Media, Egypt, Assyria, and all Asia; and his wife Semiramis, his immediate successor, adds Libya and Ethiopia thereto. But what trace do we find of all this in the book of Genesis? even none. The Canaanites were under their own kings or patriarchs, ages after Abraham; the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Midianites, the Edomites, the Amalekites, the Philistines, were subject to no foreign yoke, and free from strange lords, till they began to be persecuted by the sword of Israel. Egypt seemingly enjoyed herself in peace, apprehensive of no danger from without, till Sennacherib, bent upon establishing and enlarging his empire, moved towards Egypt with design to invade it. In proof of all which, we need only refer to the histories of all these nations in the former part of this work. It appears then, that *no Assyrian enemy was in these parts for many* ages after the pretended dates of Ninus and Semiramis, and that all Syria and Mesopotamia were free also from any subjection to Assyria, may be proved as plain.

THE Syrian monarchy was confessedly older than the Assyrian, and extended on both sides of the Euphrates, under Hadadezer *king of Zobah*, and *rose afterwards* to its meridian under the race of the Damascene *kings*, and particularly in the days of Ben-hadad and Hazael [y]: These ruled

[y] See vol. ii. p. 312, 313, & seq.

ruled a mighty empire. Where then were the Assyrian monarchs, so extensive in their command, and so jealous of their power? David, before these, was master of a considerable extent of all on this side of the Euphrates [z], and had no Assyrian to dispute the honour with him. The Phœnicians continued in independence and freedom, till the days of Shalmaneser, who was set at defiance by the Tyrians [a], though he was the third of that fortunate and conquering race. Consult the history of Judæa, Syria, and Phœnice, and you will perceive no glimpse of an Assyrian monarchy till the days of Pul, who lived about 2200 years after the deluge, according to the Samaritan computation, which we profess to follow.

WE have formerly [b] almost ventured to assert, that the Assyrians imposed their religion on the Phœnicians and Syrians; which, if it can any way be made to appear, must argue the Assyrian monarchy to have been posterior to the ancient Syrian empire. We have seen, that the ancient gods of Syria were Rimmon, Adad, and other deities of mortal origin, their most renowned kings [c]. These were the gods of the Syrians; but they ceasing, as it were, to be a people by their captivation [d], others were introduced into the country, as the custom was [e]; and accordingly, in the temple of the great Syrian goddess at Hierapolis, we find the statues of Semiramis and Sardanapalus [f]. These, as Assyrians, must have been unknown to the old inhabitants of the country; and to confirm us in a certain and well-grounded belief, that they were both of them later than the kings of Damascus; we would urge, that Semiramis herself is said to have been a Philistine, to have been born in the neighbourhood of Ascalon, at a time when the whole land was in subjection to the Assyrian kings, and, as should seem, in the reign of Ninus [g]. When this can possibly have been, but after the subjugation of the Proper Palestine, together with the neighbouring countries, by the successors of Pul, we leave any one to judge; the scripture affords no materials towards even any conjecture of the kind, as may be easily discerned by the history of the Philistines, in the former part of this work.

THE

[z] See vol. ii. p. 308, and before in this vol. p. 22. [a] Menan. apud Joseph. Antiq. Judai. l. 9. c. 14. [b] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 346. [c] See vol. ii. p. 287, [d] Ibid. p. 325. [e] See before, p. 203. [f] See vol. ii. p. 289. [g] Ctes. apud Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 65.

THE father of Thammuz, or Adonis, is said to have been an Assyrian [h]; and it is thought, the whole system almost of the Syrian and Phœnician superstition migrated from the bank of the Tigris; and as this seems very natural, and may be supported by many powerful arguments, we are apparently wrong in not rejecting Ctesias, who, in opposition to scripture, Herodotus, and other more undoubted authorities, is guilty of a forgery of the most solemn and delusive kind.

HAVING endeavoured to destroy the credit of Ctesias, and therewith the first table of the Assyrian kings from Eusebius and Syncellus, we will proceed to settle the chronology of the Assyrian empire in the best manner we are able, by taking into consideration the second table. By the history of Syria and the neighbouring countries it appears, the Assyrians had no power in the western parts of Asia till the reign of Pul, who made his first appearance on this side of the Euphrates, in the decline of the kingdom of Damascus: What they had before that time done in the east, does no where appear; but that the foundations of the monarchy were laid by Pul, or some near predecessor of his, by conquests nearer home, is a matter never to be doubted. We have elsewhere said [k], that the Assyrian monarchy cannot be dated much backwarder than the days of Menahem; and this is not only to be demonstrated by scripture and Ptolemy's astronomical canon, but by several of the most approved and sincerest profane writers.

HERODOTUS [l], that venerable and much injured historian, observes, that the Assyrians had been masters of the Upper Asia 520 years, when the Medes threw off their yoke; and that the empire of the latter subsisted no longer than 150 years, inclusive of the 28 years, during which the Scythians ruled Asia. These two sums added together amount to 670 years, for the whole duration of the two monarchies of the Assyrians and Medes, which being added to the epoch of Cyrus before Christ, which is universally stated at 559 years before Christ, will make 1229, the whole interval between the first rise of the Assyrian monarchy and the birth of Christ, which cuts off about 1000 years from the common profane accounts; though it will exceed

[h] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 349. [i] Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amended, p. 27. [k] See vol. i. p. 173. [l] l. 1. c. 95.

exceed the æra of Nabonaſſar by 458 years; and therefore Herodotus's numbers, as they ſtand with us, are doubtleſs too long, though ſo much ſhort of Cteſias and his followers. But, by the way, we would add, that Herodotus's computation is not above 200 years later than the days of Cuſhan-riſhathaim, king of Meſopotamia, or Aram-Naharaim, who kept the children of Iſrael under the ſpace of eight years, till they were delivered from him by Othniel [m]. In what ſenſe this Cuſhan-riſhathaim may have been conſidered as an Aſſyrian, we take not upon us to ſay, or whether he was ſo or not, farther than we are obliged to declare him not to have been of that nation *, ſeeing he is in ſcripture [n] called a Meſopotamian, and ſeeing we might with as much juſtice call Chedorlaomer an Aſſyrian, though he is expreſly ſaid to have been an Elamite, or Perſian: And this care in the ſacred pen-men, thus to diſtinguiſh the men who from the beginning made inroads upon the Ciſeuphratenſian regions, expreſly ſaying the firſt was an Elamite, the ſecond a Meſopotamian, and expreſsly calling Pul an Aſſyrian, leaves us no room to imagine, that the two former were kings of Aſſyria; but that Herodotus ſhould be a little elder in his date than may have been quite exact, will not perhaps be wondered at by thoſe who rightly conſider what we have urged in the former part of this ſection.

AGAIN, Herodotus tells us [o], that Semiramis, who, according to Diodorus Siculus [p], or Cteſias rather, was the wife of Ninus, was but five generations before Nitocris, the mother of Labynetus [Nabonadius] the laſt king of Babylon, which as, by the largeſt computation, cannot exceed 200 years [q], ſhe may have been the wife of ſome one of the kings in Ptolemy's canon, and perhaps of Nabonaſſar himſelf.

FOR theſe reaſons is Herodotus much to be relied on, and for the ſame are we much to regret the hiſtory of Aſſyria he promiſes; and for which he doubtleſs was furniſhed with very valuable materials. He actually travelled the country, and converſed with the natives; which a late author [r] makes ſlight of, preſuming the inhabitants might be miſtaken themſelves, and conſequently lead him into errors; yet muſt

[m] Judg. c. iii. ver. 8. * See before, in the notes, p. 202. [n] Judg. xi. [o] Ubi ſup. c. 184. [p] l. 2. p. 67. [q] Marſh. Can. Chron. p. 522. [r] Bedford, in his Script. Chronol. p. 774.

must it be acknowledged to make greatly in favour of Herodotus, since he could possibly have had no better means of information, except he had had an opportunity of consulting the national records themselves.

NOR is he not supported and followed by some of the very weightiest of the ancients. Dionysius of Halicarnassus [s] takes notice, that the Assyrian antiquities are run up into fable; that though the monarchy was ancient, it did not extend over a very great part of Asia, and that it was not so potent as the empire of the Medes, which arose upon its ruins. Appian [t] affirms the duration of the three empires, the Assyrian, the Median, and the Persian, to have made up no more in sum than 900 years, which being added to 336, the epoch of Alexander before Christ, will remove the rise of the Assyrian monarchy to the distance of 1236 years before Christ, which will exceed the chronology of Herodotus above, by no more than seven years; which we cannot but wonder, St. Jerom [u], who follows Ctesias, should roundly assert, that Ninus was the first that ruled over all Asia, and that all the Greeks, as well as the Barbarians, were of the same mind.

SUCH are the sentiments of the most judicious of the prophane historians, concerning the duration of the Assyrian monarchy; and they seem to have the concurrence of Homer on their side, who, in recounting the most potent princes of the earth, at the time when Troy was besieged, is quite silent as to any Assyrian monarch, though after the rate Ctesias reckons, that ten years war was waged within the Assyrian dominions.

BY what we have said against the first table of the Assyrian kings, according to Eusebius and Syncellus, and the preparatory arguments we have been using in behalf of the second, according to scripture and this history, it must appear to an attentive reader, that the Assyrian monarchy is of late date, in comparison of what has been too much imagined, even by some of the most learned; as also, that it is in scripture, that we have the nearest view of the rise of the monarchy before us; and more particularly, since it is evident, by Ptolemy's canon, that there were really no kings of very extraordinary eminence before the reign of Nabonassar, who may have been a descendant of Pul's, the first

[s] l. 1. [t] In Præfat. p. [u] In Hoseam c. 2.

first Assyrian monarch mentioned in scripture, a point, which may be more properly discussed in the chronology of Babylon; though, by the way, Ptolemy calls all the kings in his canon Assyrians, which was a common practice [w].

THE authority of this famous canon is not to be disputed, and it most remarkably reduces the Assyrian æra to the bounds of scripture history, or nearly so; for though Pul himself will not fall within the compass, he will so little exceed it, that it may be offered as a very powerful argument, to evince, he was the first considerable monarch in these parts: but this being what we may have occasion to resume hereafter, we proceed to what we have more immediately under consideration.

TO fix the exact æra of the Assyrian monarchy is what we cannot pretend to, except we do it relatively to ourselves in the western parts; and in that case we must compute from the year of Pul's first appearance on this side of the Euphrates, which was about the second year of Menahem, 23 years before the æra of Nabonassar, 2228 years after the flood, and 771 years before Christ.

THUS far it is no difficult matter to ascertain the beginning of this empire. Its end may perhaps be more nearly fixed, though that is what we cannot settle beyond all possibility of dispute. The text of scripture, which gives us so near a prospect of its beginning, and relates to us some of the remarkable transactions of five of its most potent princes, drops us on a sudden; so that we are obliged to resort to the Apocrypha and Ptolemy's canon, for the successors of the great Esarhaddon. The book of Judith so very nicely corresponds with Herodotus, in what he says of the war between the declining Assyrians and the rising Medes, that we have not been able to avoid adding faith thereto; and seeing the reign of Nabuchadonosor most naturally coincides with that of Chyniladon in the canon, we have ventured to pronounce them to have been one and the same king, the second in descent from Esarhaddon, or Assaraddin: as for Sarac, whom we borrow from Polyhistor [x], and whom we also call Sardanapalus, from a similitude of his story and exit in the same historian, with what is related thereof by Ctesias, we must confess ourselves considerably in the dark, as we may note hereafter

[w] Perizon. Antiq. Babylonic. p. 10. [x] Apud Syncell.

hereafter in the body of our Assyrian history. In the mean time, it may be objected to us, that Polyhistor is a follower of Ctesias, and as such we have considered him; but we would answer, with the assistance of Sir Isaac Newton [y], That there may be something of truth in the bottom of the Ctesian History, as there uses to be in romances; as that Niniveh was destroyed by the Medes and Babylonians, that Sardanapalus was the last king of the Assyrian empire, and that Astibares and Astyages were kings of the Medes. But whence it is, that we have no such name as Sarac in the Nabonassarian canon, we shall here forbear to enquire; seeing we may have a more convenient opportunity of offering our conjectures concerning him, when we come to the history of his reign; and therefore, since nothing positive can be ascertained, as to this last stage of the Assyrian monarchy, we here conclude this section.

SECT. IV.

The History of ASSYRIA, *according to* Ctesias *of* Cnidos, *and his Followers.*

ALTHOUGH we have condemned whatever is here to follow as forgery all and falsehood, yet, as it has been so long received for truth, by most of the wisest and most sagacious historians and chronologers, and, as we may say, from all antiquity admitted into the body of history, we are under an indispensible obligation of producing it here in all its particulars, as it is, with great solemnity and all possible confidence, handed down to us. Ninus (X), a

[y] Chronolog. of anc. kingd. amended, p. 267.

(X) We will not take upon us to say, there never was such a king as Ninus, or such a king as his pretended predecessor Belus; but it is very likely, these names were forged by the Greeks, or others, to account for the building of the two great cities, Niniveh and Babel, or Babylon. However, thus far we know; he cannot have been Nimrod, or Ashur rather, their ages not at all agreeing (69); and therefore it is impossible, Ninus should have been

(69) See before, p. 200.

prince of martial genius and immenſe ambition, reſolved to make a conqueſt of the nations round about, and erect an empire over them: to this purpoſe, he aſſembled together the robuſteſt of the youth in his dominions, and diligently trained them up to the exerciſe of arms, and enured them to hardſhip and labour, and fitted them for war [z] (Y).

BEING now in a ſtate to execute his purpoſe, but apprehending, he might be ſtopped in his career by the Arabians,

[z] Apud Diodor. Sicul. Bibliot. Hiſtor. l. 2.

been the firſt king. We would do all we ſafely could to reconcile the ſacred hiſtory with the prcfane, and will allow, with ſeveral, that Nimrod may be Belus, and Aſhur Ninus; or let Nimrod, as others (70) think, be the ſon of Belus, (whom they will have to be Cuſh), and let Ninus be the ſon of Nimrod; but then let their works and exploits be ſuitable with the early times they lived in, not ſuch as we read of in Diodorus Siculus (71); let the cities they build be plain, and without art and coſt. Let them reign agreeably to the ſtate of things in the firſt ages, without pomp, without luxury. Let them wage war, but let it be in their neighbourhood, not in far diſtant countries; with a few thouſands at their heels, not with millions; with rude and undiſciplined men, not with regular bodies of trained ſoldiers.

(Y) We connot forbear thinking, that the whole ſtory of Ninus is, with ſome variation, a copy of that of the great Egyptian Seſoſtris (72), and the rather, as we actually find them confounded together as one and the ſame perſon; for Tzetzes (73) expreſly calls Seſoſtris king of Aſſyria, and obſerves, he is the ſame Diodorus Siculus calls Seſooſis (74), that he was monarch of the Aſſyrians, that he ruled over all lands, and that he yoked kings to his chariot. In ſhort, he at length relates the ſtory we have upon the ſame occaſion told of the Egyptian Seſoſtris (75), without the leaſt variation, except that he calls him an Aſſyrian.

The parallel is plain; Amenophis trains up a number of youth to the fatigues and exerciſes of war, to ſerve under his ſon in the conqueſts foretold of him (76), the world being then unconſcious of the havock of the ſword; Ninus does here the ſame, and with the ſame intent, except that thoſe he trained were deſigned to ſerve under him.

(70) Petav. de Doctr. Tempor. (71) Biblioth. Hiſtor. l. 2. (72) See vol. ii. p. 22. (73) Chil. 3. v. 83. ad calc. edit. Gal. Herodot. p. 676. (74) See vol. ii. p. 22. (75) Ibid. p. 22. (76) Ibid. p. 44.

bians, whom alone he dreaded, as a bold and resolute people, jealous and tenacious of their liberty, he entered into a league with Ariæus their king; whereby, if he did not obtain his immediate assistance, he might, at least, secure his neutrality and connivance (Z). But Ariæus joined forces with him, and marched with him into Babylo-

(Z) It is made an objection to the Ctesian history of Assyria, that it introduces a king of the Arabians, before the Arabians were a people; our author (77) supposing them originally descended of Ishmael the son of Abraham; but this cannot hold good, for the country was before planted by Joktan (78). But what is more material and unanswerable is, the question that might be asked concerning these ancient Arabians, How it was they were in Ninus's days so famed for war and love of liberty? How came Ninus to know this? We understand by this our history, that Ninus was the first that invaded the right of his neighbours; and tyranny and slavery seem by this history to have been at these times unknown. If then these Arabians had never been invaded, they never could have distinguished themselves in these respects from the rest of the nations; and if they had been invaded, it is plain, Ninus was not the first warrior or conqueror. We read, that Sesostris king of Egypt subdued the Arabians (79); and in this particular, indeed, our parallel between him and Ninus is interrupted. But is Sesostris older in these parts than Ninus? our author (80) insinuates no. By prophane authors, they must have been nearly of an age. Now if Sesostris conquered the Arabians, it is no great sign they were invincible. What other conqueror there should have been in these parts, before these two, we perceive not; Justin (81) reckons them two of the first that disturbed the peace of the world in Asia. If Asia had been free from war till the days of Ninus, and if he was the first that affected to rule over his neighbours, the Arabians must, to all appearance, have been as ignorant in martial affairs as other nations. On the other hand, if Ninus was later than Sesostris, and if this last actually subdued the Arabians, what had Ninus to fear from them, that he must court them after this rate, and lay himself under the obligations he afterwards does to their king? The inconnection and forgery is palpable. It is wonderful, that such stuff as this should ever have passed with men for history, when it is even too silly to be called good romance, which ought to be the shadow of truth and probability at least.

(77) Bern. Montfauc. apud Du Pin. Biblioth. Univ. des Histor. p. 286. (78) See vol. i. p. 473. (79) See vol. ii. p. 36. (80) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. (81) Lib. 1. c. 1.

nia (A). The city of Babylon, so famous since, was not at that time in being; though the province itself was stored with cities, whose inhabitants, unknowing in the arts of defence (B), fell an easy prey to the turbulent and aspiring

(A) If Ninus resided in the country we now call Assyria, and if this mighty Arabian Ariæus ruled over the country we now call Arabia, he could not with more convenience at all have joined his Assyrian friend, than by marching through the kingdom of Babylon. Now if these Babylonians had been so feeble as here represented, our warlike Arab might have subdued them in his march, and made a present of them and their country to Ninus, upon their first greeting; and the rather because it would not only have redounded to his honour, but have saved time and expence also.

(B) Why the Babylonians should have been so particularly ignorant in martial affairs beyond their neighbours, is what we can no more conceive, than why the Arabians should have been so particularly versed therein. If the Arabian had been what he is represented, it is very strange, the Babylonian should not have dreaded so turbulent a neighbour, and provided for his own safety against him. And here we would observe, that, according to our author (82), and by what is observed in the note next above, the Arabians must have been famous warriors, before the Assyrians themselves knew any thing of the matter; and if so, it would be but natural to suppose, that the Babylonians, who lay between them should have cultivated the use of the sword before the Assyrians, and that for several reasons, and particularly, as it so stood them upon, to be on their guard against such an enemy as the Arabian. But, as natural as this may seem, we are here told quite the reverse; the Babylonians knew nothing of the matter, and they were swept away at once. They, it seems, knew not the Arabians were such a people as we are told, and contracted no jealousy from the extraordinary preparations and proceedings of their neighbour, the king of Assyria; and so neither took the field, nor walled their cities. How likely this is to have been, we leave the reader to judge, and shall only add, that this account clashes very remarkably with two very express and important passages of sacred history relating to the Babylonian kingdom, which represents this country to have been the first after the flood where any great buildings, as cities, and the like, were erected, and particularly the tower of Babel (83); and the people to have been a warlike enterprising nation, so early as the days of Abraham, when we read of a king of Shinar, or Babylon (84), making excursions

(82) Ctes. apud Diodor. Sicul. ubi supr. (83) See vol. i. p. 410. (84) See vol. ii. p. 191.

ing Ninus, who impoſed on them an annual tribute; and carried away their king and all his children, whom he afterwards put to death (C). He then fell upon Armenia with a mighty hand, bore down cities and all before him, and injected ſuch a terror into the hearts of all the people there, that their king Barzanes himſelf waited on him with rich gifts, and made ſubmiſſion to him; which had this effect, that Ninus courteouſly left him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Armenia; but upon this condition, that he ſhould be to him as a vaſſal, and ſerve him in his wars, whenever he ſhould require it (D). Encouraged thus to

 proceed,

excurſions upon the Canaanites and others, in company with the king of Elam (85). This Babylonian king was plainly a warrior; and, according to common computation, could not have been much, if at all, later than Ninus. The city of Bactra was, we find by our author, ſo ſtrongly walled, as to be in a manner impregnable. But Babylon, it ſeems, was as yet not in being, and the whole province and its more antient cities were ſwept away at once. How this agrees with the ſcripture, we leave the reader to judge; it is toto cælo diſtant from it; as may be more amply obſerved hereafter.

In the preceding note we have endeavoured to expoſe the abſurdity of this poſition; but though the Babylonians ſhould have been more ignorant in war than the nations round about; it muſt have been, becauſe they had never known what war was. In this caſe, it muſt be ſuppoſed, their neighbours, not excepting any, muſt have been as ignorant therein as themſelves. One warlike nation always makes another, and ſo on.

(C) What this prince ſhould have done to provoke Ninus to uſe him in this cruel manner, may be very hard to come at; but it is plain, he could give him no great offence; his weakneſs and inactivity ſeem to have been the only crimes to make him obnoxious to the Aſſyrian; and that theſe were the crimes he ſuffered for, may be unnatural to ſuppoſe. In a word, it ſeems to have been the firſt thing that came uppermoſt, and to have been ſaid at a venture; perhaps for variety ſake.

(D) This king of Armenia, it is plain, at firſt made ſome reſiſtance; but, finding himſelf unequal to his adverſary, ſubmits to be his vaſſal, and, in conſideration of this, his life is ſpared. This looks as if he not only reſiſted at firſt, but made terms for himſelf afterwards; or we cannot poſſibly perceive, why he ſhould be ſuffered to live any more than the apparently innocent and inoffenſive king of Babylon; whoſe caſe, if true, muſt have redounded much to the diſhonour of this new conqueror; and if not,

(85) Geneſ. xiv.

proceed, he makes an attempt upon Media, and overthrew its king Pharnus, though at the head of a mighty army. Moſt of the army of the Medes he ſlew, the king himſelf was taken priſoner, together with his wife and ſeven children, and crucified [a] (E).

AND now nothing would ſerve him, but he muſt make himſelf maſter of all Aſia, between the Tanais and the Nile; and that he might, with the more ſafety, enter upon this enterpriſe, he fixes an intimate friend of his in the government of his new conqueſt Media, while he marched away againſt the other provinces of Aſia, which, in ſeventeen years time, he reduced all, but Bactria and India. The number of the nations he ſubjugated, it ſeems, are no where enumerated, or the battles he fought by any one deſcribed and reckoned; but thus far, we are told, is known; he made himſelf maſter of the ſea-coaſts, as well as of the inland parts, conquering Egypt, Phœnice, Cœle-Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, Myſia, Lydia, Troas, and Phrygia upon the Helleſpont, the Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, together with the barbarous nations from Pontus to the Tanais; the Caduſians, Tapyrians, Hyrcanians, Dacians, Derbicians, Carmanians, Choramneans, Borchanians, and Parthians, not excepting Perſia,

His conqueſts.

[a] Apud eund. ibid.

not, muſt reflect highly on the judgment of the relater, who could make his hero ſo cruel and undiſtinguiſhing a man; ſo that here Ninus does not make the figure of even a common hero in a romance, who is commonly propoſed for a pattern of true juſtice and magnanimous proweſs,

(E) If there be any coherence in the narration thus far, it is in the gradation of reſiſtence in theſe three nations that were firſt attacked, upon the ſuppoſition, that the world in thoſe days knew not what war was. The Babylonians, who were firſt attacked, make no reſiſtance at all; the Armenians, whoſe turn was next, make ſome faint ſhew of reſiſtance; and now the Medes, who came third in turn, reſiſt indeed. For here we find, they had regular armies in the field to cope with Ninus; and a moſt bloody battle is fought. Pharnus, according to this, muſt have made a very extraordinary progreſs in the art of war, and muſt have been a furious enemy; and might have been a rebellious vaſſal, and a turbulent neighbour, if he had been permitted to live; and ſo he is put to death, with all his family. But this Mede ſeems to have been as much too ſtrong, as the Armenian and Babylonian are too weak; the whole has all the air of untruth and inconſiſtency one could wiſh.

Persia, Susiana, and what was called Caspiana, which he penetrated by the passes called the Caspian Straits (F). Other nations of less account he now subdued, but found it impracticable to make any notable impression on the Bactrians, who were secured by the difficulty of their passes, and the numbers of their hardy warriors (G), and therefore,

(F) Such was the extent of this youthful monarchy according to our author. All these conquests were made, with uninterrupted success, by Ninus; and these numerous nations, and others, were ever after considered as parts of the Assyrian monarchy, till its dissolution; a falshood, which may be proved by what we know of the history of every of these nations; who if they were in very early days conquered by any ancient Assyrian king, Ninus or any other, their subjection can have been but for the time. We know, by the history of the several nations that precede in this work, that they were free from any Assyrian yoke, from the first times we know of, down to the days of Pul; an interval of many ages, during which no Assyrian monarchy, existed on this side of the Euphrates. So that if any such there had been, and if its duration was such as Ctesias and his followers report, it must, according to the Hebrew computation, or the Samaritan, have taken rise many ages before the deluge, and have ended about the time these nations, and particularly all on this side of the Euphrates, began to have any being that we know of; for, from the days of Abraham down to Pul, there is no vestige of an Assyrian power extended over the western parts of Asia. This is plain, and is enough to prove this monarchy took birth in the person of Pul, the first Assyrian king, according to scripture; after him, these nations, or many of them, and particularly those on this side of the Euphrates, did confessedly pay obedience to the Assyrian throne; which before that time they certainly never did, at least for any continuance; so that there could have been nothing of this pretended Assyrian monarchy from Abraham to Pul, which is an interval of about 1150 years, which, being added to the years of the interval between Abraham and the flood, will remove the rise of this monarchy so near to us, in comparison of what profane authors tell us, that we may reckon it to have been of late origin.

(G) How these Bactrians came to be such very hardy warriors is perfectly in the dark to us; they must never have had the experience of a single campaign before they had to do with the ambitious Ninus. The same arguments may be brought to prove, that Ninus could not possibly know what they were for soldiers, as we have, a few notes above, offered to demonstrate; he could know nothing particular of the martial capacity of the Arabians; for

fore he defers his war with them, till he ſhould be better aſſured of making his attempt with ſucceſs [b].

Returns into his own country.

LEADING his army back again into his own country [Syria, as it is called] (H) he determined to raiſe himſelf as great a name for his magnificence at home, as he hoped he ſhould enjoy for his warlike exploits abroad; and, with this deſign, marked out a ſpot of ground whereon to erect a city, which, for extent and ſtatelineſs, ſhould not only far ſurpaſs all that had ever before been in the world, but alſo be ſuch as ſhould, with the greateſt difficulty, be equalled by any other prince in ages to come (I). Having

Diſmiſſes the king of Arabia.

diſmiſſed the Arabian king, who had followed him in his wars, with high honours and noble gifts (K); and having got a multitude of hands about him, and amaſſed a treaſure proportionable to his undertaking, he laid the foundations of his intended city, which roſe to that ſtupendous degree, as was never after beheld in any city whatſoever. It ſtood

Niniveh built, and deſcribed.

on, or near, the Euphrates (L), ſurrounded with lofty walls

[b] Apud eund. ibid.

for if we ſuppoſe, with our author and Trogus (86), that Ninus was the firſt real warrior, we cannot allow, there can have been any nation famous for arms till after his conqueſts; and though ſome nations, during his progreſs, may have put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and gathered together in the nature of an army, Ninus could know nothing particular of them till he had tried them; and could have nothing to apprehend from them, except he judged by their ſtature and ſtrength of body; which may, it is moſt likely, have been the ſame in all theſe neighbouring nations. In ſhort, conſidering the advantage he had of numbers and experience, as alſo the torrent of his victories, it were ridiculous to ſuppoſe, he could dread any one of theſe nations more than another.

(H) We have already (87) obſerved, that Syria and Aſſyria are promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and that this is the cauſe of much confuſion in geography (88).

(I) This is Seſoſtris exactly: Thus he, returning from the conqueſt of Aſia, applied his mind to ſuch ſtupendous works, as might immortalize his name, and everlaſtingly contribute to the publick good (89).

(K) Thus alſo did Seſoſtris to his army (90).

(L) This is falſe; it was not the ſituation of this city (91). This

(86) Juſtin. l. 1. c. 1. (87) See before p. 193. (88) Ibid in the notes. (89) See Vol. ii. p. 41. (90) Ibid. (91) See Vol. i. in the notes, p. 370.

walls and towers; the former being 100 feet in height, the latter 200, and 1500 in number; for this city was an oblong square, no less than 480 stades in circumference, or 74 miles; the walls were so very broad, that three chariots might drive thereon a-breast. This city, which he honoured with his name, Ninus [Niniveh], he gave for a possession to the most eminent of the Assyrians (M), with liberty, at the same time, for those of any other nation to settle there, adding thereto a large territory to be dependent thereon [c].

THIS work dispatched, but in what space of time they are not so good as to tell us, Ninus takes the field again to subdue the Bactrians, whom he had left unconquered; and though in this expedition success and triumph crowned his endeavours, it is for nothing more remarkable, than for his marriage with Semiramis; which leads us to say something of the obscurity of her birth, and the sublimity of her elevation. Her birth and extraction were to be sure, more than merely mortal, for she sprang from a goddess, Derceto by name, who had a temple erected to her near a fishy lake, not far from Ascalon in Syria (N), who came to be represented by a woman upwards and a fish downwards (O), upon the following remarkable occasion; This goddess

Ninus again makes war with the Bactrians.

Semiramis;

her birth;

[c] Apud eund. ibid.

This inaccuracy, which is more than once repeated by our author (92), has been noted by several geographers and others; but whether he borrowed the mistake from his admired Ctesias, or whether he struck it out of himself, is quite uncertain.

(M) This again is almost the very story of Sesostris, who settled certain portions, by lot, of the most fertile land in Egypt, on his whole army (93).

(N) As much as this city was in Syria, it was a city of the Proper Palestine, and belonging to the Philistines (94); so that by this account, as we have observed elsewhere (95), Semiramis was a Philistine by birth, and consequently could have no manner of relation to the king of Assyria, either as his subject or his vassal, till after the conquest of that country by the successors of Pul, many ages after this pretended time.

(O) Hence she is supposed to have been the same with the Philistine Dagon, who is commonly supposed to have been pictured in some

(92) Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Histor. l. 2. (93) See vol. ii. p. 37. (94) Ibid. p. 220. (95) See before, p. 218.

desses, some how or other, laboured under the displeasure of Venus, who, to punish her, caused her to fall impatiently in love of a youth, who, among others, happened to be paying sacrifice to her, and unfortunately conceiving by him, she was delivered of a daughter; but ashamed of her guilt, and desirous to conceal it, she murdered the youth, and exposed the infant among the rocks of a desart, and overwhelmed with grief and dishonour, threw herself headlong into the lake, and became a fish (O*). Mean while, the unhappy infant was miraculously sustained and nourished by a flock of doves or pigeons (P), which frequented near, and

some such manner; but this we have endeavoured to confute (96). Besides, Dagon was not the peculiar god of Ascalon, but of Ashdod, or Azotus (97); and therefore very unlikely to have been the Derceto of Ascalon.

(O*) Hence perhaps the worship of fishes at Hierapolis in Syria (98), where, near the temple of the great Syrian goddess, was a lake for the preservation and adoration of that watery creature, which we have at length described (99). But whether Ascalon, or Hierapolis, was the original seat of this fable, or any other place, is a most uncertain matter.

(P) Hence it should be, that Ascalon was so remarkable for flocks of pigeons (100), not only in the roads and fields, but about every house; which the people here religiously abstained from, on account of an old tradition concerning the unlawfulness of the contrary (1).

There are those who are ready to believe, Semiramis may have borrowed her name, as Diodorus insinuates (2), from a word in the Syrian tongue, signifying a dove (3); but others (4), finding no such word in that language, reject the notion as groundless. And these are most likely to be right, whatever may be offered to the contrary, upon a supposition, that the word may, in length of time, have been obliterated (5). From all this, and more, it is asserted, that the ensign armorial of Assyria was a dove (6); and it has been ventured to blazon the Syrian shield in these terms; *The field* Sol *a dove volant* proper (7). So that Semiramis is reckoned † to have been the origin of coats and crests. Hence it is supposed (8), that in the Vulgate we read (9), *quia facta est terra*

(96) See vol. ii. p. 227. (97) Ibid. ibid. (98) Ibid. p. 290. (99) Ibid. (100) Ibid p. 221. (1) Philo. apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangelic. l. 8. p. 398. (2) Biblioth. Hist. l. 2. (3) Gregor. in Posthum. p. 235. (4) Joseph. Scalig. in Not. ad Fragm. p. 43. (5) Vid. Gregor. ubi sup. (6) Vid. Eund. ibidem. (7) Ibid. † Ibid. p. 236. (8) Ibid. (9) Jerem. xxv. com. 38.

and kept her warm with their wings, and fed her with milk from the neighbouring cottages; and when, at a year old, the child required a more ſubſtantial food, they picked cheeſe for her, and conveyed it to her; which being remarked by the neighbouring ſhepherds, who had their cheeſes thus ſerved, they made ſearch after the cauſe, and in the end found a beautiful child, which they took home with them, and ſent to the chief of the king's ſhepherds, Simma by name (Q), who being childleſs adopted her his own, and called her Semiramis, borrowed from a word in the Syriac tongue, which ſignifies doves or pigeons (R), which the Syrians ever afterwards adored as divinities [d].

SHE

[d] Apud eund. ibid.

terra eorum in deſolationem a facie iræ columbæ; where in our tranſlation, inſtead of the anger of the dove, we read the fierceneſs of the oppreſſor; and, in the Septuagint, ἀπὸ προσάπου τῆς μαχαίρας, the face of the ſword; which in a very ancient Saxon tranſlation in the library of Chriſt-church in Oxford (10), was thus taken, the face of the ſword of the kulver. That the dove was a peculiar diſtinction of Aſſyria, may be collected from Hoſea's (11) *dove out of the land of Aſſyria*. In fine, it is by Cornelius à Lapide, and others who follow the interpretation of St. Jerome, related, that God calls Nebuchadnezzar a dove (12). Whatever there may have been in all this, others have thought the Syrian dove was hieroglyphical only (13), and expreſſive of the laſcivious nature of this queen; and this may appear by the nameleſs figure of her, in the temple of the great Syrian goddeſs at Hierapolis, with a dove on its head (14): All this is extremely dark.

(Q) The name of this man Simma, has made ſome miſtake him for no leſs than Sem, or Shem; and ſo, according to them, Semiramis muſt be the daughter of that ſon of Noah (15). This is giving her antiquity enough, and allowing her to have been born before any body who is, by the various authors, ſuppoſed to have laid the foundations, either of the kingdom of Aſſyria, or of that of Babylon.

(R) This was particularly the practice at Aſcalon, as may be gathered from what we have cited, a note or two above; though it is certain to have been a cuſtom, more or leſs, with all the people within the limits of the Aſſyrian empire.

(10) Vid. Gregor. ubi ſup. (11) Ch. xi. 2. (12) Vid. Gregor. ubi ſup. (13) Pier. apud eund. (14) See vol. ii. p. 289. (15) Vid. Gregor. Poſth. p. 235.

Is married, and caried to Niniveh.

SHE grew up, and by far exceeded all of her sex for wit and beauty, and, no wonder, captivated the heart of one Menon, who was sent to survey the king's cattle, though, at the same time, no less than chief of his master's council, and governor of all Syria. Menon had sight of the divine Semiramis at Simma's house, and, not without great difficulty, obtaining her to himself, conducted her to Niniveh, where he married her, and had two sons by her, Hypates and Hydaspes (S). In short, she governed her husband, who did nothing but by her advice, and with her participation, and grew into great fame for wisdom [e].

HAVING said thus much, preparatorily to what is to follow, we must leave her for a while, to follow Ninus in his Bactrian war. Sensible he had a task of the greatest difficulty to surmount, he made choice of the ablest and stoutest men in all his dominions, and resolving not to miscarry this time, as he either did, or thought he should, before, he mustered together 1,700,000 foot, above 210,000 horse, and no less than 10,600 scythed chariots. Our author tells us, these numbers may seem incredible, but that we shall think them nothing, if we do but consider a little the vast extent of Asia; and especially if we, at the same time, call to mind the 800,000 men Darius led against the Scythians, and the numberless army that followed Xerxes in Greece; things of late transaction, and what every body in his time, in a manner, knew [f].

Ninus's extraordinary preparations for the conquest of the Bactrians. Why not incredible.

HAVING by this, and other arguments and examples of the same kind, endeavoured to get the better of the incredibility that might start up to the disadvantage of this part of his history, he proceeds to tell us, that Ninus, as he advanced towards the straits and passes into Bactria, was obliged to divide his army into two or three columns; and that so he made his way into the enemy's country [g].

Bactria a populous and well fortified country.

BUT before we proceed, we must, by the way, take notice, that Bactria was, in those days, adorned with many large and noble cities, that the capital was called by the name of Bactria, that one Oxyartes was at this time king there, that he called in all his subjects that were able to bear

[e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

(S) These are Greek names, void of all affinity with any names, either Assyrian, or Babylonian. Hydaspes was, according to the LXX, the name of a river, not far from the Tigris and Euphrates (16).

(16) Vid. Ortel. Thesaur. Geograph. ad vocem.

bear arms, and that, in consequence of this, he gathered together an army of 400,000 men. With these he marched towards the passes which gave admission into his country, and quietly suffered Ninus to enter with a part of his army; but, perceiving their numbers to swell considerably, he fell on them in the plain, routed them, forced the Assyrians into the mountains, and killed 100,000 of them. Thus was Ninus repulsed by the Bactrians; but he had his turn of conquest, overpowered the Bactrian with numbers, and broke and dispersed his army, which ran to the cities to defend them against the invader. Ninus with ease enough reduced all the cities and strong holds, but the [h] city and fortress of Bactria itself, which had like to have been too many for him, and held him out a long and tedious siege (T.)

Semiramis goes to the camp before Bactra.

DURING this siege, Semiramis's fond husband, then attending the king, was taken with an impatient desire to see his wife, and sending for her, she, as desirous to display the superiority of her understanding and other excellencies, as her husband was of her company, set out for the camp, in a habit so prudently contrived, as at once to preserve her beauty and conceal her sex, and at the the same time to be fit for agility and action; a mode of dress which so took with the fancy, that the Medes are said to have assumed it when they came to empire, and the Persians also [i].

She is the cause that the city is taken.

SHE no sooner arrived before Bactria, than she made remarks on their manner of conducting the siege, and particularly took notice, that they amused themselves with assaulting the weakest places, and never so much as thought of making an effort upon the citadel, and other parts of more strength; and that for this reason the besieged neglected them, to defend the places more defenceless. Observing this, she took with her some who had a particular faculty of climbing up rocks, and with these she, with

[h] Ibid. [i] Apud eund. ibid.

(T) This, according to our author, must have been the first warfare these Bactrians were engaged in; and yet, by this story, one would think, they had been old and experienced in all the branches of that destructive trade. Here you have a vast army of well-disciplined troops, a wise and prudent king at the head of them, a country well defended by nature, and a city impregnable by art. All this is purely said to exalt the valour and might of Ninus; though if it had been asked, how in nature it could be possible for the Bactrians to be so extremely well prepared to withstand the enemy, it had been a question Ctesias could never have answered, with any propriety or consistency.

with unſpeakable toil and dexterity, got poſſeſſion of part of the citadel, and immediately made ſignal to the Aſſyrians to aſſault in that quarter, which being done, and the city thrown into the wildeſt conſternation, the whole place was immediately reduced [k] (U).

Ninus firſt ſmitten with her;

NINUS, aſtoniſhed at this action, at firſt rewarded her as ſhe deſerved, and preſently fell a ſlave to her irreſiſtible beauty, endeavouring by all means to perſuade her huſband to ſurrender her up to him, and particularly tempting him with the promiſe of giving him his daughter Soſana in marriage; but this making no impreſſion on him, Ninus changed his note, and threatened to pull out his eyes; which threw poor Menon into ſuch a fit of rage and deſpair, that he immediately went and hung himſelf. Thus

marries her;

was it, that Ninus became poſſeſſed of the incomparable Semiramis (V), who was now advanced to the imperial dignity [l].

NINUS

[k] Ibid. [l] ibid.

(U) Whoever reflects on the hiſtory of this woman hitherto, muſt at once conclude the writer of it to have been no better than a fabuliſt, and an awkard one too. Her extraordinary birth, her miraculous preſervation by doves, and now her behaviour at this ſiege, are all circumſtances completely and ſelf-evidently romantic. But the ſtory had been imperfect without a woman. Thus, in the tale of Seſoſtris, his daughter Athyrte is the adviſer of his conqueſts, and aſſures him ſucceſs would attend him in his wars (17), and has, as it were, the honour of all his conqueſts. So is it now with Semiramis; ſhe here, by her ſagacity and intrepidity, performs what without her perhaps had never been brought to paſs. Where is the difference between Athyrte and Semiramis? The one adviſes, the other executes. They look very much like the ſame perſon in different employments; nor muſt we wonder, that Tzetzes talks, after this, of an Aſſyrian Seſoſtris (18), or if any other ſhould write of an Egyptian Ninus. We would now add, that the Bactrian king, who is here called Oxyartes, is by others (19) called Zoroaſtres; concerning whom, or the name at leaſt, we ſhall have ſo much to ſay in a more proper place, that we ſhall not here anticipate any thing concerning him.

(V) Scaliger (20) will have it, that Semiramis was married to Aſhur the ſon of Shem, which is much the ſame as making her the daughter of Shem, as we have obſerved, ſome would have her

(17) See vol. ii. p. 254. (18) See before in the notes, p. 224. (19) Juſt. l. 1. c. 1. (20) Not. in Fragm. ad calc. Emend. Temp. p. 43.

NINUS, now lord of Bactra, returned with immense spoil, particularly of gold and silver; and some time afterwards had a son by Semiramis, called Ninyas, whom (dying) he left to the care of his wife, whom he constituted regent of the empire (W). She deposited her husband in the

has a son by her.

her to have been, a note or two above. His reason for it is (21), because the name of her son Ninyas better agrees with the Hebrew way of writing the name of the city of Niniveh, than that of her pretended husband Ninus; a name he will have to have been imposed by the Greeks upon the patriarch Ashur, the grandson of Noah (22). According to this notion Shem himself must have been the vulgar Belus, the supposed father of Ninus, and not Nimrod, who was three generations later, and descended from Ham. The absurdity of all this, though our author exults much upon it (23), we hope we have demonstrated by a great variety of arguments, and it would be repetition to animadvert thereon in this place.

(W) Thus was it then, that she became queen of Assyria; but by another author (24) we understand, that as great as we are taught she must have been in the eyes of the people, she was afraid they should know who ruled them; though in right of the minor her son. That to conceal this, she cloathed herself so as not to be known from her son, with a long robe on her body, and a tiara on her head; that, to cover the deceit, she commanded the people to dress after the same fashion; and that thenceforward they retained the habit. This account of the dress, which she is said by Diodorus (25) to have brought into fashion, is much more likely to be true, than what the same author (26) relates concerning the same, that she assumed it to preserve her beauty, and to qualify her for action, which requires a succinct dress, rather than that which may be seen to have been the mode of these parts afterwards in Babylon and Persepolis; for the former of which, we, for the present, refer the reader to Herodotus (27); for the latter, to the sculptures of the ruins of Persepolis (28).

The story of her pretending to pass with the people for her son Ninyas, is exploded by Sir Walter Raleigh *; since, according to the historian, Ninyas must have been but a child when his father Ninus died, and nothing near to the stature of his mother; who, being supposed to have been a comely personage, could never by any arts of concealment have passed for a child.

(21) Ibid. (22) Ibid. (23) Ibid. (24) Just. l. 1. c. 2. (25) Biblioth. Histor. l. i. p. 67. (26) Ibid. (27) Lib. 1. c. 195. (28) See Chardin's and Le Bruyn's Travels. * Hist. of the World, c. 12. § 2.

the palace, and raiſed over him a mount of earth of wonderful dimenſion, no leſs than nine ſtades in height, and ten in breadth (X), conſpicuous, and very remarkably ſo, over all the plain, where the city of Niniveh ſtood, which it long ſurvived, remaining a ſtupendous monument, many ages after the ſubverſion of the empire [m].

Semiramis's character;

SEMIRAMIS, as may be gathered from what has been ſaid before, was a woman of an aſpiring mind and immenſe ambition, and now thought of nothing leſs than eclipſing her huſband's glory (Y), to which end ſhe determined to erect

[m] Apud eund. ibid.

(X) Or a mile and a quarter, allowing eight ſtades or furlongs to the mile; and by this ſame rule it muſt have been a mile and half quarter in height. This ſeems ſo incredible to Monſ. Rollin in particular, who has unaccountably adopted the abſurdities of the ſeveral profane authors in his hiſtory, and rejected moſt of, if not all, the improvements that have been made in hiſtory and geography, by the aſſiduous reſearches of later days, that he is willing to think the ſtade made but little more than the ſixteenth of our mile, and that fifteen of them might be reckoned to the mile, as ſome have imagined (29). This allowed, this funeral monument would very far exceed any thing that perhaps ever was in the world.

(Y) Rollin ſuppoſes, ſhe wanted to cover the meanneſs of her extraction, by the greatneſs of her deeds and enterpriſes (30). Thus is it his tranſlator expreſſes himſelf in Engliſh, which we are, for this once, obliged to uſe for want of the original French. But this thought ſeems to be a little too refined for the early times he ſuppoſes her to have lived in; beſides, his hiſtorian (31) warrants him in nothing of the ſort that we can perceive. This her ambition puts us in mind of a ſtory told of her, That ſhe was a Syrian by birth, a ſervant-maid to one of the king's ſervants, and the king's concubine; and that at length ſhe got ſuch an aſcendant over the great Ninus, that ſhe obtained of him to let her ſit on the throne and command for one day; and that, perceiving all her orders to be moſt exactly executed, ſhe at laſt ordered her guards to ſeize on Ninus himſelf, bind him, and put him to death; and that thus it was ſhe became queen of Aſia (32). This ſame ſtory, with ſome variation, is alſo told by others. If the former part of this be true, ſhe had ſome reaſon to be aſhamed of her extraction; and if the latter, it was but policy in her to

(29) Hiſt. of the Aſſyr. vol. II. p. 8. in a note at the bottom. (30) Ibid. p. 9. (31) Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 95. (32) Plutarch. Ερώτικος, p. 75.

erect a city in the province of Babylon; making incredible preparation for the work, and assembling together two millions of men to assist therein. This city, as she contrived it, was divided by the Euphrates, and she surrounded it with a wall of 360 stades in circuit (Z), of such thickness, that six chariots might drive a-breast thereon, and of height beyond imagination, no less than fifty orgyas, or fathoms, and adorned with 250 turrets, in due and proper proportion thereto, the whole a solid body of brick cemented together with bitumen, and between this wall and the houses therein was left a space of two plethra, or 200 feet [n]. resolves to build Babylon.

THAT this enormous city might be erected with the dispatch her impatience required, she allotted a spot of a furlong, to as many of her trustiest friends as the greatness of the surface required, allotting to each every thing that was necessary for the undertaking; by which means, though she allowed no more than the short space of a year for the completion of the whole, her commands were punctually obeyed. She highly approved of the work, and to join the divided parts of the city, she ordered a bridge, which was as substantially built, as artfully contrived, and as beautifully adorned, as any that since then has ever appeared in the world. The stones of it were firmly clamped together with iron, and the passage over was on a floor of cedar, and cypress, and palm-trees; but the breadth The manner she contrived to have the city built in a short time.

[n] Ibid.

to endeavour to outdo her fond predecessor; who, according to this, must have been such a Ninus as described by Phœnix Colophonius (33), who is represented exactly as another Sardanapalus, and may, it is likely, have been meant for the same; for we cannot conceive, how so very effeminate a character can suit with the great Ninus the conqueror. A mean and scandalous prince she might have outdone, and kept her ground after she had destroyed him; but for such a prince, as Ninus is on all sides allowed to have been, we cannot apprehend, it could have been in her power, either to have pacified her new subjects, or to have eclipsed him.

(Z) We shall have occasion hereafter to describe this city in form, so that we here confine ourselves to what Ctesias relates of it, regardless, whether true or false, which we reserve for a particular inquiry in the history of the Babylonian kingdom.

(33) Apud Athenæ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 530.

of it, which was ſeemingly too ſmall for the length, which was five ſtades, amounted to no more than thirty feet. On each ſide of the river ſhe raiſed a wharf, or key, of the breadth of the walls, and an hundred ſtades in length; and at each end of the bridge ſhe erected two palaces, whence ſhe might reciprocally ſurvey and awe both parts of the city. The Euphrates paſſing through the midſt of Babylon, from north to ſouth, theſe two palaces ſtood, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; both of them ſumptuous and magnificent to the utmoſt. The weſtern was ſurrounded by a lofty wall of brick, full ſixty ſtades in circuit, within which was a ſecond, wrought and adorned with figures, as it were from the very life, ſo curiouſly were they formed, and ſo naturally coloured. This magnificent wall was 40 ſtades in circumference, 300 bricks thick, 50 fathoms high, and thereon were raiſed towers of 70 of the ſame meaſure in height. Within this there was a third wall, or incloſure, far ſurpaſſing the ſecond in height and breadth, on which, and its towers, were repreſented all manner of living creatures as before; and more eſpecially a great hunting of all kinds of wild beaſts, each four cubits in height and upwards; in the midſt of which appeared Semiramis herſelf, mounted on a ſteed, darting through a leopard, and her huſband Ninus near in cloſe combat with a lyon, whom he pierced with his lance; this wall was 30 ſtades about. To this palace ſhe had three gates, under which were rooms of braſs, for the celebration of feſtivals, which were opened by a mechanical contrivance [o].

THIS palace far exceeded that on the other ſide of the river, both for dimenſion and magnificence; for the outermoſt wall of this was no more in circumference than the innermoſt wall of the former, and for decoration, the whole was much inferior to what we have deſcribed. So our author tells us, though with ſome ſeeming inconſiſtency, when in the ſame breath he informs us, that, beſides brazen ſtatues of Ninus, Semiramis, their great officers, and Jupiter, whom the Babylonians called Belus, there were not only whole armies drawn up in battalia, but likewiſe the repreſentation of various kinds of hunting, to the great delight and recreation of the beholder [p].

The lake ſhe dug.

ALL this being completed, Semiramis ſunk a vaſt lake, vaſt, conſidering it was ſunk by the labour of man. This lake,

[o] Apud eund. ibid. [p] Ibid.

lake, for so we may well call it, was four square; each side of it was 300 stades in length, the whole lined with brick strongly cemented with bitumen, and no less than 35 foot in depth. This lake was sunk on purpose to receive the waters of the Euphrates, which she diverted, while she erected a covered passage, or vault, across the bottom of the river, whereby to have communication between her two opposite palaces. This vault was 20 bricks thick, 12 foot high, and 15 broad; a work finished within the space of 260 days, when the river was again restored to its antient course and liberty. At the ends of this vault she had brazen gates, which continued, say they, to the time of the Persian conquest [q].

Temple of Belus.

IN the midst of the city, though on which side is not said, she built a temple to Jupiter Belus, concerning which our author has nothing particular to relate, except that it must have been of exceeding height (A); that, like the rest of the city, it was built of brick and bitumen; and that on the top of it Semiramis placed three statues of beaten gold, viz. of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea. The statue of Jupiter was upright, and, as it were, walking, forty foot high, and weighing 1000 talents of Babylon: The statue of Rhea was of the same weight, and sat in a golden throne, with a lyon standing at each knee, and near them two very great serpents of silver, weighing 30 talents apiece: The statue of Juno was erect, and weighed 800 talents; she with her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and with her left she held a scepter enriched with gems. These deities had a table, or altar, common to the three, made of beaten gold, 40 foot in length, 15 foot in breadth, and weighing 500 talents. On this table stood two flaggons, or goblets, of 30 talents weight, and near them two censers, but these weighed 300 talents each; as also three drinking bowls, or vases, of which particularly

q Ibid.

(A) We have, as well as we have been able, determined the height of this tower, which was raised long after these pretended times by Nebuchadnezzar, and must refer the reader back to what we have formerly said about it (34).

(34) See Vol. i. p. 416, & seq.

that dedicated to Jupiter weighed 1200 talents of Babylon, the other two 600 [r] (B).

Builds several cities.

ALL this is attributed to Semiramis, and much more there is to come. Babylon was not the only city she raised, she built several others on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, for the sake of commerce and communication with the remote parts of her empire, and to exalt the majesty of the great capital; which she farther distinguish-

Her obelisk.

ed by a most extraordinary obelisk, hewn out of the mountains of Armenia, 125 foot high, five foot broad, and five deep. This she removed from its native place, by mulitudes of oxen and asses, and thence shipping it on the river, conveyed it to Babylon, and erected it in a remarkable part of the neighbourhood of this city; and it is by our author reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world [s].

Wars upon the Medes.

WHEN Semiramis had done all this, she puts herself at the head of a vast army, and marches away into Media, and there incamps near a mountain called Bagistan, where she made a pleasant garden, of 12 stades in circumference: It was in an open champain country, and plentifully supplied with water from a neighbouring spring. This mountain was dedicated to Jupiter, or Belus, and towards this same garden; its craggy precipice was 17 stades from top to bottom, which she is said to have ascended from the plain to the top of it, on the packs and loads carried by the beasts of burthen that followed her. At the bottom of this rock she caused a statue of herself to be hewn out, and attended by 100 of her choicest guards [t].

FROM hence she marched till she came to Chaon, a city of the Medes, and there encamping on an eminence, she took notice of a very lofty rock, on the top of which also she formed a very fine garden, and erected stately edifices, whence she might command a view of the beauties of the spot, the wide extension of the place, and the whole camp of her army. Here she is said to have wasted much of her time, and to have given herself up to wanton dalliances and prostitution (C); for, jealous of her power and

[r] Ibid. [s] Apub eund. ibid. [t] Ibid.

(B) Pliny (35) takes notice of Semiramis's bowl, or goblet, which weighed no less than fifteen talents.

(C) Authors are divided in their opinions of her chastity, as may be remarked hereafter.

(35) Hist. Nat. l. 34. c. 3. p. 584. Edit. Frob.

and high command, she would take no partner to bed; but chose rather to admit the comliest men of army to her embraces, which were fatal to all that joyed them, for all such she immediately doomed to dea (D).

MOVING from this place, she advanced towards E tan, and in her way levelled the mountain Zarcœ which was many stades in extent, and for its frequent p cipices impassable, but by much labour and loss of w This she did to add to the glory of her name, and to cilitate the passage to all that should have occasion to tr vel that way (E). This she did with infinite labour an expence, and hence the work came to be called SEMIRA-MIS's ROAD, or WAY. When she came to Ecbatan she there built a most magnificent palace, and did mor than she had any where else done. The city, till ther had laboured under a want of water, a defect which sh amply supplied with her usual toil and expence [w].

FROM Media she continued her progress through Persi and the rest of her Asiatic provinces, levelling both roc and mountains before her as she went, in parts incon moded by eminences of the sort; and on the contrary, plain and champain tracks, raising hills to vary and ad them, and at the same time serve for monuments to captains and chief commanders. Sometimes she would bu towns and cities, and was constantly used to raise an emi nence, whereon to erect her own pavilion, that so she might have a prospect of her whole army. Many of these things are said to have remained a long time after her in Asia, and have been commonly called SEMIRAMIS'S WORKS [x].

HAVING thus visited her dominions in Asia, she next went to Egypt, surveyed that kingdom, and added the greatest part of Lybia to what belonged to her before; and paying a visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and enquiring how long she had to live, the oracle made answer, She should vanish from the sight of men, and obtain im-

[u] Ibid. [w] Ibid. [x] Ibid.

(D) This is of a piece with the story, five notes above, of her circumventing her husband Ninus, and putting him cruelly and ungratefully to death.

(E) Plutarch, as we shall observe a little farther, compares her with Sesostris, for valour and magnificence.

tal honour and worſhip from ſome of the Aſiatic na-
s, at ſuch time as her ſon Ninyas ſhould plot againſt
life. How ſhe took this, we are not told; but from
ce ſhe made war upon Ethiopia, and having ſettled
gs there, and taken a view of the rarities of that fabu-
s country, ſhe marched back into Aſia, and repoſed
ſelf at Bactra [y].

HERE ſhe for ſome years enjoyed herſelf in peace; but
length, impatient of ſo quiet and calm a way of life, ſhe
editated a war againſt the king of India. She had been
nformed of the tranſcendant amœnity of the country, its
double fertility, its immenſe riches, and matchleſs ele-
phants; and reſolved upon nothing leſs than the conqueſt
of that moſt extenſive part of the old world. But, know-
ing well what a taſk ſhe ſhould have of it, ſhe ordered all
her governors in general to ſelect a proportion of the
youth in their provinces, and to furniſh them with com-
plete habiliments for war, and to take care they rendez-
vouſed at a place appointed in Bactria, within the ſpace
of three years. She ſent for ſhipwrights out of Phœnice,
yria, Cyprus, and other maritime places, and, pre-
aring a ſtore of timber anſwerable to her deſigns, ſhe or-
ered, that they ſhould frame her a certain number of
eſſels, to be tranſported in pieces by land, wherewith to
croſs the Indus, whoſe adjacencies were deſtitute of
wood [z].

k-
ts. SHE in the next place conſidered, that ſhe laboured un-
der a great diſadvantage by the want of elephants, in which
Stabrobates, the king of India at that time, was mighty
and ſtrong. How to get any ſhe knew not; art therefore
muſt be uſed, and ſhe ordered a number of counterfeit ele-
phants to be contrived, thinking particularly to terrify the
Indians by this ſtratagem, they being poſſeſſed with aſſur-
ance, the elephant was no where a native but in their coun-
try. The thing is reſolved on, 300,000 black oxen are
ſlaughtered, and their fleſh diſtributed to poor people, who
were to make up their hides in the form of elephants, which
were to be ſtuffed out, and carried by a camel within, and
guided each by a man without. The people who wrought
at this were ſurrounded by a lofty incloſure, and no body
ſuffered to go in or out, that none might know what they
were about, and convey the news to the Indian king [a].

HER

[y] Ibid. [z] Apud eund. ibid. [a] Ibid.

HER vessels and her elephants ready, and all in two years, she, in the third, rendezvoused her army in the kingdom of Bactria, to the amount of three millions of foot, 200,000 horse, 100,000 chariots, and 100,000 men on camels, who wielded swords four cubits long. Her transports were 2000 in number, and carried by camels (F), as were also the mock-elephants, which the horsemen endeavoured to familiarise to their steeds, that they might not take fright at them when they came to battle [b].

Stabrobates, king of India, prepares to receive her.

STABROBATES heard of this, and prepared for the storm; and first he built him 4000 boats of the great canes [Bamboos], which grew in the rivers and fens of India; and with great diligence got together a far greater army than that of Semiramis. He added to the number of elephants he had before, causing numbers to be taken for that purpose, and to be apparelled with every thing that might be invincible by any human force. Thus prepared, he sends ambassadors to Semiramis, then on her march towards him, with complaints and reproaches for offering to make war upon him, without any offence at all given on his part; by a private letter, at the same time, upbraiding her with

Semiramis on the banks of the Indus.

[b] Ibid.

(F) These numbers, says Suidas (35), she levied by her lieutenant Dercetæus, who, by his name, should have been her kinsman. The same author (36) exaggerates these numbers most monstrously, writing, that she thus gave orders to the said Dercetæus, 'Go to, and prepare for an expedition in three years, beginning from the Hellespont and Libya to Bactra, and levy three millions of foot, one million of horse, 100,000 scythed chariots, and the like number of men to fight upon camels; 200,000 camels for other uses; and let there be 300,000 ox-hides prepared, and 3000 ships built in Bactria, with brazen prows, and manned by Syrians, Phœnicians, Cypriots, Cilicians, and others on the sea-coasts quite to the Hellespont.' This is a notable addition to the Ctesian story, and a great instance of credulity, or presumption, in the writer, and tempts us to say, that the Greek historians seem to have been particularly fond of the marvellous, and to have made a greater merit of magnifying things, even beyond all bounds, than of representing them as they really were. For here it is observed (37), that no spot on the face of the earth could have sustained these multitudes, though every man and beast had fed upon nothing but grass.

(35) Ad vocem Σεμιραμὶς. (36) Ibid. (37) Raleigh's Hist. of the World, ubi supr.

with her infamous life, and vowing by heaven, that, if he conquered her, he would crucify her. She perused this letter, smiled at the contents, and answered, The Indian should ere long be better acquainted with her by her carriage and actions [c].

WHEN she came to the banks of the Indus, she discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up against her; whereupon she prepared and launched her own, which she manned with the bravest of her people and gave battle, ordering it so, that those ashore might be aiding and assisting upon occasion. The fight was obstinate, but Semiramis, in the end, came off victorious, sunk 1000 of the Indian barks, and took a multitude of prisoners. Elated with this, she fell on the cities of the river, and made 100,000 captives [d].

Stabrobates feigns a retreat.

UPON this Stabrobates draws off his army, as if afraid, but in truth to decoy Semiramis over the river; and she, ignorant of his meaning, no sooner perceived his retreat, than she ordered a broad bridge of boats to be stretched across the river, and marched over her army, leaving only 60,000 men to guard the bridge, while she went in pursuit of the flying Indian. She marched with her mock-elephants in the front, thereby to deceive and intimidate the enemy, and it seems, that herein she did not contrive amiss; for the Indian scouts, mistaking them for real, gave a dreadful account of their multitudes, and injected a terror into their countrymen, who, all astonished, could not conceive, whence the Assyrians should have furnished themselves with these tremendous creatures: But the deceit did not trouble them long, for some of Semiramis's people, deserting over to the Indians, for fear of punishment they expected for neglect of duty, revealed to them the whole fallacy, and Stabrobates immediately ordered proclamation thereof to be made throughout all his army [e].

Semiramis on the other side of the Indus.

SEMIRAMIS, in the mean time, advanced towards the Indian army, continuing with her false elephants in her front, which came up with the Indian horse and chariots, which had been disposed at some distance, before the gross of the foot and the elephants. They charge, and an unexpected fright seizes the Indian horse, who at a distance, accustomed to the sight of elephants, advanced with great fury; but within scent of these ox hides, it was new and offensive

[c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. [e] Apud eund. ibid.

offenſive to them, and they broke into the wildeſt diſorder, throwing their riders, or running away with them into the midſt of the Aſſyrians. Semiramis, perceiving the advantage, with a choice body of men attacked the diſordered Indians, and completely routed them and drove them back again to the groſs of their army. Stabrobates, in ſome degree of conſternation at this partial defeat, charges with his foot, ſuſtained by his elephants, himſelf mounted on a ſtately one in his right wing, and oppoſite to Semiramis then in her left. The ſhock was violent and had a ſudden effect, and great was the ſlaughter cauſed particularly by the elephants. Semiramis's mock-elephants now proved uſeleſs and cumberſom, and the whole Aſſyrian army betook them to a precipitate flight. In the midſt of this battle, the Aſſyrian queen and Indian king fought hand to hand, and he wounded her firſt in the arm with an arrow, and then with a dart in her ſhoulder, as ſhe was turning about to get from him, and truſting to the fleetneſs of her horſe, ſhe fled with the reſt of her army [f].

Her fight with the king of India.

WHEN they came to the bridge, the throng was ſuch, that many who had eſcaped the hand of the enemy were miſerably preſſed to death, or periſhed under foot, being thrown down and trampled upon, or ſhoved into the river from the ſides of the bridge. Semiramis, when the body of her army had croſſed the river, ordered the bridge to be cut away and deſtroyed, while chiefly laden with Indians, many of whom periſhed by this means. And now ſhe was ſafe from farther danger; the river was between her and the enemy; and not only ſo, but the Indian was alſo admoniſhed not to be eager for the purſuit, by the intervention of prodigies, and the like: In a word, having on each ſide made an exchange of priſoners, Semiramis returned to Bactra with ſcarce a third gart of the army ſhe had carried out (G) [g].

Her overthrow and flight.

AND

[f] Ibid. [g] Ibid.

(G) Arrian (38) and Strabo (39) ſay, ſhe died in the midſt of this expedition, and never returned out of India, though by this laſt * ſhe ſhould have made her eſcape, but with no more than 30 men at her heels; but Sir Walter Raleigh thinks this number to be too ſmall a remnant of ſo infinite a multitude.

(38) In Lib. Rer. Indicar. (39) Geograph. p. 15. p. 686, 722. * Ibid. Hiſt. of the World, ubi ſupra.

Her end. AND now under this eclipse of her glory, she approaches towards her end; the predicted time is come, she is attempted to be assassinated by an eunuch, subdolously and unnaturally employed by her son (H), and thereupon, calling to mind the answer she had received from Jupiter Ammon, she suppressed all thoughts of revenge for what had been caused, as it were by a divine fatality; she forgave her son, surrendered up every thing to him, commanded all her subjects to pay him duty and homage as their king, and was translated from the sight of men, as the oracle

(H) Having thus conducted this famous woman through a long course of incredible undertakings and exploits, which we have forborn to animadvert on, apprehending, we have said abundantly enough in the former part of this section to prepare the reader for a disbelief of what was to follow, which indeed were a needless task, had not this piece of history received the sanction of some of the greatest men in all ages; we must now enquire into her end, and particularly, how it should come to pass, that her son Ninyas sought her life. We are told (40), that she would unnaturally have tempted him to commit incest with her, and that thereupon he conceived such a hatred of her, that he could not bear that she should live any longer, and therefore murdered her. Diodorus, or his author Ctesias rather, here tells us, her son employed an eunuch to dispatch her, but that she escaped and vanished from sight. We have seen, by the same author, that she gave herself up to wanton dalliances in the plains of Media, and cruelly sacrificed her gallants to her furious lust; but no mention at all is by him made of any attempts of hers to seduce her son. Now, according to the course of this history, there seem to have been two provocations, that may have stirred up Ninyas to get rid of her: the one, her scandalous way of life; and the other, her usurpation of his right as king and sovereign; which, how he should so long have submitted to, is past our solution; though we may just touch on it anon, dismissing it for the present. It is here somewhat to our purpose, that Conon (41) calls her not the wife, but the mother of Ninus, and that lying with him by accident, she afterwards acknowledged him publicly for her husband. According to this reading (42) Ninyas should be the person meant; but Sir Walter Raleigh acquits her of all faults of this kind, and ascribes them, as his words run, to the envious and lying Grecians (43.) Gregory (44) would offer it as an argument of her chastity, that she, as Ammianus relates, first instituted eunuchs to attend her in her bed-chamber.

(40) Just. l. 1. c. 2. (41) Apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 427. (42) Vid. Gregor. Posthum. p. 234. (43) Hist. of the World, chap. 12. § 4. (44) In Posthum. ubi sup.

oracle had foretold. It was fabled, she made her exit in the form of a dove or pigeon, together with a flock of that kind, which settled upon her palace just at the time, and say they, it was hence the Assyrians were addicted to the worship of a dove (I). In fine, she was queen of all Asia, India excepted, and continued in the sight of men 62 years, 42 of which she reigned [h].

NINYAS

[h] Apud eund. ibid.

(I) Concerning the Semiramidan dove, we have treated largely already (45), and may have occasion to resume the subject hereafter, when we are to speak of the Babylonian religion; and the rather, as Semiramis is more likely to have been a Babylonian than an Assyrian, appellations confessedly synonymous. And now, that there was such a woman as Semiramis, we doubt not in the least, but that there ever was a woman of any name that performed any thing like what was here reported, is impossible to believe. Her birth, her elevation, her reign, and her death are all extraordinary, and unnatural, and impossible, as related by the bulk of historians; but above all her antiquity, which is exaggerated so monstrously by Josephus Scaliger (46) and Reneciús (47), is a matter so easily disproved, by the circumstances of her birth and country, that it were sufficient to destroy whatever other extravagance is advanced of her. Conon (48) makes her to have been the same with the Atossa, or Semiramis, who reigned 12 years with her father Belochus, the 18th king of Assyria, according to Eusebius (49), and in the same place calls her the daughter, and not the wife, of Ninus, though copies, it must be confessed, differ in the reading, and have sometimes (50) mother instead of daughter. But this latter is to be preferred, because of its congruity with the author's meaning, who makes her the Atossa of Belochus, who were confessedly daughter and father (51). Belochus then must have been the Ninus of Ctesias, and he, instead of being the first, or second, king of Assyria, is, according to Eusebius (52), the eighteenth king; this takes much from the antiquity of both, and we are ready to subscribe the same, and the rather, as it may be observed hereafter, to quadrate with Herodotus, and is much more conformable to our notices of the true and more certain history of this monarchy. To conclude, had this queen done but

(45) See before in the notes, p. 232. (46) Ibid. p. 236. (47) Apud. Gregor. Posthum. See before, in the notes, p. 236. (48) Apud Phot. Biblioth. p. 427. (49) See before, p. 210. (50) Vid. Gregor. Post. p. 234. (51) See before, ubi sup. (52) Ibid.

Ninyas. NINYAS (K) succeeded his mother Semiramis, and taking neither after father nor mother, he chose to enjoy himself in peace; and, indeed, there must have been a necessity for it, if his parents had done all that report says of but half what is reported of her (53), or even a tenth part, she would have been worthy of the greatest fame, and even, according to the genius of those times, of deification itself. A most extraordinary personage she must have been, nor do we wonder, considering the romantic humour of the times, that she should be reckoned to have discovered and invented the use of metals, and to have been the first queen and tyranness, and, in short, to have been called the goddess Rhea (54). She may be compared with the Egyptian Isis and the Phœnician Astarte, as her husband Ninus may with the Egyptian Osiris, Sesostris, and the like.

(K) He is also called Zames (55), the German writers will have him to have been called Trebata, and to have built the city of Treves (56); he is also called Thourias (57), or Thouras (58), or Ares [Mars]; and is said to have had the first statue erected to him, which they called Βαὰλ Θεὸν, Lord God. In short, he is said to have waged war and to have slain the tyrant Caucasus of the tribe of Japhet, or Japetus, and to have been consecrated into the planet Mars (59). How different is this character from that of the slothful Ninyas in most other authors? No extremes can be at a greater distance from each other. The authors we have cited make him the successor of Ninus, without any mention of Semiramis, which seems to have some sort of agreement with what we have from Eusebius observed in the note above, that she was the very Atossa, the daughter of Belochus, and that she reigned with her father, as his collegue and assistant, for the space of 12 years only (60). And this seems the rather to have been the truth of the case, as we cannot help wondering with Sir Walter Raleigh (61), how she should have been able to keep the reins in her own hands, in prejudice of her son who was her lawful sovreign. He has no way to account for this, but by supposing he had regard to his pleasures only, and cared not of how much trouble his mother eased his shoulders (62). But that he was not so poor a wretch as this amounts to, will among other things, be observed in the next note.

(53) Raleigh's Hist. of the World, ubi sup. § 4. (54) Suid. ad vocem Σεμιραμὶς. (55) See before, p. 210. (56) Vid. Gregor. Posthum. p. 239. (57) In MSS. Gr. Anonym. apud Gregor. Posthum. p. 226, 239. (58) Suid. ad vocem Θιρας. (59) Idem ibid. vid. etiam Joan. Malel. p. 20. & Cedren. p. 15. (60) See before, p. 210. (61) Hist. of the World, chap. 12. § 2. (62) Ibid.

of them; he could make no war upon any that were not either his subjects or vassals [i]. As for India, which alone was free from his yoke, a war there had been sufficiently experienced to be very impracticable and absolutely dangerous. Having therefore nothing to do abroad, he locked himself up in his palace, unseen by any but his eunuchs and concubines, and contracted such a habit of sloth and vice, as has tainted his memory to all succeeding generations. Ninyas's sloth. However, he was not so supinely negligent, as totally to neglect his interest and security. It was a custom with him, every year, to levy an army by a certain proportion of men out of each province, under their respective generals, while he appointed such governors over the several parts of his dominions, as he could most safely confide in. This army served a year in the city, and about it we may suppose, and was then relieved by another, raised in the same manner; and the former, having taken an oath of fidelity to him, were permitted to depart each to the place of his abode. His policy. By this step of policy it was, he thought he might best keep his subjects in awe and order; and, at the same time, prevent any disturbance from his officers, who having scarce time to be at all known to their soldiers, could have it the less in their power to aspire at any thing to his prejudice (L). All this he concerted to secure himself from insults

[i] Vid. Just. l. 1. c. 2.

(L) Diodorus, Athenæus, Justin, and others, represent him, as we have seen, a slothful, inactive, and lascivious king; to have locked himself up in his palace; to have sequestred himself from the eyes of his subjects, and to have had communication with them but by messages; to have even turned woman, and to have conversed with none but that sex; and yet we see him consulting and contriving to preserve the empire his parents had left him, and which, in the nature of things, he could not possibly enlarge. We see him here acting the part of a resolute tyrant and consummate politician, and may thence conclude, that if there had been any possible work of the sort left for him to do, he would have turned out a conqueror. Upon the whole we would remark, that, according to this, he must have been a haughty and a politic prince by nature, and one that, to all appearance, would not have suffered his mother to rule for him, or rather over him, for the space of 42 years. His retirement may be offered as an argument of his pride and policy; and this his regulation for the duty and relief of his armies, may be thought to savour strongly of absolute sway

sults and rebellions, while he wallowed in lasciviousness within the walls of his palace: in which he was an unworthy example to his successors after him; reserving himself from the eyes of men, as something more than mortal[k].

AFTER this rate was it, that all his successors reigned in the great empire of Assyria; so that they, it seems, have left little or nothing to be recorded of them, except that they lived and died in their palace at Niniveh (L*); and hence it is, we must abruptly proceed to the very last of them[l].

SARDANAPALUS

[k] Apud eund. ibid. [l] Ibid.

sway and love of power, in the person that instituted it. All this we have insisted on to prove, that he did not succeed Semiramis in the manner our historian writes; which must appear even by the inconsistent character our author here gives of him. To which we would add, that if the same method of restraining the empire were the practice of Ninyas and his successors, as by our author it appears, what is the meaning, we perceive no footsteps of it any where within our knowledge, in the very long interval of 1200 years at least between Ninyas and Sardanapalus? we apprehend, that no body can give us a satisfactory answer to this. And here we cannot but wonder, how Sir Walter Raleigh should ever take it into his head, that this Ninyas, this mighty Assyrian monarch, might be the petty king of Shinaar, Amraphel, in Genesis (63), or that he should, if he reposed any confidence at all in profane writers, imagine, the monarchy had, even in Abraham's time, even in its infancy, received a downright fall as he calls it (64).

(L*) This vast chasm of inaction in the Assyrian monarchs, from Ninyas to Sardanapalus, a vacancy, as we may call it, of at least 1200 years, is as strong a proof, that the profane accounts are fabulous, as any of the many we have offered to prove them so. Is it probable, that in so long a succession of princes there should have been one only that did any thing worth the recording? Or is it possible, that in so very long a succession of years there should have arisen no man at all, who had ambition and courage enough to take advantage of the sloth and supineness of these kings at Niniveh? Where were the other kings of the world all this time, and especially such as were vassals to this throne? Did they glory in their chains and the burthen of their tribute? Or did they all sink into a lethargy with their master? Was there no king of Bactria, no king of India, to rouse them from their silken slumbers? Had Ninus destroyed the race of mankind, so numerous

(63) See his Hist. of the World, c. 1. § 9. l. 2. (64) Ibid.

Sardanapalus's character.

SARDANAPALUS (M) exceeded all his predeceſſors in ſloth and luxury. He ſunk into ſuch a depth of depravity, that, as far as he could, he changed his very ſex and nature; he cloathed himſelf as a woman; he ſpun amidſt the companies of his concubines; he painted his face, and decked himſelf out with all manner of enticements, and every way behaved more lewdly than the moſt laſcivious harlot; he imitated the voice of a woman, and buried himſelf in the filth of an unbounded ſenſuality, quite regardleſs of ſex and the dictates of nature [m] (N).

UNDER

[m] Apud eund. ibid.

rous in his time, to that degree, as not to be able to recruit again, in all that length of years, to take vengeance on his ſucceſſors for his ſake? More, many more, queries of this kind may be made, but we deſiſt. So many pacific ages, ſuch a ſeries of the calmeſt peace, both from within and from without, may ſhock the eaſieſt credulity. The monarchies which ſucceeded this were of very ſhort duration in compariſon of this, and why the Aſſyrian ſhould have the ſole privilege of ſtanding ſo long erect, we are at a loſs for. Great monarchies have been always objects of common hatred among men, and ſubject to ſuch ſudden and violent ſubverſions, as this monarchy certainly underwent.

(M) This name is not the only one ſaid to belong to him, he is alſo called Tonos, Concoleros, Concoleros, Maſcocoleros, and by other ſuch names (65).

(N) Dio Cocceianus (66) has taken much pains to let us know, he was the moſt libidinous and abandoned wretch the ſun ever ſhone on; and ſays, That no one could tell what he did and ſuffered to be done to him, and that no body would bear to hear it; though he deſcends to ſeveral particulars bad enough of all conſcience; but, as they may be built upon no ſolid foundation, merely traditionary, and beſides unfit for us to relate, we paſs them over. Nicholas of Damaſcus (67) is more moderate, and accuſes him chiefly of paſſing his time with his women, and contending with them about dreſs and ornament, in the very words uſed to the ſame purpoſe in Suidas (68). Trogus (69) alſo ſeems to have deſcribed his way of life much to the ſame purpoſe. Duris (70) ſays, he turned woman, dreſſed as ſuch, painted himſelf, and ſpun, all to the ſame purpoſe; and therefore we need ſay no more about it.

(65) Vid. Geor. Syncel. & Euſeb. Pamph. (66) In Excerpt. Vales. p. 762. (67) In Excerpt. ejuſd. p. 424. (68) Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος. (69) Juſtin. l. 1. c. 2. (70) Apud. Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. 12. p. 529.

His reign. UNDER this wretch, as represented (O), it was, that the Assyrian monarchy came to ruin. He grew odious to his

(O) A man of pleasure and lewdness he may have been, and doubtless was, it being impossible to think otherwise of monarchs of this sort, as experience teaches us, and for the proof of which we need go no farther than Constantinople, to take a view of the great Turk; but nevertheless he may have been a man, who, at some intervals, minded business; such a man we are told he was, for he is said to have built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day (71); in testimony of which he had this inscription on his tomb, ΣΑΡΔΑΝΑΠΑΛΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΥΝΔΑΡΑΞΕΩ ΑΓΧΙΑΛΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΜΙΗ ΗΜΕΡΗ, ΑΛΛΑ ΝΥΝ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕΝ, Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxis, built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day, but now is dead. This is a grave epitaph, and might befit any prince, but we find it varied a little to disadvantage; for, instead of the three last words, we have this addition to his magnificent exploit of having built these two cities in a day, ΕΣΘΙΕ, ΠΙΝΕ, ΠΑΙΣΕ, ΩΣ Τ'ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ, Eat, drink, and be merry, for the rest is not worth the snap of a finger; which was signified by his statue here, in act of snapping its fingers (72): This monument and statue is said to have been not far from Anchiale. A modern author (73) supposes the same inscription and statue to have been at the other city Tarsus, where St. Paul was born, and thinks the apostle alludes thereto, when he writes, *Let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die.* However, there seems to be such incoherence between the former part of this last inscription and the latter, that we know not what to think of it; there is no manner of relation between the action recorded and the reflection that insues. In the first, indeed, there is a becoming gravity throughout, and a persuasive to virtue and humility, by representing, that even the mighty king, who could build two cities in a day, was equally mortal with the rest of his kind; but the latter is merely calculated to encourage idleness and vice, eat, drink, and be merry, the rest is not worth caring for. If this was any where the genuine inscription, it must have been in derision of him after his death, and upon a presumption, that he was the idle effeminate creature he is painted. Callisthenes (74) writes, there were two Sardanapaluses, the one a bold, the other an effeminate, man. Others do the same, as we shall

(71) Athenæus Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529. Vid. etiam Georg. Syncell. Chronograph. p. 165. & Euseb. Pamph. Chron. Can. p. 110. (72) Aristobul. apud Athenæ. ubi sup. p. 530. (73) Gregor. in Posthum. p. 243. (74) Apud Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.

his subjects about him, and, as should seem, particularly to Arbaces the Mede and Belesis the Babylonian. Belesis was not only a captain, but a famous priest and a great astrologer, and by the rules of his art he took on him, as is said, to assure Arbaces, a man of valour and prudence, That he should dethrone Sardanapalus, and become lord of all his dominions. Arbaces hearkened to his friend, and promised him the chief place over Babylon, if things should happen to answer his prediction; and fully possessed, that he was to be as Belesis had foretold of him, he cultivates particular intimacies with the other governors of the provinces then at Niniveh, and begins to affect popularity; and therein succeeds to his wish. But above all, he endeavours to get sight of the emperor, that he might behold his course and manner of life, and describe him accordingly. This he brings to pass, by the prevalence of a golden cup he presented to an eunuch, who introduced him into the presence. Arbaces saw him, and, conceiving the highest contempt of him, was more and more encouraged to rely on his Chaldean friend, and, impatient to effect their purpose, Arbaces disposes the Medes and Persians to an open revolt, and Belesis does the same with the Babylonians; and, in short, the matter was disclosed to the king of Arabia [n].

The Medes, Babylonians, and Persians revolt.

THE year of duty was now expired, and fresh troops arrived to relieve those who had served it; but the Persians, Medes, and Babylonians, assisted by the Arabians, came not with design to guard Sardanapalus; their intent was to subvert the empire. Their number all together amounted to 400,000 men, and being all combined together, in one camp, a council of war was called, to deliberate upon what was best to be done. Sardanapalus, apprized of this revolt, resolved to stifle it in its infancy, and leads out the troops of the other provinces against the confederated rebels, and coming to a battle with them, he entirely routed them, and with great slaughter pursued them to certain mountains about 70 stades from the city of Niniveh.

Sardanapalus takes the field against them, and beats them.

[n] Apud eund. ibid.

shall have occasion to observe hereafter. Suidas (75), who gives this inscription according to the last of the two copies above, thinks, it may belong to the masculine Sardanapalus, though with what propriety we may consider a little farther.

(75) Ibid.

A second battle; the revolters are again routed.

niveh. The rebels, however, drew out again to fight the emperor, who, just before the action began, caused proclamation to be made of a reward of 200 talents of gold for the man who should kill Arbaces the Mede, and twice that sum, together with the government of Media, to the man who should produce him alive; and the same was proclaimed concerning Belesis the Babylonian. This proclamation being made without any effect, a second battle was fought, and the rebels were again slaughtered, and put to flight towards the hills. This victory had assured Sardanapalus in his throne, had it not been for the obstinacy of Belesis, who persisted in it, that the gods would certainly smile on them, and crown their labours and perseverance with success in the end; thereby reviving their drooping spirits, who in despair had called a council, the result of which was, that they should disperse, and every man re-

A third battle; the revolters beaten again.

turn to his home. They fight a third battle, and Sardanapalus, victor as twice before, drives them into the mountains of Babylon, though Arbaces did that day all that man could do, and was now forced to retreat considerably wounded [o].

SARDANAPALUS had now certainly put an end to the war (P), if Belesis, who had been all night in deep consult with the stars, had not, with all imaginable assurance,

They hold out still.

persuaded them the next morning, that if they kept together but five days longer, they would be joined and supported by unexpected assistance; for that the gods had so signified to him by the aspect of the heavens: He intreated them, therefore, to stay but so many days, and in the mean time to place a confidence in the gods. Wrought on to wait the event, and the time expired, sud-

den

[o] Ibid.

(P) It must be confessed a little strange, that so degenerated a creature should have the courage and ability thus to defend himself against these revolters, who should have been of much greater experience and capacity than himself. Indeed, according to what this author and most others say of him, he could have understood nothing in the world relating to war, or almost any thing else peculiar to men; and yet being forced into the field, we find him behaving and defending himself, as well as if he had been Ninus, or even Semiramis herself. From this dissimilitude of Sardanapalus from himself, it is likely, we have the two mentioned by Callisthenes in the note above, Sardanapalus the warrior, and Sardanapalus the woman. This, as every thing of our own, we offer as conjecture only.

den advice was brought of a mighty power at hand, sent to the king from Bactria. Arbaces, upon this, dispatched the most resolute and expeditious men in his army, with orders to prevail on the Bactrians to revolt, either by fair means or foul. Liberty was the bait to allure them, and by degrees, from officer to soldier, it prevailed, and the Bactrians joined Arbaces; a transaction unknown to Sardanapalus, who, presuming he had now nothing to fear, was returned to his usual way of life (Q), and preparing for an extraordinary sacrifice, and a high festival for the entertainment of his victorious army [p].

The Bactrians revolt to them.

IN the mean time, the negligence and riot in the imperial camp was conveyed to the ears of Arbaces, who, in consequence thereof, fell suddenly on them in the night, made his way into the camp, and drove out Sardanapalus and all his army, with a great slaughter, which continued almost to the gates of the city. Whereupon the king commits the care and conduct of his army to Salemenus his brother-in-law, undertaking to defend the city in person. His forces were twice defeated, once at some distance, and once under the walls of the city, when Salemenus fell, and almost all his army was cut off, and forced into the river, which was tinctured with the gore of the slain for a long while [q].

They attack the imperial camp by surprise.

SARDANAPALUS was now closely besieged: Many other nations, now eager for liberty, revolted to the confederates; and perceiving things at so desperate a pass, he sent away his three sons and two daughters, with a very great treasure, into Paphlagonia, where one Cotta, a particular friend of his, was governor (R), and issued out orders

They besiege Sardanapalus in Nineveh.

[p] Ibid. [q] Ibid.

(Q) There is seemingly some inconsistency in this, if we consider what follows; for by that it appears, that he took on him the part of a grateful and beneficent prince, who would reward and feast with his army after their successful toils.—It seems a little uncharitable to think otherwise of him in this case.

(R) Where this Paphlagonia should have been situated, and who this Cotta, a modern name, should have been, we forbear to enquire, as favouring too grosly of fable; but, by the way, we cannot help asking, how this Cotta should have been so particularly his friend and faithful servant, when no one governor had ever seen his face, before Arbaces the Mede bribed his way to a sight of him; this does not hang at all with the other parts all incon-

orders to all parts of his empire (S) to come in to his assistance, and prepare for a siege (T). But though his situation may seem to have been quite deplorable, he, it seems, did not succumb, fully possessed with notions of a prophecy, That Niniveh could never be taken, till the river became her enemy, which, according to his conclusion, amounting to an impossibility, he looked upon himself as secure, how great and imminent soever the dangers might be that threatened him [r].

They take the city.

WHILE Sardanapalus pleased himself with this imagination, the confederates, elated by what they had done, considered their work as completed, though they, in those early days, could make no impression on such walls, ignorant as they were of the engines afterwards invented to expedite undertakings of this sort. Sardanapalus having taken care to be well stored with what was necessary to enable him

[r] Apud eund. ibid.

inconsistent within themselves, of this story of this last king of Niniveh; nor is it even easy to conceive, how he should have sent away any of his family and treasure: the enemy had certainly secured the passes; the poliorcetic art, in those simple days, consisted of little else. To mend the matter, another tells us (76), who mentions our author Ctesias as if he quoted him, that Sardanapalus, perceiving himself sore pressed, and ruin coming with hasty strides upon him, sent three sons and two daughters, together with 3000 talents of gold, to the king of Niniveh. What city of Niniveh this can have been, besides the city he himself was besieged in, we are quite at a loss for, and so we leave this palpable obscurity as we find it, except we infer, that through this seeming mistake the error sprang of making two Sardanapaluses, as well as two Ninivehs, which we meet with no where else.

(S) How he could do this, closely besieged as he was, is hard to conceive; and what need he had of doing it, will be as difficult, if we consider what follows.

(T) Why should he have been so solicitous about his family, himself, or the city, if what follows be true, that he was persuaded the place could never be taken? Why in this case should he have exposed his children and treasure by sending them away, when, according to his belief, they could no where have been in more safety? and why should he be so busy with his orders, and calling in his people to his assistance in the siege? they could have been of no use to such an impregnable place as was proof against every thing, even famine itself, but the waters of the river.

(76) Athenæ. Deipnosoph. l. 12. p. 529.

him to hold out a long time, the confederates ſat two years before the city without any viſible effect: but in the third year the river, ſwelled by unuſual rains, came up to the city, and overflowed a great length, no leſs than 20 ſtades, of the wall. The unfortunate Sardanapalus, now ſenſible of the completion of what had been foretold of the river's enmity to the city, had no farther room for hope, and, dreading to fall into the hands of the enemy, retired into his palace, in a court of which he cauſed a vaſt pile of wood to be raiſed, and heaping upon it all his gold, and ſilver, and royal apparel, and at the ſame time incloſing his eunuchs and concubines in an apartment within the pile, he ſet fire thereto, and ſo deſtroyed himſelf and the reſt (V); which

(V) This was the end of the unfortunate Sardanapalus; but the circumſtances are moſt prodigiouſly exaggerated by Athenæus, who ſeems (77) to borrow what he ſays from Cteſias, whom Diodorus, perhaps, abridged, and Athenæus tranſcribed at length. He ſays, he within his palace erected a pile of four Jugera, or acres, in dimenſion, that thereon he laid 150 golden beds, and as many golden tables; that in the midſt of it he built a hall or room of 100 foot, in which he had beds for his wife and himſelf, and others for his concubines; that it was all a ſolid piece of timber-work, and that it was ſo fenced about with huge timbers that no-body could get out; that within this were no leſs than a thouſand myriads of talents of gold and ten thouſand myriads of ſilver, together with riches of apparel, and furniture unſpeakable: that he ordered this pile to be ſet on fire, and that it burned no leſs than fifteen days together; that by the ſmoak thoſe without thought he had been ſacrificing, and that, during the time, the whole was a ſecret to every body but his eunuchs. Suidas (78) ſeems to intimate, that he was accidentally burnt in his palace. Amyntas (79) relates, there was a great mount in Niniveh raiſed, as tradition went, as a ſepulchral monument to Sardanapalus; the ſame we may ſafely ſuppoſe that is ſaid to have been erected by Semiramis in honour of Ninus (80), and that on ſtone pillars the following epitaph was engraved in Chaldee characters; (why not Aſſyrian?) which were thus rendered into Greek by Chœrilus the poet (81), ΕΓΩ ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΧΡΙ ΕΩΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΩΥ ΦΩΣ, ΕΠΙΟΝ, ΕΦΑΓΟΝ, ΗΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑΣΑ, ΕΙΔΩΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΟΝΤΑ ΒΡΑΧΥΝ, ΟΝ ΖΩΣΙΝ ΟΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΜΕΤΑΒΟΛΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΠΑΘΙΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΩΝ ΑΝ ΚΑΤΑΛΙΠΩ ΑΓΑΘΩΝ, ΑΛΛΟΙ ΕΞΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ

(77) Ibid. (78) Ad vocem Σαρδαναπαλος. (79) Apud Athen. ubi ſup. (80) See before, p. 238. (81) Apud Athen. ubi ſup.

the rebels hearing, entered the city by the breach, and became lords of the place. The inhabitants were treated with great humanity, though the great and mighty city of Niniveh itself was laid level with the ground. And thus ended

ΑΠΟΛΑΥΣΕΙΣ, ΔΙΟ ΚΑΤΩ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ ΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝ ΠΑΡΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΩΝ. I reigned, and while I enjoyed the light of the sun, I drank, I ate, and gave myself up to women, knowing how short a time man has to live, how full of cares and trouble; and that the joys I leave behind pass on to others; knowing of this I never missed a day from pleasure. This inscription or epitaph, if any such there ever was, is very likely to have been the parent of the second, we have given some notes above, and may be confounded with the same, which is also said to have been erected at Niniveh (82); but we may fairly suppose, there never was any such as either of them erected at that city: For this ancient city was confessedly destroyed, whatever place else may have risen, and been known under the same name afterwards; and secondly, Sardanapalus having been reduced to ashes, we can suppose no monument to have been raised professedly over him; nor would any remembrance of this sort have been, it is likely, propagated of him at an immense expence on the spot where Niniveh was to stand no more; and besides, this mount, or whatever else it may be called, is not only said to have been erected in honour of a former king, at least some generations before him (83), but also to have been destroyed by Cyrus (84), who, so far as we apprehend, had never any thing to do in the demolition of Niniveh. This may be enough to create a disbelief in us of so extraordinary and unusual a method to spread the shame of this dubious prince; dubious we say, the rather because we find him deified in the temple of Hierapolis in Syria (85), which it is not likely he should have been, if he had been so much the object of contempt, as he is represented to have been. Perhaps his whole crime was, that the Assyrian empire was dissolved in his time; and this we say not without ground; for we are given to understand, that though he was despoiled of the empire of Syria, or Assyria, he died of a good old age (86). From these very different accounts of the death of this famous, or, as the vulgar opinion has it, infamous, prince it may be, that we have another reason why it should be mistakenly imagined, there were two kings of Assyria of this same name (87). Suidas (88) talks of a Sar-

(82) Suid. ad vocem Σαρδανταπαλος. (83) See vol. ii. p. 235. (84) Amynt. apud Athen. Deipnosoph. ubi sup. (85) See vol. ii. p. 290. (86) Cleitarch. apud Athen. ubi sup. (87) See before in the notes, p. 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258. (88) Ad vocem Σαρδανάπαλος.

ended the Assyrian empire, subverted by the Medes and Babylonians, after it had, according to our author Ctesias, subsisted no less than 1400 years [s].

SECT. V.

The History of ASSYRIA, *according to Scripture, and the more approved Authorities.*

WE now come to the true and only history of Assyria that may be depended upon. Pul (W), the seeming founder of this monarchy, makes his first appearance Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Christ, 771.

[s] Apud. eund. ibid.

Sardanapalus slain by one Perseus; he has two of the name; and though he endeavours to make them different men, he plainly means the same. To conclude, whatever the bulk of prophane authors tell us, concerning the reign of Sardanapalus, and the rest of the Assyrian history, is too gross to be called romance, nor deserving to be called even tradition, though certainly built upon very true history, as we shall endeavour to prove in what is to follow.

(W) He is also called Phul, and mistakenly by the LXX Phua, an inaccuracy in the transcription, and owing to the very near resemblance of the Greek Λ lambda, and A alpha, so that it is no great wonder, this name should, in the Greek character, have been written ΦΟΥΑ Phua, instead of ΦΟΥΛ Phul (89). He is the first king of Assyria mentioned in scripture, from the time that land was planted by Ashur, and not to be confounded with the kings of the Medes and the Babylonians, as the custom usually is (90). This Phul was by his name a pure Assyrian, and not a Chaldean or Babylonian (91), as he is mistaken to have been by some (92), who would have him to have been the Belesis of Ctesias, who, in conjunction with Arbaces, overthrew the Assyrian power, than which no position can be more gross. That he was the first king of Assyria appears by his name, which is simple and not compounded, as the rest we read of are. The Assyrian names are for the most part compounded of the simple names of their gods (93); and the name of this king we find a primitive, as we may call it, compounded in the names of other princes in these parts, as in Tiglath-Pul-Assur, Nebo-Pul-Assur, and the like.

(89) Vid. Cleric. in 2 Reg. cap. xv. ver. 19. (90) Vid. eund. ibid. (91) Vid. Scalig. de emend. temp. l. 6. 577. (92) See Patrick upon 2 Kings xv. 19. (93) Vid. Scalig. ubi sup. Seld. de Dis Syris.

ance in ſcripture in the reign of Menahem [t], king of Iſrael, who juſt about the ſame time had forced his way to the throne of that kingdom, by the murder of Shallum [u]. His march

[t] See before, p. 133. [u] 2 Kings xv.

like. From this circumſtance and the affinity of the name itſelf, he is, with ſeeming certainty, ſaid to have been the Aſſyrian, Syrian, or Tyrian Belus (94). Pul is pronounced Pol and Pal (95), whence, without any ſtraining of the point, we may derive the Bal, Bel, or Belus of the Greeks and Latins. That he ſhould have been the Belus of Syria, Phœnicia, and other places, will not be wondered at by thoſe who conſider, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this ſection, that the Aſſyrians impoſed their own idolatry and religion on all the nations they conquered, as alſo that they conſecrated all their kings (96) into deities. It was the cuſtom of the ancient Syrians, long before them, to deify their kings (97); we have ſeen their Adad, king of Gods, was no more than their dead king Ben-hadad II. (98), or perhaps his fortunate ſucceſſor Hazael, who, as a king of Syria, was alſo called Adad, or Hadad (99). We have already aſſerted (100), that Adad, and Cronus, and Aſtarte, are of late date in compariſon of what the learned have generally thought, and we now ſay the ſame of Belus, who was no other than the Pul before us, and conſequently later than the antient gods of the proper Syria. Thus it is natural to conclude from all circumſtances, nor can we but ſubſcribe to it, without rejecting the plain evidence of ſcripture, for the idle tales of profane authors, who confound, rather than inform, us. It were odd, that we ſhould rely on what are confeſſedly fables, in contempt of what can be ſo ſelf-evidently gathered from the text of ſcripture hiſtory (1). To dwell on the various opinions of chronologers and hiſtorians concerning this man, would draw us into a tedious length; we ſhall therefore paſs them over with this bare obſervation, that by embracing the Cteſian fable, and endeavouring to connect it with the hiſtory of ſcripture, and by their ſcrupulous adoption of each others hypotheſes, they have almoſt almoſt all run into moſt intricate mazes, and endleſs errors. Our buſineſs then is, to prove this man to have been the firſt founder of the Aſſyrian monarchy, which having been done to our hands by a late chronologer (2), we ſhall have nothing to do but to borrow

(94) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 279. See Vol. ii. in the notes, p 346. (95) Bern. Montfauc. apud Du Pin Biblioth. Univerſ. des Hiſt. p. 285. (96) See before, p. 205. and in the notes, p. 263. (97) See Vol. ii. p. 287. (98) Ibid. (99) Ibid in the notes. (100) See Vol. ii. in the notes, p. 346. (1) See Sir Is. Newt. Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. paſſ. (2) Idem. ibid.

march into the country struck the tottering usurper with such dread, that, to prevent the hostilities he may have meditated, Pul received from him 1000 talents of silver. Hereupon

Year of the Flood, 2228. Year before Christ, 771.

borrow his arguments. To the numerous arguments we have already exhibited to evince, that there never was what might be called an Assyrian monarchy before the days of Pul, it may be added, 1. Jonah prophesied when Israel was in affliction under the king of Syria · · · about 60 years before the reign of Pul (3). 2. Niniveh, though then a city of large extent, was full of pastures for cattle, so that it contained but about 120000 persons (4). [These are taken to have been children, because it is said, they could not discern between their right hand and their left (5); but why this should not be as well understood of their blindness and ignorance in a religious sense, we know not; so that it is as likely as not, that the grown persons were also included in the number]. 3. Niniveh was not yet grown so potent as not to be terrified at the preaching of Jonah, and to fear being invaded by its neighbours, and ruined within 40 days (6). Its king was not yet called king of Assyria, but king of Niniveh, [Jonah iii. 6, 7.] and his proclamation for a fast was not published in several nations, nor in all Assyria, but only in Niniveh, and perhaps in the villages thereof (7). But when Niniveh · · · · was exalted over all Assyria, properly so called, and this kingdom began to make war upon the neighbouring nations, its kings were no longer called kings of Niniveh, but began to be called kings of Assyria (8). Our author then observes, that Amos, who prophesied soon after Jeroboam had subdued the kingdoms of Damascus and Hamath, about 10 or 20 years before the reign of Pul, never once names the Assyrians, though he foretold, [vi. 13, 14.] that Israel should be afflicted from the entering in of Hamath to the river of the wilderness; meaning of the Assyrians, whose monarchy, growing up afterwards, is upon all occasions named in the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, which were penned after his (9). These and other arguments of the kind, equally demonstrative, he uses to prove what is here asserted; but these shall serve our purpose; and in all this he is supported by the concurrence of several eminent chronologers and historians, we have had occasion to mention elsewhere (10).

Our

(3) Sir Is. Newt. Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 270. (4) Idem, ibid. (5) Vid. Gregor. Posth. p. 194. (6) Sir Is. Newt. ubi sup. (7) Idem, ibid. (8) Idem. ibid. (9) Idem ibid. p. 271. (10) See before, p. 209.

Hereupon he seems to have taken the kingdom of Israel into his protection (X), and returns from out of the land [w]. What else this king did in particular is no where, that we know of, expressly recorded (Y). But from hence we may venture to infer, as we have already [x], that he either conquered or received voluntary homage from, Syria, and the other nations in his march, as he did now from Israel, and that he became supreme over a very great empire.

Tiglath-pilesar.

Tiglath-pilesar succeeded him (Z); and is supposed to have

[w] 2 Kings xv. [x] See Vol. ii. in the notes, p. 323.

Our author (11) concludes Pul to have been the first Assyrian that was a conqueror, that he was the first that advanced that kingdom on this side of the Tigris, that he was a great warrior, that he may have founded or inlarged the city of Babylon and built the old palace, that he may have left that city and the province of Chaldæa to a younger son, who may have been Nabonassar, and that the famed Semiramis may have been his daughter-in-law, and the wife of the same Nabonassar (12); but these points being such as will more naturally fall under consideration in the history of Babylon, we desist from further notice of them for the present.

(X) Here we may perceive the first progress of this monarchy. It was now in its infancy, and was rather to inject a fear of its self into the nations, by barely shewing itself, than by a violent irruption at once upon every body, or at first pretending to overrun the world by dint of force. How much more natural is this, than what we read of the sort concerning the pretended Ninus? Pul seems rather to have laid the foundations of the Assyrian monarchy, than to have erected it; that he seems to have left to his successors.

(Y) Some Jews think, he began to transport the children of Israel; but this they believe upon a very slight foundation (13).

(Z) He is also called Tiglath-pilnesar, Theglath-phalasar, Theglath-phellasor, Thilgamas (14), as supposed, and also Ninus junior, according to Castor (15). Prideaux (16), by an unaccountable inadvertency, takes him for Arbaces the Mede. Some (17) are willing to derive the first part of his name from Diglito,

(11) Ubi sup. p. 277. (12) Idem, ibid. p. 277. 279. (13) See Patrick's Comment. upon 2 Kings xv. 19. and upon 1 Chron. v. 26. (13) Ælian. Hist. Anim. l. 12. c. 21. (15) Apud Euseb. Chron. (16) Connect. of the Old and New. Test. Book 1. Part 1. at the beginning. (17) See Patrick, ubi sup. ver. 29.

have been his ſon, but upon no certain authority (A). Upon what particular motive, we know not, he fell upon the kingdom of Iſrael, and took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah,

Diglito, one way of pronouncing a name belonging to the river Tigris (18); others (19) declare, that nothing but conjecture can be offered about it, and that it is quite uncertain.

(A) Some are ſo far from thinking him to have been the ſon of Pul, that they make him a ſtranger to his line, a Mede, as we have ſeen in the note above. Rollin, miſled by that great and otherwiſe learned guide archbiſhop Uſher (20), makes Pul to have been the father of Sardanapalus (21), by an extraordinary inattention in the archbiſhop, who thought it muſt have been ſo, becauſe in the name Sardanapalus, or Sardan-Pul, he could perceive a relation between this laſt and this firſt Aſſyrian king, forgetting, that for the ſame reaſon Tiglath-pul-aſſur might have more naturally appeared his ſon, eſpecially as he is the king of Aſſyria, who is expreſly ſaid to have ſucceeded him in ſcripture. By what biaſſed him above to make this miſtake, he might alſo, and very naturally, have concluded, that Tiglath-pul-aſſur and Sardan-pul were one and the ſame perſon, and ſo have put an end to the monarchy, ere it had well a beginning. The firſt and ſecond monarchy, according to the ſcheme of archbiſhop Uſher (22), adopted by Prideaux and Rollin, ſo entirely repugnant to all hiſtory, ſacred or prophane, may ſerve to ſhew how irreconcileable the latter is with the former in what concerns this empire. A late commentator (23) is ſo ſenſible of this, that he declares, when he comes to the text of ſcripture (24) which firſt makes mention of Tiglath-pileſar, that if the common accounts of the Babylonians and Medes are true, of their having held the eaſt under ſubjection one after another, there can be no knowing the meaning of the words, adding, that the learned are now ſenſible, there were ſeveral ſorts of independent kingdoms in thoſe days to the eaſtward of the Euphrates, [ſee vol. ii. p. 308.] and that ſometimes one of them was uppermoſt, and ſometimes another; that at this time it happened, that the Aſſyrians were moſt powerful; who, now croſſing the Tigris, had carried their arms through Meſopotamia, and from thence over the Euphrates into Syria and Paleſtine (25). In a word, we cannot but reckon this king to have been the ſon of Pul. From the time of Pul's appearance to the firſt of this king's appearance, is a ſpace, according

(18) See before in the notes, p. 197. (19) Cleric. ubi ſup. Com. 29. (20) Annal. Vet. Teſtam. Æt. Mund. Quint. p. 83. (21) Hiſt. of the Aſſyr. in the Engliſh tranſl. p. 25. (22) Ubi ſupr. (23) Joan Cleric. (24) 2 Reg. xv. 29. (25) Joan. Cleric. in 2 Reg. ibid.

Year of the Flood, 2259. Year before Christ, 740.

maachah, and Jonah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria [y], thereby, as we may suppose, the better to secure these distant parts of the empire in their allegiance (B). For such a captivation must naturally have weakened them, and was rightly calculated to deter the remainder from incurring so hard a fate; and, on the other hand, may have contributed to the increase of his power, by peopling some tract more immediately under his eye. But whatever may have been his views at this time, he thought himself obliged to do much more of the kind soon after. For receiving an embassy from Ahaz, king of Judah [z], with a tender from him of homage, and a present of all he had, to deliver him from the hands of Rezin, king of Damascus, and Pekah, king of Israel, who were joined in confederacy against him; upon this prayer, and present, and acknowledgment from the king of Judah, Tiglath-pileser marched against Damascus, took that city, transplanted the people of it to Kir (C), slew Rezin, and

[y] 2 Kings xv. [z] See Vol. ii. p. 325.

ing to Usher himself (26,) of but about 24 years; so that they very naturally succeeded one another. It is therefore an eye-sore to see them so disjoined as they are in Rollin (27), from whose judgment and conversance with the labours and improvements of the later writers, we might have hoped for better things; but as we have been hitherto cautious of passing any censure upon him, we shall for the future avoid the same, as he is a gentleman who does not so professedly write to instruct the mind, as to the reality and consistence of facts, as to form it to virtue and a good life.

(B) Tiglath-pileser here executes what his father had projected, and only sketched out. This was the most extraordinary method that could be possibly taken to secure the empire under due subjection, and was the constant practice of his successors we may suppose for the same reasons. This their constant practice is in all its circumstances so affecting, and must have caused such utter oblivion of the original nations in those parts, that if Ctesias had known any thing perfectly of the Assyrian affairs, he could never have omitted it, or forborn to have improved it after his manner, which we no where find that he did.

(C) There are printed copies of the Septuagint, which say not whither the people of Damascus were transplanted to; others have it, that the place was Κυρήνη, or Cyrene, in Africa, deceived

(26) Ubi supr. (27) Ubi sup

and ſo put an end to that antient kingdom [a] (D).

HE was ſucceeded by Shalmaneſer (E), who ſeems to have made war upon Hoſhea, king of Iſrael, in conſequence of his predeceſſor's engagements to Ahaz, king of Judah (F). Shalmaneſer.

Tiglath-pileſar had but half fulfilled his promiſe to Ahaz, who had beſought him to avenge him of the king of Damaſcus and the king of Iſrael equally, whereas he ſeemingly concerned himſelf with the king of Damaſcus only. It is likely then, that Shalmaneſer made this a pretence to attack the kingdom of Iſrael under Hoſhea. But whatever his pretence may have been, or on whatſoever it may have been founded, he reduced Samaria, and made Hoſhea his tributary [b], as it is apparent his predeceſſors, from Menahem, had Year of the Flood, 2271. Year before Chriſt, 728. Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before Chriſt, 725.

[a] Ibid. 2 Kings, c. 16. [b] 2 Kings xvii.

ceived by ſome ſimilitude of the names; but it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, the king of Aſſyria could ſend them into thoſe parts when he was not yet maſter even of Egypt (28). Joſephus (29) makes it a place in the Upper Media. Bochart (30) labours the point a little, but to no fixed purpoſe. It will be in vain for us to think of ſettling the ſite of this, and many other places hereafter to be mentioned, equally and more obſcure than this; ſo that we ſhall touch on them only by the way.

(D) So that the race of the antient Syrians became, as it were, extinct in this country, which gives room to aſſert what we have only ſurmiſed formerly concerning the alteration the old religion of this country muſt have undergone when conquered by the Aſſyrians (31). How is it to be imagined, that the ſtrangers, who were brought to take poſſeſſion of this country, ſhould continue the antient rites and ſuperſtitions of its firſt inhabitants? Well may we ſay then, that Adad now gave way to Belus and other Aſſyrian gods (32), unknown on this ſide of the Euphrates till now.

(E) His name alſo is variouſly written, as Salmaneſar, Salmanaſſar; he is called Enemaſſar, by Tobit (33), and is ſuppoſed (34) to be Salman, or Shalman, of Hoſea (35). It has been the common practice of chronologers to make him to have been the ſame with Nabonaſſar (36); which we ſhall not here diſcuſs.

(F) We here ſpeak only as the thing may ſeem; for between Tiglath-pileſar's laſt expedition in theſe parts and this of Shalmaneſer, there is a diſtance of twelve years; ſo that the engagements to Ahaz may by this time have been as good as forgot.

(28) Vide Joan. Cleric. in loc. ubi ſupr. (29) Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 13. (30) Phaleg. l. 4. c. 32. (31) See vol. ii. p. 288. (32) Ibid. (33) c. i. 13. (34) See Sir Iſ. Newt. Chronol. of anc. kingd. amend. p. 277. (35) c. x. 14. (36) Vid. Gregor. Poſthum. p. 246. & Georg. Syncell. Chron. p. 204.

had been to the Aſſyrian power before him. Some years afterwards Shalmaneſer came to underſtand, that Hoſhea, having a mind to ſhake off his yoke, had entered into a league with So, king of Egypt; and this was confirmed to him by Hoſhea's neglect to ſend him his annual tribute. At this he marches up throughout all the land, and at length lays ſiege to Samaria, with ſuch obſtinacy, that he continued it for the ſpace of three years, reſolved, once for all, to make an end of the kingdom of that metropolis. At the end of three years he became maſter of the place, took the king Hoſhea alive (G), kept him a priſoner †, made captives of all the inhabitants, and tranſplanted them into Aſſyria (H), placing them in Halah and in Habor, by the river of Gozan (I), and in the cities of the Medes; replacing them by ſtrangers from Babylon (K), Cuthah, Ava,

Year of the Flood, 2274. Year before Chriſt, 721.

† See before, p. 146.

(G) In the firſt of theſe expeditions he carried off with him the Golden Calf, which Jeroboam had ſet up in Bethel (37); and, previouſly to the ſiege of Samaria, he ſubdued Moab (38).

(H) He did not quite tranſplant them, he left ſome behind him for Eſar-haddon to remove, as will be ſeen in due place.

(I) There is a town called Chabor, or Habor, in Ptolemy (39), in Meſopotamia; and a river Chaboras, or Haboras; and a region, in the ſame country, called Gauzonitis, or Gozan, between two rivers, the former and another called Saocoras, one of which may have been alſo called the river of Gozan (40); ſo that in Meſopotamia it muſt be, that we muſt look for theſe two places; as for Halah, we have declared what we know of that long ago (41).

(K) Thoſe who follow the common current are at a loſs to conceive, how Shalmaneſer ſhould be ſo free with the Babylonians; ſuppoſing them to have been not only a collateral, but alſo an independent kingdom, when nothing is more unlikely. Can it with reaſon be imagined, the kings of Aſſyria, as Shalmaneſer and his two predeceſſors would have roamed ſo far from home after conqueſts, when ſuch prey as Babylon was ſo near at hand? Is it not natural to think, the Aſſyrians began with thoſe who were next to them? Or is it poſſible to imagine, the kings of Aſſyria would ſtraggle ſo far from home, if they had ſo dangerous a rival as a conſiderable kingdom of Babylon on their ſkirts, who, never, it is certain, could have been quiet or eaſy in their abſence

(37) Seder Olam Rabba c. xxii. (38) See vol. ii. p. 115. (39) Aſiæ Tabul. 4ta. (40) Ibid. (41) See vol. i. in the notes, p. 371 & ſeq.

Ava, Hamath, and Sephervaim; and thus did he put an end to the kingdom of Israel [c]. But he was obliged to send back one of the priests of the country to instruct the people in the worship of the God of the land, who, for their ignorance in that particular, plagued them so sorely with lyons, that they were necessitated to apply to the king of Assyria for this redress [d] (L).

BUT how effectually soever he triumphed over Samaria and others in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to be set at defiance by Hezekiah, king of Jerusalem, who,

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[c] See before, Ibid. 2 Kings xvii. 18. [d] See before, p. 162. 2 Kings xvii. ver. 25, 28.

sence? It must be impossible to think after this rate; a greater inconsistency can never be. The monarchy of Assyria was now in the vigor of its youth, and the passage before us plainly informs us, that Babylon was now under Assyria, and so were the Medes, as may not only appear by the western nations, said to have been transplanted to the cities of that country by these three first kings; but the same will most evidently appear in the next reign, when the Medes, taking advantage of this king's successor, actually revolted from him, and from thence-forward began to make the figure they afterwards did. Nothing of equal antiquity and importance is clearer, than what concerns these three monarchies or empires, if we do not saddle divine writ with prophane romance; which has been so unaccountably preferred by the learned Christians, that in favour of that they have obscured what would otherwise appear as bright as day in the sacred historians.

(L) This transplantation, this complaint of the lyons, and this mission of the priest, is put off to the days of Esar-haddon (42); because in Ptolemy's canon they find, that he sat in the throne of Babylon as well as of Niniveh, and consequently was the only Assyrian king of the second race, as they fondly dream, who could send people to Babylon to inhabit the land of Israel; but this is sufficiently answered in the note above. Nothing is more plainly a part of Shalmaneser's history, than all that is here said, and no greater violence can be offered to the text, than to remove it hence, into the midst of a reign which was third after this. All these needless shifts, these turnings, and windings, we owe to the tenacious cruelty of some great, though mistaken, men, who have turned their thoughts towards the illustration of these very evident matters.

(42) See Prideaux's Connect. Patrick's Comment. &c.

as it is said, rebelled against him, and would send him no tribute (M). But Samaria and its territory did not alone feel the effects of his power, he also lorded it over all Syria and Phœnice; and made war upon Tyre, where Elulæus then reigned [e]. He at first made war upon the whole country of Phœnice, but upon the conclusion of a peace marched out of the country. Shortly after the cities of Sidon, Arce, Palæ-Tyrus, and others, revolting from the Tyrians, went over to Shalmaneser, who, disdaining the Tyrians (N) should dare to dispute his supremity, dispatched a fleet of 60 sail, and 800 rowers, under the conduct of Phœnicians, to attack the Tyrians, but they were shamefully routed by a small number of Tyrian ships [f], and the project most completely miscarried. Shalmaneser therefore, convinced it was to no purpose to contend with the Tyrians at sea, blocks them up by land; and, by diverting their waters which supplied the city, doubted not but to reduce this haughty people; who supplying themselves by wells they dug within the city, the Assyrians wasted five years in this fruitless attempt [g] (O).

Year of the Flood, 2282. Year before Christ, 717.

SEN-

[e] See vol. ii. p. 382. [f] Ibid. [g] Menand. apud Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 9. c. 14.

(M) This monarchy, or the strength of it at least, was not yet sufficiently known, it should seem; it was not yet arrived at its summit; it had still difficulties to struggle with; it was not seemingly so strong as not to be set at defiance, and contemned; so it should seem by this. Prideaux (43) thinks, he was diverted from resenting this by his war with the Tyrians.

(N) The Tyrians had as yet never known any thing of an Assyrian yoke, and now defied this new monarchy, trusting in their own strength and riches; though it is somewhat difficult to conceive, that they were not in some shape or other tributary to the Assyrian, who must have had it very much in his power to hurt their trade at land, if he could not affect them by sea. Their situation (44) may have protected their persons from immediate slavery; but it is not to be thought, their purses were as free from expilation and loss: in a word, they could not have traded almost any where in the inland places of this part of the continent without the king of Assyria's leave, and must have been quite cut off from any of the benefits and conveniences of the rivers, if they had not been upon some sort of terms with him: so that this seems to be a very obscure piece of history.

(O) His army, or part of his army, continued the blockade this while;

(43) Ubi supr. l. 1. p. 19. (44) See vol. ii. p. 331.

SENNACHERIB (P) succeeded Shalmaneser, and resolved to reduce the kingdom of Judah to the homage and tribute it had professed to the Assyrian throne, in the person of king Ahaz [h]. He appears then at the head of an army, and bore down all before him [i]. At length he laid siege to Lachish, intending in the next place to invest Jerusalem itself. As he was laying siege to this place, he received a most submissive message from Hezekiah, asking his pardon, begging, he would not pursue him to destruction, and offering to pay him what tribute he should think fit to impose on him. Sennacherib seemed satisfied with this, and ordered Hezekiah immediately to send him 300 talents of silver, and 30 talents of gold, as if that would pacify him for the present, and stop his further intentions. This sum, it seems, was with great difficulty sent to him [k]; but, instead of granting the king of Judah the truce and the rest he expected, he behaved towards him as if nothing of the kind had been transacted, and apparently broke his word with Hezekiah, seemingly with no manner of cause [l]; and, instead of withdrawing with his forces, sent three of his officers, Tartan, Rabsaris (Q), and Rabshakeh (R), at the head of a great army, to invest Jerusalem, insult Hezekiah, intimidate his people, and, in a word, to blaspheme against God. Rabshakeh was the spokesman, as we say, and vented himself to the officers Hezekiah had sent out to treat with them [m], and to know what further

Year of the Flood, 2286. Year before Christ, 713.

[h] See before, p. 142. [i] See before, p. 148. 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. [k] 2 Kings xviii. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 1. [l] 2 Kings ubi sup. Joseph. ubi sup. [m] See before, p. 154.

while; as for himself, he seems to have retired to the other side of the Euphrates, leaving affairs on this side in a very unsettled state.

(P) His Hebrew name is Sanherib, and it is seldom or never, that we recollect, ever writ with any greater variation, except that he may, by contraction, have been called Jareb *(45)*.

(Q) This is thought to have been rather the name of an office, though commonly taken for the proper name of the person, signifying, The Chief of the Eunuchs (46).

(R) The same is observed of this, as in the name above, it signifying, The Chief Cup-bearer (47).

(45) Hos. 10, 6. (46) Vid. Joan Cleric. in loc. (47) Vid. eund. ibid.

was expected from him, he vaunted his master's mighty power, stiling him the great king of Assyria, set at nought Hezekiah, and spoke contemptuously of the king of Egypt (S), in whom he supposes Hezekiah to have placed a confidence, as if he could save him from the Assyrian arm; and to crown all, pretended, speaking in his master's name, as he all along does, that God had sent him on purpose to destroy the city and the land. This he uttered with great violence in the Hebrew tongue, that all might hear and understand him; and being by the Jewish commissioners entreated to be more moderate, and to deliver himself in the Syriac tongue, which they well understood [n], that he might not dishearten their people on the walls of the city; he, far from complying, raised his voice higher than before, and, in the Jewish tongue, particularly addressed himself to the inhabitants of the city, who were beholding the interview; told them, their king Hezekiah would obstinately deceive them to their destruction, and that it was in vain he trusted in the Lord: He then exhorted them to submit, promising them the free and full enjoyment of their present possessions, until there should be a convenient opportunity to transplant them to a country every way equal, if not superior, to their own. He then again admonished them, not to let their king deceive them with false hopes of deliverance from the hand of the Lord; observing, that that as the gods of the nations they had already conquered, the gods of Hamath and of Arphad, the gods of Sepharvaim,

[n] See before, p. 154.

(S) It is thought, this was done more out of mere rage than any thing else, Sennacherib disdaining to have been disappointed and baffled in his attempts upon Egypt, according to the story we have of it in Herodotus (48); but however plausible this may seem (49) at first sight, it is seemingly contradictory to the text, which supposes him, if we are right, to be busied, in the siege of Lachish. He had not made his attempt upon Egypt yet. We think, we have a more natural account to give of the contempt here expressed against the Egyptian, for Sethon was then king of Egypt, who being recorded to have been a priest, and to have minded nothing but the functions of that office, and to have hated all military men (50), it can be no wonder, Sennacherib, or his servant for him, should ridicule and despise the then king of Egypt.

(48) See vol. ii. p. 57. (49) Vid. Joan. Cleric. in loc. (50) See vol. ii. p. 57.

vaim, Henah, and Ivah, (T), had not been able to withstand the Assyrian power, or to save Samaria from captivity, so neither should theirs. This he aggravated still farther; but all his oratory procured him no answer, and so he returned to his master, who had left Lachish and

(T) Sir Isaac Newton (51) uses this boast concerning the nations and their gods, as an argument for the novelty of the Assyrian monarchy in these days, observing, that this desolation is recited as fresh in memory, and to terrify the Jews (42). "All "the above cited nations had, till now, their several gods, and "each accounted his god the god of his own land, and the de-"fender thereof, against the gods of the neighbouring countries, "and particularly the gods of Assyria; and therefore they were "never till now united under the Assyrian monarchy, especially "since the king of Assyria doth not boast of their being conquer-"ed by the Assyrians oftener than once: but these being small "kingdoms, the king of Assyria easily overflowed them:" *Know ye not, saith* Sennacherib *to the Jews*, [2 Chr. xxxii. 13, 15.] *what I and my fathers have done unto all the people of other lands? . . . . for no god of any nation or kingdom was able to deliver his people out of mine hand and out of the hand of my fathers: howmuch less shall your god deliver you out of mine hand?* "He and his fathers, therefore, "Pul, Tiglath-pileser, and Shalmaneser, were great conquerors, "and with a current of victories had newly overflowed all nations "round about Assyria, and thereby set up this monarchy (53)." This is a just remark, tending to prove what we have hitherto contended for, concerning the lateness of the Assyrian monarchy, in comparison of the common computation, and may account for what we have as good as asserted (54), That the religion of the Phœnicians and Syrians, as known to the Greeks, or even to themselves, to all appearance, was of Assyrian origin; which may not only be amply proved by the strange nations who were transplanted thither (55), but from this way of proving the god of the prevailing nation to be stronger than the gods of the vanquished, which, as fallacious an argument as it may seem to us (56), was in those days of idolatry and superstition sound and indisputable doctrine: So Belus or Pul, the Assyrian god, having proved himself too strong for Adad, the Syrian god, the former gives place to the latter of course; and Belus thenceforward became the god of the Syrians, instead of the unfortunate Adad (57).

(51) Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amended, p. 273, 276. (52) Ibid. p. 274. (53) Ibid. p. 276, 277. (54) See vol. ii. p. 288. See before in the notes of p. 260. (55) See before in the notes, p. 266. (56) Vid. Joan. Cleric. comment. in loc. (57) See vol. ii. p. 287.

was now at Libnah, which he was besieging. Here as he lay he had advice, that Tirhakah (V), king of Ethiopia, intended to give him battle, at which, taking the alarm, he seems to have marched towards Egypt (W) to meet him, and

(V) According to the course of the Egyptian history, this Tirhakah can have been no other than the Sabbaco (58) of Herodotus, who was an Ethiopian, a great warrior, and had some time before conquered Egypt, and held it 50 years (59): He retired from Egypt at the expiration of that term (60), and returned into Ethiopia, and by that means Sethon the priest of Vulcan, as he is called (61), came to be king of Egypt. Sethon being more strictly a priest than a king of Egypt, Tirhakah, or Sabbaco, the great Ethiopian, conscious, Sethon could not pretend to make head against so formidable a conqueror as Sennacherib, and perceiving Egypt to be in imminent danger of subjection, puts himself at the head of his army to protect Egypt, and at the same time secure his own country Ethiopia. Sabbacco, though an Ethiopian, must have had a great concern on him for the liberties of Egypt, not only as it was his barrier and next neighbour, but also as he had resided so long in it as lord or king. He may have been still alive, though he must have been a man in years, for he did not die in the throne of Egypt, but left it of his own accord (62). We do not pretend to give this for certainty, but it has such an air of probability, or at least corresponds so nicely with what we read of the history of Egypt in scripture, that we fancy, the reader may be tempted to think this transaction may have been as we have here suggested, if he would give himself the trouble of comparing what we here say therewith.

(W) The history of this his war in these parts is very cloudy; we only know in general, that he took several cities belonging to the king of Judah, and perhaps some others; that he besieged Lachish; sent to insult Jerusalem and its king, after he had accepted his tribute and homage in seeming good part; that he was under some apprehensions about Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia; and finally, that the gross of his army was miraculously destroyed. But Prideaux (63), supported by nothing besides a supposition that he was the Sargon of Isaiah (64), writes, that he conquered Egypt, miserably wasted it for three years together, and carried away multitudes into captivity; as also that he took Ashdod, or Azotus, (65) by his general Tartan. Sargon was

(58) See vol. ii. p. 56. (59) Ibid. (60) Ibid. (61) Ibid. (62) Ibid. & seq. (63) Connect. of the Old and New Test. l. 1. part. 1. p. 22. Edit. in 8vo. (64) xx. 1. Prid. Connect. ubi sup. (65) Idem, ibid.

and to have ſent Rabſhakeh back again to Jeruſalem, to block up that city, and to prevent Hezekiah from joining his friends againſt him. Rabſhakeh returned to his poſt before Jeruſalem, and would have inſulted Hezekiah in perſon, as ſhould ſeem, but not being able to do that, he ſent him a letter as from Sennacherib, fraught with the ſame words almoſt he had uſed before in his boaſting and vain ſpeech to the Jewiſh commiſſioners, adding to the nations he formerly mentioned to have been conquered by Aſſyria, Rezeph, and the children of Eden which were in Thelaſar [o] (X). His former inſolent and blaſphemous meſ-

 ſage

[o] 2 Kings xix. ver. 8, 12.

was not Sennacherib, but his ſon Eſar-haddon; and if it be anſwered he muſt have been the former, becauſe his general's name was Tartan, we ſay Tartan was general to both of them. Nor was, as he ſays, Sevechus, the ſon of Sabbaco the Ethiopian, at that time king of Egypt; nor were, it is likely, Sevechus and Sabbaco two perſons, the father and ſon; they are one and the ſame name, with a very trifle of variation. Herodotus has no ſuch king as this Sevechus, nor Diodorus: This is ſufficient to juſtify us in what we ſay; nor was Sevechus, or Sethon, whom Prideaux (67) ſuppoſes to have been the ſame, the ſon of the Ethiopian Sabbaco, as may appear by Herodotus, who calls him prieſt of Vulcan, and plainly inſinuates, that he was an Egyptian, and a ſtranger to Sabbaco's line, and one who was choſen to ſucceed after ſome ſeemingly great diſturbance in the ſtate (68). Beſides, it might be aſked, where the dreadful Tirhakah can have been, during the three long years Sennacherib muſt have ravaged and lorded it over Egypt; or what he was about all that time, that he ſhould not come to the relief of the country till it had been, as it were, undone? In ſhort, nothing is plainer, than that Sennacherib not only did not conquer Egypt, but even ſuffered ſome notable loſs or repulſe in ſo much as offering to invade that land; in which attempt he muſt have erred againſt the rules of common prudence and policy, conſidering that Syria and Paleſtine, which ſhould have been his firſt work, were not as yet fully ſubdued.

(X) The moſt probable opinion is, that theſe places were ſomewhere in Syria. There is a city called Reſiph in Meſopotamia, near the mouth of the river Saacoras (69); and a city called Reſaph in the Palmyrene of Syria: which of theſe may have been Rezeph we decide not; the other cities are not ſo eaſy to be found.

(67) Ubi ſup. (68) See before, ubi ſup. (69) Ptolem. Tab. Aſ. Geograph. iv.

ſage had drawn on him the fearful prophecy of Iſaiah, *That he ſhould fall by the ſword in his own land* *; and for this ſecond it was denounced againſt him by the ſame prophet, *That he ſhould not come into the city, nor ſhoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a ſhield, nor caſt a bank about it* †: The meaning of which ſeems to be, that he was gone, whence he ſhould return ſo diſabled, that he ſhould neither be able to beſiege the city in form, or barely aſſault it. This is ſeemingly the import of the text, and if Herodotus may be introduced upon this occaſion, who makes expreſs mention of his name, though he miſtakenly calls him king of Arabia (Y) inſtead of Aſſyria, he will tell us, that, as Sennacherib lay before Peluſium, there one night come ſuch ſwarms of field-rats and mice into the Aſſyrian camp, as deſtroyed all their ſhield-ſtraps and bow-ſtrings [P]. What truth ſoever there may be (Y*) in this, it muſt be ſaid very nicely to correſpond with the prophecy above. But to wave this, it appears, that he was very unfortunate (Y†) in this expedition, and his ſun from henceforwards ſets apace. His army is ſaid to have been ſmitten by the angel of the Lord (Z), who ſmote 185,000 Aſſyrians,

* Ibid. ver. 7. † Ibid. ver. 32. [P] Herodot. l. 2. c. 41.

(Y) This may not originally have been the fault of Herodotus himſelf; it may have been owing to tranſcribers.

(Y)* True it certainly is not; biſhop Patrick (70), with ſome ſeeming paſſion, calls it a horrible lye; but as much a lye as it may be, it may be ſaid to confirm what is written in ſcripture concerning the ſudden deſtruction of the Aſſyrian army, and therefore may be borne with. The Egyptians aſcribe the honour of it to their God (71), than which there is nothing more natural.

(Y†) Herodotus declares as much (72), and ſo does Joſephus (73).

(Z) This a figurative expreſſion common with the Jews. Some ſuppoſe this havock to have been made "by a plague, or perhaps by lightning, or a fiery wind, which blows ſometimes in the neighbouring deſarts, or rather by being ſurprized by Sethon and Tirhakah; for the Egyptians, in memory of this action, erected a ſtatue to Sethon, holding in his hand a mouſe, the Egyptian ſymbol of deſtruction" (74).

(70) Comment upon 2 Kings xix. (71) See Vol ii. p. 57. (72) Ibid. (73) Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 1, (74) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 282. See alſo Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 1. p. 24.

Aſſyrians in their camp (A), and Sennacherib departed for Aſſyria, and took up his abode at Niniveh *; where, finding himſelf fallen in the eſteem of his people (B), he grew ſullen and tyrannical: particularly venting his rage againſt the captive Hebrews in his dominions, many of whom he unmercifully put to death †, in revenge for his great downfal, which he may have attributed to them. In ſhort he behaved in ſuch a manner, that he was grown odious in the eyes of his own ſons, two of whom, Adrammelech and Sharazer (C), ſlew him, as he was at his devotions in the temple of his god Niſroch, in a ſhort time after his precipitate return from Judæa. They ſlew him and fled into the land of Armenia, ſeemingly fearful of the revenge that might be taken on them for their parricide (D); thus was he ſlain in the temple of his favourite god

* 2 Kings xix. 36. † Tobit c. i. 18.

(A) Where his camp was at this time is no very clear matter; whether at Libnah, or Peluſium, or Jeruſalem. It is alſo uncertain, whether his army was all together at this time, or divided, part under himſelf elſewhere, and part under Rabſhakeh before Jeruſalem (75), as we have ſuppoſed; and conſequently, whether it was the army under himſelf, or that under Rabſhakeh, that was thus ſwept away, or whether they both ſuffered. After what we have already ſaid, we leave the reader to ſatisfy himſelf about this obſcurity.

(B) Returning ſo baffled, with ſuch ſhame and diſhonour, his people could not but think meanly of him, in compariſon of his predeceſſors; though Shalmaneſer, his father, does not ſeem to have been very fortunate in the latter part of his life. We have ſeen him ſhamefully beaten by the Tyrians in a ſea fight, and his army five years before their city without any effect.

(C) It is ſuppoſed, he had, in the midſt of his danger, threatened to ſacrifice them to his god, and that they took this opportunity of ſacrificing him, that they might not be ſacrificed themſelves (76): what grounds there is for this we have not to ſay. We no where read, the Aſſyrians had any ſuch unnatural ſuperſtition in vogue with them; we may enquire into this when we come to treat of the Babylonian religion, which muſt at leaſt have included that of Aſſyria.

(D) If the ſuppoſition in the note above be true, they had reaſon to fly for their diſobedience and murder; but if not, we cannot perceive, but they might have juſtified themſelves with the people, who may not have been very ſorry for Sennacherib's death,

(75) See Patrick ubi ſup. (76) Idem, ibid.

god (E), and his third ſon Eſar-haddon reigned in his ſtead ‡.

Eſar-haddon. Year of the Flood, 2289. Year before Chriſt, 716.

Eſar-haddon (F) may be ſaid to have ſucceeded to the ruins, as it were, of the Aſſyrian monarchy founded by Pul, and enlarged and eſtabliſhed by Tiglath-pileſar. Under Sennacherib it fell to decay, either by his imprudence, or ill fortune, or a mixture of both. The Medes, taking advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or, perhaps, upon the news of the ſudden and general deſtruction of his army, revolted [q], and were never, after, as ſhould ſeem, reduced to the Aſſyrian yoke, though Eſar-haddon, in the courſe of his reign, ſeems to have been both a valorous and fortunate prince, as well as ambitious of ſupporting and enlarging the empire. He was, to all appearance, a mild and a gracious perſonage, and particularly kind to the Jews, who had been ſo cruelly abuſed by his father after his haſty return to Niniveh. He, in the beginning of his reign, ſeems to have continued quiet in his capital, and perhaps had enough to do to ſupport his dignity at home; till, after ſome years, his kindred race of the Babyloniſh kings becoming extinct, or ſome other cauſe producing an inter-reign in that kingdom, he, either by art or violence, ſeated himſelf in the throne [r] of Babylon (G), thereby retrieving the luſtre of the Aſſyrian name, which had been ſo ſullied by the defection of the Medes.

Year of the Flood, 2318. Year before Chriſt, 681.

GROWN

‡ 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 37.

[q] Tobit ubi ſup. ver. 15.

[r] Ptolem. Can. Aſtronom.

death, upon the principle of ſelf preſervation; which might have ſerved for a plea of ſome validity, if it had interfered with no part of religion or ſuperſtition.

(E) We have it from Joſephus (77), that Niſroch, or Araſcus, as he calls him (78), was his moſt eſteemed god. Concerning this deity, we have ſaid all we thought neceſſary in the former part of this hiſtory (79).

(F) He is alſo called Aſar-haddon, Aſordan by the Septuagint, Aſſaradin in Ptolemy's canon, Sarchedon by Tobit (80), Sargon by Iſaiah (81), and Aſnappar by Ezra *.

(G) It is very unlikely, that he obtained the immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Babylon by violence; but this is what we may enquire into when we come to conſider him as king there.

(77) Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 2. (78) Ibid. (79) See before p. 203. (80) Tobit i. 21. (81) Iſaiah xx. * Ezra iv. 10.

GROWN potent by this union, he proceeds to establish his tottering power over the more distant parts of his empire, and marches into Syria, and against the remnant of Israel, and the kingdom of Judah. The remnant of Israel he transplanted, as he may have done by the remnant that may have been left of Syria, so that they now utterly ceased to be nations, and in their stead he introduced a supply of foreigners (H), according to the policy of his predecessors. Having thus quite expunged Israel and Syria from the list of nations, he proceeded to the reduction of the kingdom of Judah, to the state of dependance it had professed in the person of king Ahaz, and took Manasseh their king, and bound him in chains, and sent him captive to Babylon [s]. Year of the Flood, 2322. Year before Christ, 677.

ELATED by this flow of success, and nothing discouraged by the unfortunate attempt of his father, he continues his march, resolving to invade Egypt and Ethiopia (I). He did so, and subdued them, and transplanted them (K), and Year of the Flood, 2326. Year before Christ, 673.

[s] 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11.

(H) His being now called king of Babylon has been the cause, that commentators have postponed the transplantation of Israel, recorded in the reign of Shalmaneser, to his time; concerning which we have declared our mind already (82).

(I) Having, as we have seen, subdued all Syria and Palestine, in a more effectual manner than any of his predecessors ever had; he was the better qualified to invade Egypt and Ethiopia. Besides, Tirhakah, or Sabbaco, may have been now dead; for, according to the history of Egypt (83), he must, by this time, have been a very old man. He had nothing then to fear from that warlike prince, and very little from Sethon (84), who was now unsupported, and whose kingdom, as it is represented to us, seems to have been, at this time, in the most proper condition to be conquered.

(K) This subduction and captivation was foretold by Isaiah (85). *In that day there shall be a high-way out of Egypt into Assyria, and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians shall serve the Assyrians.* In this war the city of Diospolis, No-ammon, or Thebes, which had till then flourished in great glory, is thought (86) to have been miserably

(82) See before in the notes, p. 268. (83) See vol. ii. p. 55, 56. (84) Ibid. p. 56. (85) Isaiah xix. 23. (86) See Prid. Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 22. 8vo.

and held them in subjection to him for three years [t], which may be as long as he afterwards lived. In the course of this war, he particularly took, by his general Tartan, the city
Year of the Flood, 2331. of Ashdod, or Azotus [u], which cost Psammetichus so much
Year before Christ, 668. time to wrest from his successors [w]. Thus did he extend his dominions (L), and once more spread the terror of the

[t] Isaiah xx. [u] Idem. Ibid. [w] See vol. ii. p. 61.

miserably wasted, and led into captivity, according to the same prophet and another, the former adding (87) to what is above; *So shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot . . . . to the shame of Egypt.* And they [the Jews] shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia their expectation, and of Egypt their glory: And the latter (88), prophesying the destruction of Niniveh, and speaking of the calamity of Egypt as a transaction of late date, saith, Art thou better than the populous No [Noammon], *that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters rounnd about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea* (89)? All this can have been effected by no king of Assyria, Esar-haddon excepted, and we shall not need to prove this to the reader, who shall think it worth his while to turn back to the history of Egypt at this time. For though the Egyptians were too proud to acknowledge this conquest of them, yet their history, though silent about it, seems to confirm what is here said. For after Sethon, in the latter part of whose reign, or immediately upon whose death, this invasion must have happened, we find the kingdom to have been in some very violent disorder, and to have emerged under 12 men, who divided the whole kingdom between them, in a kind of aristocracy (90). How this alteration could have been wrought in the constitution of so regular and precise a kingdom as Egypt, but by some such means, and by this most likely, we leave to the reader.

(L) The extent of his dominions at this time, which must, one would think, have been more than that of any of his predecessors, is not a little uncertain; though Sir Isaac Newton, in a manner, ventures to describe it in these words, "In the reigns "of Sennacherib and Asserhaddon, the Assyrian empire seems "arrived at its greatness, being united under one monarch, and "containing Assyria, Media, Apolloniatis, Susiana, Chaldæa, "Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and "part of Arabia, and reaching eastward into Elymais and Para-"tœcene, a province of the Medes; and if Chalach and Cha-
"bor

(87) xx. 4, 5. (88) Nahum iii. 8. 10. (89) Ibid. (90) See vol. ii. p. 58.

of the Assyrian name far and near. After a reign of many years, glorious especially in the latter part of it, he died, and seemingly left a character behind him equal to the rank he had held while living; whence, and for other reasons (M), we cannot be induced to think he can be, in any respect, the Sardanapalus of Ctesias, there being no likeness or analogy at all between the representations of the two men.

HE

" bor be Colchis and Iberia, as some think, and as may seem " probable from the circumcision used by those nations till the " days of Herodotus, we are also to add these two provinces, " with the two Armenias, Pontus, and Cappadocia, as far as the " river Halys; for Herodotus tells us, that the people of Cap- " padocia, as far as to that river, were called Syrians by the " Greeks, both before and after the days of Cyrus, and that the " Assyrians were also called Syrians by the Greeks " (91). Of all this extent there may be some doubt, whether or no the Medes were in subjection to him; they had thrown off the yoke in his father's time, who left the empire, as great as it may have been under him, in a crazy condition; though it is somewhat difficult to suppose, that Esar-haddon did not reduce them to their former obedience before he crossed the Euphrates, to confirm himself in Syria and Palestine: After all he may have reserved them for his last work, not fearing any damage from them in his absence, being perhaps possessed of some of the most important parts of their country, which he did not live long enough to regain throughout. This may be resumed in the reign of his grandson.

(M) He is styled the great and noble Asnappar (92). It is impossible, he should have been represented as a slothful and effeminate prince, whose life seems to have been a life of the most unwearied action. He may, it is possible, have been known to the ancient Greeks by the name of Sardanapalus, or Assar-haddon-Pul (93), but then he must have been the great one who is called a warrior (94), and is said to have built Tarsus and Anchiale in one day, and to have died peaceably in his bed (95). He may have been one of the princes called Sardanapalus; for we have seen they had two very different from one another, as we have noted in the story of the Sardanapalus of profane authors, in the section before this. The other we may discover hereafter.

(91) Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amended. p. 283. (92) Ezra iv. 10. (93) See before, p. 253. (94) See before in the notes, p. 254. (95) Ibid. p. 259.

Saosduchinus. Year of the Flood, 2331. Year before Christ 668.

HE was succeeded by his son Saosduchinus [x], or Saosducheus (N), concerning whom we have nothing particular, except that he reigned 20 years, that it was probably under him that Manasseh was restored to his kingdom (O), and that Egypt recovered her liberty (P); that he seems otherwise to have kept full possession of the empire his father left him, and that, dying, he was succeeded by his son Chyniladan.

Chyniladan. Year of the Flood, 2351. Year before Christ, 648.

CHYNILADAN is supposed, and upon good grounds, to be the Nabuchadonosor of scripture (Q), an active and a war-

[x] Ptolom. Can. Astron.

(N) Prideaux (96) reckons him to have been the Nebuchadonosor of the book of Judith; but that he is therein most egregiously mistaken, will be proved anon.

(O) Prideaux (97) supposes him not only to have been set at liberty by Esar-haddon himself, but also to have been invested, by the same monarch, with an addition to his own kingdom, to enable him to support himself against Psammetichus, who had now got the dominion of all Egypt into his hands, and began to war upon the Assyrians in Palestine (98); but he has most strangely disturbed the history of Assyria by that unaccountable mistake of writing Sargon the same with Sennacherib.

(P) It is not in nature to suppose it did, before the death of Esar-haddon, who, it is most certain, died by the time he had well subdued this kingdom.

(Q) That Chyniladan, and no other king in Ptolemy's canon, can have been the Nabuchadonosor of the book of Judith, is what we are now to endeavour to prove; in the doing of which we shall also settle some other points, and especially the three which are the subject of the three notes above, and which Prideaux has involved in great darkness. From the death of Assar-addin to the first year of the reign of Chyniladan is 20 years, and from the first year of the reign of Saosduchinus to the twelfth of Chyniladan, that he undertook to reduce the Medes, is 32 years. Manasseh, king of Judah, was taken into captivity by Assaraddin in the 21st year of his reign, after which he reigned 34 years. His son Amon reigned after him over Judah two years, which being added to the former number, make 36 years, when Josiah began to reign, who was but eight years old when he first came to the throne. Hence, by the canon, it may appear, that Chyniladan began his reign about the 41st year of Manasseh, and that warring against the Medes in his 12th year, according to the number

(96) Connect. of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part 1. p. 35. 8vo. (97) Ibid. p. 34. (98) See vol. ii. p. 59.

a warlike prince, and particularly remarkable for his invaſion of the rebellious and now independent Medes, who had

ber in the vulgate, or St. Jerom's tranſlation, it happened in the 53d year of the ſaid Manaſſeh; Chyniladan reigned after this 10 years, or to the ſixth year of king Joſiah; for Manaſſeh reigned full 55 years, and his ſon Amon reigned barely two; ſo that Chyniladan may have died about the beginning of the reign of Joſiah. This king, as we have obſerved above, was but eight years old when he came to the throne, and in his reign it muſt have been, if ever, that Bethulia was beſieged by Holofernes for the king of Aſſyria; and here it ſeems to be moſt naturally placed by Sir Iſaac Newton (99). To ſuppoſe with Prideaux (100) that Holofernes invaded the Jews in the days of Manaſſeh, is contradicting, in good meaſure, himſelf; for it is expreſly ſaid, that the Jews were then lately returned from captivity (1), which can be meant of no other than the Aſſyrian captivity, when Manaſſeh was carried away to Babylon; and to ſuppoſe this war under Holofernes, to have been undertaken after the return of Manaſſeh to Jeruſalem, is undoing what the ſame hiſtorian mentions of the kindneſs of the kings of Aſſyria to the kings of Jeruſalem, and the perfect good underſtanding between them, till Joſiah was killed in the ſervice of his Aſſyrian ſovereign, as he miſtakenly writes (2). If he ſuppoſes the people returned from captivity without their king, and if they were attacked while he was in priſon; then muſt he alſo ſay, that Aſſar-haddon himſelf was the Nabuchadonoſor of the book of Judith, ſince he declares Manaſſeh to have been ſet at liberty by the ſaid Aſſar-haddon; but this he ſays not. If this tranſaction happened in the reign of Saoſduchinus, it muſt follow, either that Manaſſeh was not delivered out of priſon by Aſſar-haddon, but detained many years a priſoner at Babylon by Saoſduchinus, which he denies (3), or that there was not that great and conſtant harmony between the kings at Niniveh and their homagers at Jeruſalem, as he aſſerts (4), down to the day Joſiah was ſlain in battle by the Egyptian king Necho (5). Joſiah reigned 31 years, which being added to the interval between the firſt year of his reign and the year of his grandfather's captivity, which is 36, it will make 67 years. Now by Ptolemy's canon it appears, that Joſiah was ſlain in the fourth year of Nabocolaſſarus, or the great Nebuchadnazzar, the ſecond king of Babylon, and this was after Niniveh had been deſtroyed, and the old race of the proper kings of Aſſyria were no more. In ſum, it appears from all this, that Aſſar-haddon muſt have died much

(99) Chronol. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 290. (100) Ubi ſup. (1) Judith iv. 3. (2) Connect. of the Old and New Teſt. Book 1. Part 1. p. 35. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid. (5) See vol. ii. p. 61.

had formed themſelves into a ſeparate ſtate, as may be ſeen in the hiſtory of that nation. In order to ſubdue this warlike people, he ſummons, as it were, the whole force of his wide-ſpreading dominions, calling in "all that dwelt "in the hill country, and all that dwelt by Euphrates, and "Tigris, and Hydaſpes, and the plain of Arioch, the "king of the Elymæans, and very many nations of the "ſons of Chelod;" all theſe eaſterns rendezvouzed under his banner. But iſſuing out his orders, at the ſame time, to the Perſians, and the weſtern people in Cilicia, Damaſcus, Libanus, Antilibanus, and the inhabitants on the ſea-coaſts, as well as to the nations of Carmel, Galaad, the Upper Galilee, and the great plains of Eſdraelom; as alſo to all Samaria, Jeruſalem, Betane, Chellus, Kades, the borderers on the river of Egypt, Taphnes, Rameſſe, and all the land of Geſem, beyond Tanis and Memphis, and in general, to all the inhabitants of Egypt to the borders of Ethiopia; all theſe received his ambaſſadors with contempt, and, fearing him not, refuſed one and all to obey his orders (R). Upon ſo general a defection, it may be

Calls in all the nations.

much about the time Manaſſeh was carried to Babylon, or, at moſt, two or three years afterwards; for we cannot pretend to be quite exact, and that it is likely he had his liberty from Saoſduchinus rather than Aſſar-haddon, who could not have had the time either to think much of him or to ſettle with him; for it muſt have been ſomething extraordinary that procured him his freedom and kingdom again, when the kings of Iſrael and Syria ſhared ſo different a fate. Again, it muſt appear, that Aſſar-haddon died immediately after he left Egypt, and that his death inſpired the chiefs of that nation with courage to lift up their heads, and appoint the 12 kings (6); and finally, that Chyniladan, and no other, was the Nabuchadonoſor of the book of Judith.

(R) Herodotus confirms this very plainly, telling us, that the Aſſyrians, Thoſe I mean, ſays he (7), who lived at Niniveh, who had formerly been the chief of all, but were now deſerted by their friends or vaſſals, though nevertheleſs in a good ſtate to defend themſelves; againſt theſe, ſays he, did Phraortes the Mede make war. This Phraortes is the Arphaxad above, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the hiſtory of the Medes. Saoſduchinus, it appears, then had led a quiet and peaceable life for the ſpace of 20 years, the whole duration of his reign; and Chy-

(6) See vol. ii. p. 58. (7) l. 1. c. 102.

be wondered he should have persisted in his resolution to invade the Medes, who had defied some of the most potent of his predecessors; but having numbers sufficient, and relying on his own strength, he seems to have made as slight of their disobedience as they had of his orders; vowing in the most solemn manner to take ample vengeance on them, as soon as he had chastised the insolent and rebellious Medes *.

Wars with the Medes. Year of the Flood, 2363. Year before Christ, 636.

IN the twelfth year of his reign, then, he moved with his army against Arphaxad, king of the Medes, and joining battle with him in the great plain of Ragau, he overthrew him horse and chariot, put Arphaxad to flight, who made the best of his way to the mountains; got possession of all his cities, and Ecbatan, in particular, the capital of Media, a sumptuous city, newly erected, and decorated to be the seat of this new kingdom, and demolished it without mercy; and to crown all, he caught Arphaxad in the mountains of Ragau, where he thought to have sheltered himself, and coming there to skirmish with him and his followers, he shot Arphaxad so often with darts that he killed him, and put an end to his life, and, as it were, to his kingdom. Flushed beyond measure with this more than,

* Ibid.

Chyniladan had done the same for the first 12 years of his, till finding the Medes had conquered the Persians, as Herodotus writes, and as appears in the text of Judith, which says, that the Persians of all the orientals refused to obey his summons; and that, not contented with that, they were going to attack Assyria also; hearing of this it roused him; perceiving himself and kingdom in such danger, he takes the alarm, and in haste sends to all the nations who had bowed to the Assyrian throne, to come in immediately to his aid. No two historical pieces can, so far as they are concerned together, more illustrate each other than Herodotus and this book of Judith. And here, by the way we may, in this distress of Nabuchadonosor, perceive some likeness of the case of Sardanapalus, who, when he was besieged in Niniveh, is said to have sent out to all the nations to come to his succour (8); though thereupon we have noted, that in his case it must have been quite impracticable, if not impossible, for him to do it (9). He should have done it before he was blocked up in his city; upon the whole, this must be the story which is there told by the heedless and romantic historian Ctesias.

(8) See before, p. 257. (9) In the notes, ibid.

than, perhaps, expected ſucceſs, he returns in triumph to Niniveh, he and all his company of nations, a multitude of warriors, and repoſing with them after the fatigues of their victorious expedition (S), they feaſt and revel with him for the ſpace of 120 days †.

AND now being ſated with exceſs and riot, and confident of being invincible (T), he and his ſervants reſume their martial fury, and talk of no leſs than being avenged on the whole earth; meaning the nations who had ſo contemptuouſly refuſed to attend him in his war intended with Media. He therefore calls together his nobles and officers, with whom he conferred, concerning this matter, in private council, and the reſult was, to afflict the whole earth out of his own mouth, and that all fleſh ſhould be deſtroyed that did not obey the commandment of his mouth. In conſequence of this vain reſolution, Nabuchadonoſor calls for his chief captain Holofernes, and gives him in charge, as the lord of the whole earth, to take with him 120,000 of his choiceſt foot, and 12,000 choſen archers on horſeback, and with them to invade all the weſt, for that they had dared to withſtand his will and pleaſure, and to command them to prepare water and earth for him, againſt he ſhould, in his wrath, come againſt them, and cover the whole earth with the feet of his army, and give them up a prey thereto; threatening, that their ſlain ſhould fill their vallies and their brooks, and make the river ſwell over its banks, and that he would lead them away captives to the uttermoſt parts of the earth: He commanded him to go forth before him and poſſeſs himſelf of all their coaſts for him; that if they ſubmitted to him, he ſhould let them alone for him to puniſh them in perſon; but that if they preſumed to make head againſt him, he ſhould utterly deſtroy them without favour or diſtinction;

Holofernes's charge and orders.

† Ibid.

(S) This ſucceſsful war of Chyniladan, or Nabuchadonoſor, againſt the Medes, is exactly almoſt what Cteſias writes of Sardanapalus (10), it is the ſame ſtory moſt careleſly told; and this feaſt is certainly the ſame Sardanapalus is ſaid to have given his victorious army (11).

(T) This is Sardanapalus again, or rather Sardanapalus is the ſhadow of this king; he, as we have ſeen, imagined his city of Niniveh could never be taken (12).

(10) See before, p. 257. (11) Ibid. (12) Ibid. p. 258.

ſtinction; ſwearing by his own life and the might of his kingdom, that he would, with his own hand, perform what he had ſo preſumptuouſly vented forth; and warning him, at his peril, not to tranſgreſs any of the commands he had injoined him, but to execute them with rigor and without delay [z] (V).

HOLOFERNES, having received his orders to this effect, departed from Nabuchadonoſor, and calling together all the governors, captains, and officers of the army of Aſſur [Aſſyria], he ſelected the numbers, both of horſe and foot, the king had commanded; and, attended with aſſes and camels in great numbers, for the conveyance of neceſſaries, and goats, ſheep, and oxen more than can be ſaid, with plenty of every thing to ſuſtain the army, and gold and ſilver in great abundance from the king's treaſury, he marched off from Niniveh; followed, beſides his army, by innumerable multitudes from ſeveral nations, who like locuſts joined him, or like the ſand of the ſea; ſo that by the

He takes the field.

[z] Ibid. c. 11.

(V) It would have been very difficult to account for this great degree of inſolent wrath in this prince, were it not for the good aſſiſtance of Herodotus, who tells (13) us, as we have obſerved before, that the Medes were grown to that pitch as to pretend to ſubdue Aſſyria; which, conſidering this king as he was, muſt have been a moſt violent provocation, and muſt have highly inflamed him, when he found himſelf ſo deſerted by his tributaries and homagers, who could unconcernedly look on, while he perhaps was ſubdued by a rebellious nation, who muſt for many years, ever ſince the days of Sennacherib, have been at greateſt enmity with Aſſyria, though at the hazard of their own welfare, ſeeing they might feel the blow that ſtaggered his kingdom. Upon the conſideration therefore that they would not aſſiſt him, though to preſerve even themſelves, he reſolves to execute ſuch vengeance, as ſuch ingratitude, as he might call it, and ſtupidity would well deſerve. The vulgat, according to St. Jerom, takes off from this, by repreſenting Nabuchadonoſor victorious over the Medes, before he called in the nations mentioned, but why he ſhould call them in when his work was done, or how they ſhould have diſobey'd him, when he had ſo lately given ſo extraordinary an inſtance of his might and power, is more than we can conceive. The Greek verſion and our own is doubtleſs here to be preferred, though both, in other reſpects, very faulty.

(13) l. i. c. 102.

the help of hyperbole, they may be properly enough ſaid to cover all the face of the earth weſtward with their chariots, and horſemen, and their choſen footmen [a].

HOLOFERNES, in this his march weſtward, deſtroyed Phud and Lud, ſpoiled all the children of Raſſes, and the children of Iſmael toward the wilderneſs, ſouthward of the land of the Chellians. He then croſſed the Euphrates, and paſſed through Meſopotamia, and deſtroyed all the high cities upon the river Arbonai quite to the ſea: He took the borders of Cilicia, killed all that reſiſted him, and came to the borders of Japhet, ſouthward, oppoſite to Arabia; and falling upon the children of Madian (W), he burnt their tents, and threw down their ſheep-cotes. From hence he went to the plain of Damaſcus, where he arrived at the time of wheat-harveſt, burnt up all their fields, deſtroyed their flocks and herds, ranſacked and demoliſhed their cities, quite laid the whole country waſte, and ſlew all the young men with the edge of the ſword; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the ſea-coaſts, that Tyre, Sidon, Azotus, Aſcalon and others, trembled, and ſued for mercy; ſending, in all haſte, ambaſſadors to him to treat of peace, who, proſtrating themſelves before him, acknowledged themſelves the ſervants of the mighty Nabuchadonoſor, his maſter, and made a moſt humble tender of all that in the world belonged to them, to be diſpoſed of by him, as to him ſhould ſeem beſt [b].

UPON this, Holofernes drew down towards the ſea coaſt, where he filled the chief cities with gariſons of his own, whence he, at the ſame time, picked out the choiceſt men to ſupply the place of ſuch as he thus detached from his army; and all this tyranny he exerciſed amidſt the joyful acclamations of all the people he thus enthralled, who every where received the Aſſyrian general and his army with garlands, and dances, and the ſound of timbrels; but this welcome could no where ſave their frontiers, their groves, or their gods; Holofernes having determined to demoliſh the former, and to deſtroy all the gods of the land whereſoever he ſhould come, that all nations might worſhip Nabuchadonoſor only, and all tongues and tribes call

[a] Ibid. [b] Ibid. & c. iii.

(W) We forbear to enquire into the particular ſite of theſe nations; ſuch of them as we can fix will be found in the proper maps.

call upon him, and upon him only, as god (X). And having, without oppoſition, wrought his pleaſure in theſe parts, he moved off towards the plain of Eſdraelon; and advancing towards Judea, he encamped between Geba and Scythopolis, where he halted a whole month for the rendezvous of his baggage and ſcattered parts of his army [c].

IN this ſituation he redoubled the alarm he had before given to the inhabitants of Judea, who thereupon took what meaſures they could to obſtruct his paſſage and defend themſelves. Holofernes indeed intended to deal by them as he had dealt by others, and, we may be ſure, was highly exaſperated, when he heard the Jews were reſolved upon an obſtinate reſiſtance. The news and confirmation of this ſtirred him up to anger; and convening the chiefs of Ammon, Moab, and the ſea coaſt, he required them to inform him concerning the people who thus pretended to withſtand his progreſs; and how it was, that they alone, of all the people of the weſt, ſhould preſume to ſtand out againſt the Aſſyrian power? to which he was anſwered, by the chief of the ſons of Ammon, Achior by name, who, reciting to him the hiſtory of the Jews from Abraham, upon the whole aſſured him, that if they were in favour with God, it would be in vain for him to think of ſubduing them; and that it would, in that caſe, be dangerous for him to hazard his honour againſt them; but that if indeed they had ſinned, they might be as eaſily reduced as any other nation. This diffident and ambiguous counſel was not only diſpleaſing to Holofernes, but raiſed a tumult among the chiefs of Phœnice and Moab who were preſent, and who would have perſuaded him to put Achior to death for his inſolence, vaunting againſt the children of Iſrael, and ſetting them at nought [d].

WHEN the tumult was ceaſed, Holofernes called out to Achior, and treated him as a wretch, who had on ſet purpoſe propheſied againſt him, and blaſpheming againſt God,

[c] Ibid. [d] Ibid. c. iv. v.

(X) He here ſeems to have aſſumed beyond any of his predeceſſors. This may ſerve as an inſtance, that the Aſſyrians aboliſhed the religion of the countries where-ever they came, to introduce the worſhip of their own princes, dead or living; to keep the nations the more in awe, and the more to exalt the majeſty of their own kingdom. This may be added to what we have already obſerved of the ſame kind on ſeveral paſſages of this hiſtory and practice of the people.

ſpoke of Nabuchadonoſor as above him; he then ordered him out of his preſence, dooming him to death with the Jews, whom he intended ſhortly to cut off. Hereupon he ordered his ſervants to guard him to a ſtrong place belonging to the Jews, that he might there wait till his appointed hour was come. Bethulia was the place named, and thither he was accordingly carried; and being got into the city, he informed them of whatever he knew in relation to Holofernes and his deſigns [e].

Beſieges Bethulia.

THE next day Holofernes ordered, that a motion ſhould in general be made to inveſt Bethulia; the vaſt multitude obeyed and encamped upon a wide extent of ground from Dothaim to Belmaim, and from Bethulia to Cyamon, over-againſt Eſdraelon. The day after this, Holofernes, at the head of all his horſemen, and in the ſight of all the people of Bethulia, took a view of the paſſages to the city, and ſeizing upon and ſetting a guard over their ſprings of water, returned again to the groſs of his army. Upon his return, the chiefs of the Edomites adviſed him not to think of aſſaulting the beſieged, becauſe of their ſituation, but rather to keep the waters that ſupplied the city under a ſtrong guard, and ſo deſtroy the people by thirſt, while he ſat quietly in his camp, and ſaved himſelf and army the trouble of putting thoſe to death, who muſt of neceſſity die for want of water; and ſo be ſufficiently avenged on them for their rebellious behaviour. Holofernes approved the advice, and ordered the neceſſary diſpoſitions to put it effectually in execution [f].

HAVING continued in this inactive ſtate about 35 days, and waiting the miſerable end of the beſieged, who for want of water were indeed ready to expire; word was brought him of a beautiful and comely woman from Bethulia, who was without his tent. He was then repoſing himſelf under a rich canopy of purple, gold, emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and hearing of Judith, that was the woman's name, he went out to ſee her in great ſtate, with ſilver lamps carried before him. Judith fell proſtrate on her face before him, and being taken up from the ground, he ſpoke kindly to her, deſired her to fear nothing, and aſſured her he never did harm to thoſe who were willing to ſerve his great maſter Nabuchadonoſor; and more to the ſame purpoſe, relating to herſelf and the people ſhe came from. In the end, ſhe told him an artful ſtory to encourage him in his

[e] Ibid. c. xii. [f] Ibid. c. vi. vii.

his hopes against the people of Bethulia; with her words she deceived him, and with her beauty she ensnared his heart. For four days he left her mistress of herself, unattempted and unconfined, though her actions and behaviour were entirely calculated to deprive him of life. At the end of this term he could refrain no longer, but ordered his chief eunuch, Bagoas, to persuade her to his bed; which she dissembling a readiness to comply with, Holofernes gave himself up to an excess of wine, and being left alone with her, she took her opportunity in the dead of night, and severed his head from his body, with his own sword, and carried it off with her to the besieged [g] (Y).

[g] Ibid. c. viii, ix, x, xi, &c.

(Y) This story may meet with very little credit, and indeed we are very apt to think it is not true; and this may derive such a blemish on the whole book, as to make some doubt of the sincerity of any thing else said in it; nor should we be very ready to add much faith to any part of it, were it not so directly confirmed to us by Herodotus, and so sufficiently by Ctesias and all his followers, as we have observed in some parallel places. The heroine herself, Judith, may be a fictitious character, calculated more for example than any thing else, and visibly meant to inculcate into us an heroic love of our country and readiness to sacrifice ourselves in its defence; or it may have been meant some how or other as a compliment to the Jews, by representing them to have had the honour of a share in pulling down the proud towers of Niniveh. Whatever may have been intended by what is told of Judith herself, the substance of the book in other respects is undoubtedly true, as may be made to appear, not only by the concurrence of the authors we have mentioned, but also by the time it was wrote in, which it is perfectly consistent with. One of the greatest difficulties to be surmounted in the vindicating of this apocryphal book, is, that throughout the whole there is no mention made of a king in the land; whereupon Prideaux (14) observes, that if we could put this history so far back as the minority of Manasseh, it would be a most important point gained; for that then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king; but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom in the transacting of the whole affair. To put this history so far back as he would have it, he confesses impossible, but we have proved, that if the years of the reign of Manasseh and his son Amon are right, and

(14) Connect of the Old and New Test. Book 1. Part. 1. p. 41. 8vo.

THE Assyrians, ignorant of what had been transacted in the recesses of their general's tent that night, and perceiveing the besieged in motion the next morning, as if they intended an assault, sent notice of it to Holofernes who was found headless in his tent, to the unspeakable surprize of all that beheld or heard it. At this the Assyrians lost all courage, and, seized with a panic, betook them to the most precipitate flight, as if in the tragical end of their general they foresaw their own. They left all their treasure and baggage behind them, and were pursued with a great slaughter to Chobai [h].

THUS ended this insolent expedition; but whether exactly after this manner or any other we have not to say; but that it was unfortunate, and highly so, may appear by what in a few years after followed, meaning no less than the fall of the Assyrian empire. What farther relates to this emperor we are at a loss to know, except that we are told he was succeeded by a king called

SARAC (Z), who committing his forces in Chaldæa to Nabopallasar [i], he rebelled against him, and seized on the kingdom

[h] Ibid c. xv. [i] Polyhist. apud Syncel. Chron. p. 210.

and if Ptolemy's canon is to be depended on, this story may stand most naturally in the first years of Josiah, who was a minor of but eight years of age; so that, according to him, it is no wonder, there is no mention made of so very young a king throughout this whole book of Judith. Those who would know more of this may consult the same learned author, who has professedly treated on this subject (15), which is somewhat foreign to our design, and would besides draw us into too great a length.

(Z) This name may have been contracted from Sarchedon, as this was from Asserhadon, Asserhadon-pul, or Sardanapalus (16). Here we seemingly see then, whence we are to derive the two Sardanapaluses in profane authors (17), and particularly those in Suidas (18), distinguished, the one as a warrior, the other as an effeminate creature (19). The great Asserhadon (20) was the former, and this king, who according to our supposition must have been the second of the name, was the latter.

(15) Ibid. (16) Sir If. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 293. See before in the notes, p. 278. (17) See before in the notes, p. 255, 256. (18) Ad vocem Σαρδαναπαλος. (19) See before in the notes, Ibid. (20) See before, p. 278.

kingdom of Babylon for himself, (A), and in that kingdom therefore may be said to have been the immediate successor of Chyniladan, or Nabuchadonosor (B), as he stands in the canon of Ptolemy. The two revolted kingdoms of the Medes

(A) This Nabopallasar was confessedly an Assyrian by his name, which must have been derived from Nebo-pul-assur; this sufficiently declares the nation he was of, and it is confirmed by Polyhistor (21), who calls him, upon what authority we cannot conceive, Sardanapalus. So that according to this there must have been two Sardanapaluses existing together, the one rising into prosperity, the other falling into the pit of adversity. From some such notion it must have been, that we read also of another city of Niniveh, to which the unfortunate Sardanapalus sent in his distress (22). But he was then actually blocked up in his capital, by the united force of the Medes and Babylonians, and this man, according to our historian (23), was the Babylonian that actually joined with the medes to destroy Niniveh; so that there is no manner of congruity in the two facts as related. The apparent truth of this man's accession to the throne of Babylon seems to have been this; as he was confessedly an Assyrian, he may have laid claim to the throne of Babylon in right of succession, as of the younger branch of the Assyrians descended from the great Nabonassar, who seems to have had the kingdom of Babylon allotted to him by his father, or grandfather, Pul, the first Assyrian conqueror, while he left Assyria to his eldest son. He may, it is likely, have made this claim, and the seemingly unfortunate end of the reign of Chyniladan (24) may, upon the death of that emperor, and the unsettled state he must have left things in, have tempted him to seize on Babylon immediately for himself, and in his own right; which, it is probable, he had never dared to attempt before. Hence it must seemingly have been, that we have no mention of Sarac, or whatever else he may have been called in Ptolemy's canon.

(B) The note above makes this sufficiently appear, and what we have there already said seems to have been really the case. The Medes were at open war with the Assyrians (25), the rest of the nations were partly ready to shake off the yoke which had been reimposed on them by Chyniladan (26), if they did not really shake it off upon the defeat of his army under Holofernes (27); and partly in an actual state of independence, having shaken off the yoke even in the days of Asserhadon, and perhaps before (28); and

(21) Apud Syncell. Chronogr. p. 210. (22) See before in the notes, p. 258. (23) Alexand. Polyhist. apud Syncell. ubi sup. (24) See before, p. 290. (25) Herodot. l. 1. c. 102. (26) See before, p. 289. (27) Ibid. 290. (28) See before in the notes, p. 277.

Medes and Babylonians conſpired together againſt the emperor at Niniveh, entered into alliances with each other, Nabopallaſar particularly ſending to Aſtyages the Mede, to demand his daughter, Amyite, or Aroite, in marriage for his ſon Nebuchadnezzar [k] (C). The families thus united make war upon Sarac, who, dreading the calamities ready to befal him, waited not for the event, but burnt his palace, and

[k] Idem, apud eund. ibid.

and this ſeiſure on Babylon muſt have been ſuch a blow to the Aſſyrian monarchy as it never after could recover; and when the two potent and enterprizing kings of the Medes and of the Babylonians came to unite their forces together, it is no wonder the Aſſyrian, who was deſerted on all hands, could not long withſtand ſuch a conjunction, and immediately began to dwindle, till he became quite extinct, and afterwards obliterated.

(C) Here we ſee the new prince of Babylon making the moſt effectual court to the king of the Medes, and contracting the moſt intimate of alliances with him for their mutual ſupport. Theſe two are then the Beleſis and Arbaces of Cteſias (29) under different names; but more rationally employed towards the ſubverſion of the Aſſyrian empire. We ſee them here contracting with each other as conſiderable princes, who could no longer brook ſubjection, and not two obſcure revolters and conſpirators, ſecretly combining togther at Niniveh. It is to our purpoſe, that Polyhiſtor (30) calls this Babylonian Nabopallaſar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabuchadonoſor, the firſt Babylonian monarch that makes his appearance in ſcripture, and thereby ſo quadrates therewith, throughout the whole ſyſtem of the Aſſyrian and Babylonian hiſtory, as there recorded, as to ſettle the riſe of the Babylonian empire, and the fall, nearly of the Aſſyrian, beyond any poſſibility of diſpute; nor can Cteſias's Beleſis (31) have been any other than this Nabopallaſar, and the rather as Polyhiſtor (32) ſays, he was no more than governor of Chaldæa or Babylon, while he calls Aſtyages the Mede, his friend, the ſatrapa or lord of Media, and thereby makes the diſtinction of ſuperiority between them which Cteſias aſſerts; ſo that in the main, Cteſias may be ſaid to agree with this author, and to have had his accounts imperfectly delivered to him, if he did not indeed make it his choice to embelliſh this part of his Aſſyrian hiſtory, as well as the reſt, with the glaring tinſel of romance.

(29) See before, p. 255. (30) Apud Syncell. ubi ſup. (31) See before, ubi ſup. (32) Apud Syncell. ubi ſup.

and himself therewith [1], and may, it is likely, have been the Sardanapalus talked of by profane historians (D). Thus fell the empire of Assyria, or in some such manner, (E), and the Medes and Babylonians triumphed over its ruins

[1] Idem, ibid.

(D) He dreaded perhaps the fury of such implacable enemies as these may have been, and particularly of Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes (33), who was determined to avenge the death of his father (34) Phraortes, who must have been the same with the Astyages of Polyhistor (35), and the Arphaxad of the Apocrypha (36); or perhaps the excess of his pride was such, that he could not bear the thoughts of captivation or deprivation, but chose rather to undergo the most cruel of deaths, even burning itself. It is observed (37) to be very extraordinary, that so many have voluntarily undergone this most exquisite torment, when they had it in their choice to put an end to life so many other ways. In the case of those who have burned themselves merely to put an end to their days, without any sort of constraint, after the manner of the Indians, religion or superstition may be urged in their behalf, than which nothing has a more powerful effect upon the minds and tempers of men. But in the case of Sardanapalus and others, who may have dreaded a severe constraint of person, or a disastrous loss of life by the hand of a remorseless enemy, it is no such great wonder, that they should take the most effectual way to destroy both themselves and what belonged to them, that the enemy might not quench the thirst of his rage with their blood, or inrich himself with their spoils. The motive to this, in those that have suffered it, may be ascribed to the highest sort of revenge; it being the only method they could take to disappoint the enemy, and make him, what he might call a sufferer even by their destruction.

(E) We have made it our business in several preceding notes in this section, and in some at the latter end of the former, to shew, that there are two Sardanapaluses in the profane writers, and that these two can have been no other than the great Asserhadon and this last king of Assyria (38), who may have been the second of the name, as the contraction of his name, which is all we have of it, seems to imply. The profane accounts, as we have seen, represent the one to have been a great and magnificent prince, and to have built even two cities in one day, as Tarsus and Anchiale, and to have died peaceably

(33) Herodot. l. 1. c. 102. (34) Idem, ibid. (35) Apud Syncell. ubi sup. (36) Judith c. 1. ver. 5. (37) Is. Causab. in not. ad Athen. l. 12. c. 7. (38) See before in the notes, p. 293.

ruins (F), pursuant to the prophets (G): . . . *Wo to the* Assyrian, *the rod of mine anger . . . I will punish the fruit of*

peaceably and quietly in his bed(39); the other a sluggard, who perish. ed in the flames that consumed his palace, his servants, and his treasures(40). The former then must have been the great Asserhadon, or Sardon-pul, of scripture, and the latter must have been this obscure prince Sarac, Sarchedon, or Sardon-pul; for that the empire did not fall under the former is most evident, and that it fell under the latter is almost as plain, by the obscurity of what is related concerning him. For by Herodotus (41) it is clear, it had dwindled away apace after the death of the great Asserhadon, and languished greatly under the inactive reign of Saosduchinus, who gave the turbulent Medes an opportunity of recollecting that strength, that may have been impaired by the successes of his fortunate predecessor, who was certainly the greatest of all the Assyrian monarchs; insomuch, that Chyniladan, who succeeded Saosduchinus, with all his resolution and valour had much ado to curb them (42); but he dying under some misfortunes, as should seem by his history, and his successor Sarac perhaps proving to be an effeminate and slothful man, the Assyrian throne sunk still deeper than it had ever been, and those who had professed obedience to it hitherto began to desert it, and to conspire against it; and being under this cloud, and just on the verge of disappearing for ever, it is no wonder, we have no certain notice of what particularly befel it at its final dissolution; and the rather, as all these parts were at the same time disturbed by a violent irruption of the Scythians, who kept things in suspence, or rather in subjection to them during 28 years, during which time the Assyrian at Niniveh must have grown less and less considerable, and but gasped till the fatal blow was given. Hence it is, that we know so little of Sarac, the last king of Niniveh, and the exact time of the fall of this empire.

(F) After this manner it certainly came to destruction, for besides what Ctesias (43) writes, and Polyhistor (44), even Herodotus (45) intimates, that it was subverted by the Medes and Babylonians; by saying, that the Medes conquered all Assyria, excepting a part of the province of Babylonia. Whereby he seems to understand, that the Babylonian was a dependant on the Mede; though he did not deserve the honour of being accounted his ally and confederate, as if the Mede would have been powerful enough of himself, without such assistance as the Babylonian could afford

(39) Athen. Deipnos. l. 12. p. 529. (40) See before, p. 259. (41) l. 1. c. 102. (42) See before, p. 286. (43) Ibid. p. 259. (44) Apud Syncell. ubi sup. (45) Ubi sup.

afford him. In this he tacitly agrees both with Cteſias and Polyhiſtor; for the former repreſents the Babylonian rather as a client, than an aſſiſtant, to the Mede (46); and the latter tell us, the Babylonian had no ſooner ſeized on his portion than he applied to the Mede for protection, and, to ſecure himſelf and deſcendants in his new poſſeſſions, ſued to him for a marriage between the families (47); and that there was this difference of rank between them, may be pretty clearly underſtood by a prophecy in Iſaiah, which we ſhall not fail to take notice of preſently. Upon the whole, though Cteſias is to be condemned for having made a romance of the Aſſyrian affairs, and for the many inconſiſtencies and falſhoods he has heaped together concerning the ſame, it appears, that he had ſome ſort of information concerning the fall of this monarchy. We have already ſeen ſome paſſages in him parallel with others in the book of Judith, as forerunning the ſubverſion of this empire (48); but then he has miſapplied his facts to Chyniladan, or Nabuchadonoſor, the laſt king but one, and not to Sarac, or Sardanapalus, the laſt king of all.

(G) The exact time of this great event may perhaps be ſettled pretty nearly. If Chyniladan, or Nabuchadonoſor, died in the ſixth year of Joſiah, as we have as good as proved (49), it muſt follow, that the ſame Joſiah, being ſlain by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, when there was a king of Aſſyria ſtill in being (50), that kingdom continued many years after the death of Chyniladan; for Joſiah reigned 31 years (51), the laſt of which may coincide with the fourth year of Nabocolaſſarus, or Nebuchadnezzar, ſo that his father Nabopallaſſarus, who immediately ſeized upon the kingdom of Babylon, upon the deceaſe of Chyniladan, or Nabuchadonoſor, did not live to ſee the deſtruction of Niniveh, which may have ſtood ſome years after his death. Now that it came to paſs, that Niniveh ſtood ſo long after the combination of the Medes and Babylonians againſt it, was owing to a ſtop put to their deſigns, by an irruption of the Scythians (52), who can have been no other than the Bactrians mentioned before (53), to have come upon the Medes and Babylonians, while they were beſieging that city. Theſe Scythians held dominion over Aſia, as it is called, (54) for the ſpace of 28 years; during which the confederates were ſo far from being able to act againſt the king of Aſſyria, that they muſt have been under conſiderable conſtraint and tribute, as well as the other kings and princes in theſe parts. The Scythians then were lords in theſe

parts

(46) See before, p. 255. (47) Apud Syncell. chronogr. p. 210. (48) See before in the notes, p. 287, 289. (49) Ibid. (50) See vol. ii. p. 63. (51) See before, p. 60. (52) Herodot. l. 1. c. 103. (53) p. 886. (54) Vid. Herodot. ubi ſup.

of the ſtout heart of the king of Aſſyria, *and the glory of his high looks. For he ſaith, By the ſtrength of my hand I have done it, and by my wiſdom, for I am prudent: and I have removed the bounds of the people, and robbed their treaſures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant* man. *And my hand hath found as a neſt the riches of the people: and as one gathereth eggs* that are left, *have I gathered all the earth, and there was none that moved the wing, or opened the mouth, or peeped. Shall the ax boaſt itſelf againſt him that heweth therewith?* or *ſhall* the *ſaw magnify itſelf againſt him that ſhaketh it? as if the rod ſhould ſhake* itſelf *againſt them that lift it up,* or *as if the ſtaff ſhould lift up* itſelf as if it were *no wood. Therefore ſhall the Lord, the Lord of Hoſts, ſend among his fat ones leanneſs, and under his glory he ſhall kindle a burning like the burning of a fire* (H). *And the light of* Iſrael *ſhall be for a fire, and his holy One for a flame, and it ſhall burn and devour his thorns and his briers in one day; and ſhall conſume the glory of his foreſt, and of his fruitful field, both ſoul and body; and they ſhall be as when a ſtandard-bearer fainteth. And the reſt of the trees of his foreſt ſhall be few, that a child may write them* [m] . . . *I will break the* Aſſyrian *in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then ſhall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their ſhoulders* [n] . . . *Through the voice of the Lord ſhall the* Aſſyrian *be beaten down,* which *ſmote with a rod* [o] . . . *Then ſhall the* Aſſyrian *fall with the ſword, not of a mighty man; and the ſword not of a mean*

[m] Iſai. x. 5.—20. [n] Idem, xiv. 25. [o] Idem, xxx. 31.

parts about ſix or ſeven years after the death of Nabopallaſſarus, and the work of deſtroying the kingdom of Aſſyria could not be compleated till the Scythians had been driven out of this part of Aſia, which happened at the expiration of the term of 28 years above-mentioned. They then proceeded againſt Niniveh, and deſtroyed it about the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah; but whether in the ſecond, third, or fourth year of his reign, we ſhall leave the reader to determine; but it is certain, to a ſufficient demonſtration, that in one of thoſe years Niniveh ſubmitted to fate.

(H) There may be thoſe who may imagine theſe words to be predictive of the manner of Sardanapalus's death, as related by profane authors (55).

(55) See before, p. 258.

a mean man shall devour him (I): *but he shall flee from the sword, and his young men shall be discomfited. And he shall pass over to his strong hold for fear* (K), *and his princes shall be afraid of the ensign, saith the Lord, whose fire is in* Zion, *and his furnace in* Jerusalem [p]. . . . . *Behold, the* Assyrian was *a cedar in* Lebanon, *with fair branches, and a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature, and his top was among the thick boughs. The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field. Therefore his height was exalted above all the trees of the field, and his boughs were multiplied, and his branches became long because of the multitude of his waters, when he shot forth. All the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs, and under his branches did all the beasts of the field bring forth their young, and under his shadow dwelt all great nations. Thus was he fair in his greatness, in the length of his branches; for his root was by great waters. The cedars in the garden of*

[p] Idem. xxxi. p. 8, 9.

(I) These two, the one *not a mighty man*, the other *not a mean man*, seem plainly to allude to the mighty Mede, and the dependent Babylonian, as we have distinguished them in a note or two above; so that this prophecy seems very naturally applicable to the two men that destroyed the kingdom of Assyria, as they are represented by the bulk of authors.

(K) We cannot help doing Ctesias the justice of observing, That this *flight from the sword*, this *discomfiture of the young men*, and this *retreat to the strong hold for fear*, seem exactly to quadrate with the circumstances he relates concerning the latter end of Sardanapalus (56). The *flight for fear* may allude to his flight when surprised in his camp (57); the *discomfiture of his young men*, to the slaughter of his army under Salmeneus (58); and his *passing over to his strong hold*, to his betaking himself to his city of Niniveh (59). We leave this matter to the reader's fancy or determination, and have taken notice of it chiefly to shew, that it is not from any prejudice conceived particularly against Ctesias, that we have laboured so much against him, or because we are fond of erecting or sustaining an hypothesis; and that we should have been as ready to have followed him as any other, could we safely have done it. In a word, he meant no Assyrian monarchy but that in scripture, which was either strangely distorted for him, or he must, studiously and most unpardonably, have disguised it himself.

(56) See before, ibid. (57) See before, p. 257. (58) Ibid. (59) Ibid.

of God could not hide him: the fir-trees were not like his boughs, and the chesnut-trees were not like his branches; nor any tree in the garden of God was like unto him in his beauty. I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden, *that were in the garden of God, envied him. Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Because thou hast lifted up thyself in height, and he hath shot up his top among the thick boughs, and his heart is lifted up in his height; I have delivered him into the hand of the mighty one of the heathen: he shall surely deal with him. I have driven him out for his wickedness. And strangers, the terrible of the nations, have cut him off, and have left him: upon the mountains and in all the vallies his branches are fallen, and his boughs are broken by all the rivers of the land, and all the people of the earth are gone down from his shadow, and have left him. Upon his ruin shall all the fowls of the heaven remain, and all the beasts of the field shall be upon his branches. To the end that none of all the trees by the waters exalt themselves for their height, neither shoot up their top among the thick boughs, neither their trees stand up in their height, all that drink water: for they are all delivered unto death, to the nether parts of the earth in the midst of the children of men, with them that go down to the pit. Thus saith the Lord God, In the day when he went down to the grave, I caused a mourning, I covered the deep for him, and I restrained the floods thereof, and the great waters were stayed; and I caused* Lebanon *to mourn for him, and all the trees of the field fainted for him. I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit: and all the trees of* Eden, *the choice and best of* Lebanon, *all that drink water shall be comforted in the nether parts of the earth. They also went down into hell with him unto them that be slain with the sword, and they that were his arm, that dwelt under his shadow in the heathen*[q]. . . . . *Thy shepherds slumber, O king of* Assyria, *thy nobles shall dwell in the dust: thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no man gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise: thy wound is grievous: all that hear the bruit of thee, shall clap the hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness past continually*[r]*?* Such was the great empire of Assyria, such her glory, as to be accounted, even by God himself, the first and supreme of nations, and such her fearful fall; nor is all this meant of any

[q] Ezek. xxxi. 3, 17. [r] Nahum iii. 18, 19.

any other than the monarchy founded by Pul, who firſt began to afflict Iſrael, and Judah, and the neighbouring nations; and whoſe ſucceſſors were the firſt that attempted to extinguiſh the great nations on this ſide of the Euphrates, who extended their dominion over all lands, and who fell to naught in the perſon of Sarac, Aſſerhaddon II. or Sardanapalus [s]; ſo that Aſſyria being expunged from the book of nations, and her records long ſince no more; falſhood has been invented and propagated to preſerve her the honour truth was deprived of being able to pay her, and concerning which we ſhould have had next to nothing of genuine to relate, but for the plain aſſiſtance of ſcripture and the moſt ineſtimable concurrence of Ptolemy's Aſtronomical Canon.

[s] See before in the notes, p. 293.

CHAP. IX.

The Hiſtory of the BABYLONIANS.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of the Country of BABYLON, *or* CHALDÆA.

WE have already done conſiderably towards the geography of this kingdom, and particularly with regard to the times immediately ſucceſſive to the deluge [t]. Its moſt antient name was Shinaar, Sennaar, Senjâr, Singara, and the like [u], but whether or no it extended to what has been ſince known more peculiarly for the dominions of Babylon, we have already declared [w] we know not, nor is it poſſible to gather it to any great degree of ſatisfaction, though Names.

[t] See vol. i. particularly in the notes, p. 362, 408. [u] See vol. i. p. 361, 408. [w] See before, in the places of the two foregoing citations.

though there is some reason to think it did, because it is used to denote this whole kingdom, when in the meridian of empire *. Babylon is a name universally supposed to have been borrowed from that of the tower and city of Babel; and Chaldæa from the Chaldæans, or Chasdim [x].

These two last names sometimes extend themselves over the whole territory, being indifferently usurped for each other; but are sometimes limited to certain parts of it, Babylon being used for the parts between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, and the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city itself of Babylon; and Chaldæa for the parts more immediately conterminous with Arabia, and stretching south-eastward to the shore of the Persian gulph. These two great names were also used in distinction of each other upon another account, not so much to our present purpose; finally, they were sometimes swallowed up by that of Assyria [y].

Divisions. By this means this kingdom came to be divided into two principal parts, together, it is likely, making up a considerable extent, and including a very great portion of Mesopotamia, and a good and valuable tract of what may be, properly enough, called Arabia; whence it may be distinguished into the Mesopotamian and the Arabian.

Extent uncertain. How far this country extended northward is past our determination, but for its limits westward, southward, and eastward, we cannot be very much at a loss, seeing it was

Situation and boundaries. to the eastward bounded by the Tigris, which divided it from Assyria; to the southward by the conflux of the two rivers and the Persian gulph, and to the westward by the Desart Arabia; to the northward it must have been bounded by some part of Mesopotamia, but by what part of it we shall never be able to tell, till we know how far they incroached upon each other, and were considered as distinct countries. Hence it is sometimes a practice with geographers to treat of Babylonia and Mesopotamia at the same time and once for all [z], as being properly one and the same country.

This ample region may very naturally suit with the majesty of the Babylonian kings; but the name must certainly

* Dan. i. 2. [x] See vol. i. p. 459. [y] Strabo, l. 16. p. 736. Herodot. &c. &c. &c. [z] Vid. Cellar. Notit. Orb. Antiq. vol. ii. c. 16. p. 451.

ly have prevailed, in antient days, beyond its proper limits (L); and that it did not become even more universal, must have been owing to its being second to the Assyrian, which had rooted itself firmly over all the kingdoms about, and for which the Babylonians must have had too much veneration to attempt to change it, seeing it may have been by

(L) The limits of the Babylonian empire were much the same with those of the Assyrian empire after the revolt of the Medes, and hence the Babylonian name was almost as widely extended as the Assyrian, and indeed they are frequently used the one for the other, though this latter seems to have had the ascendant and pre-eminence, as being prior, and, as it were, superior to the former. "Berosus saith, That Nebuchadnezzar held E-" gypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia; and Strabo adds Arbela " to the territories of Babylon; and saying that Babylon was " antiently the metropolis of Assyria, he thus describes the limits " of the Assyrian empire [or more properly the Babylonian]. " Contiguous, saith he, [l. 16.] to Persia and Susiana are the As-" syrians; for so they call Babylonia, and the greatest part of the " region about it; part of which is Aturia, wherein Ninus " [or Niniveh], and Appolloniatis, and the Elymæans, and the " Parætacæ, and Chalonitis by the mountain Zagrus, and the " fields near Ninus, and Dolomene, and Chalachene, and Cha-" zene, and Adiabene, and the nations of Mesopotamia near the " Gordyæans, and the Mygdones about Nisibis, unto Zeugma " upon Euphrates; and a large region on this side of the Euph-" rates, inhabited by the Arabians and Syrians, properly so called, " as far as Cilicia, and Phœnicia, and Libya, and the sea of E-" gypt, and the Sinus Issicus:" And a little after, describing the extent of the Babylonian region, he " bounds it on the north " with the Armenians and Medes, unto the mountain Zagrus; " on the east side with Susa, and Elymais, and Parætacene, in-" clusively; on the south with the Persian gulf and Chaldæa, and " on the west with the Arabes Scenitæ as far as Adiabene and Gor-" dyæa:" Afterwards, speaking of Susiana and Sittacene, a region between Babylon and Susa, and of Parætacene, and Cossæa, and Elymais, and of the Sagapeni and Siloceni, two little adjoining provinces; he concludes, [l. 16. p. 745.] " And these are the na-" tions which inhabit Babylonia eastward: to the north are Media " and Armenia, exclusively; the greatest part of Adiabene is plain, " the same being part of Babylonia: in some places it borders on " Armenia; for the Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians warred " frequently on one another (60)." We here see Assyria and Babylonia most remarkably confounded together, not only as the same empire, but as the same country.

(60) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. p. 324, 325.

them deemed their greateſt glory, that they were of Aſſyrian origin themſelves, as will be ſeen hereafter. But it is certain, that the proper Babylon, in later times, was confined to the very ſouthermoſt parts of Meſopotamia, which our maps ſometimes repreſent as a peninſula, or rather, as it is, a cluſter of iſlands; this ſmall territory, together with the proper Chaldæa already mentioned, is now deſcribed for this country, which, in antient days, obtained as far to the northward, as ſhould ſeem, as Senjâr at leaſt.

Climate and fertility.

THIS country, lying within the fifth north climate, enjoys an air very temperate and wholeſome for the moſt part, though at certain ſeaſons of the year no air can be poſſibly more dangerous to breathe in. The heats are ſo extraordinary here, that the richer ſort were uſed to ſleep in tubs and ciſterns of water *, nor could they bear to live without this pernicious practice, which ſtill continues, as every body that has been in theſe parts very well knows; and at certain ſeaſons they have here the dreadful plague of a peſtilential wind, much talked of by modern travellers, and which we ſhall be more particular about in the geography of Perſia. It ſeldom or never rains here for certain months of the year; ſo that the inhabitants, in the northermoſt parts of this country, and generally all over it, are at great labour and trouble in watering their lands, when the convenience of waters will allow them to do it; and eſpecially along the banks of the Euphrates, where their engines and wheels are ſo frequent, as ſometimes to hurt the navigation of the river †. This drought continues commonly eight months of the year [a]; nay, it has been ſometimes known not to have rained here for two years and a half together, and the inhabitants reckon, that if it does but rain twice or thrice in a year, it is enough for their purpoſe [b]: this is remarked by Herodotus [c], who ſays, that in the land of the Aſſyrians it ſeldom rained; and that, though the country was quite like Egypt, its fertility was not cauſed by the inundations of the river, as in that country, but by the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually watered it by hand, or dug trenches, and other conveyances of that kind, for the refreſhment and

* Plutar. Sympoſ. l. 3. p. 640. † See Leon. Rauwolf's Travels into the Eaſtern Country, part 2. c. 6. p. 160. [a] Vid. Purch. Pilgr. vol. 1. c. 12. p. 62. [b] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. p. 152. [c] l. 1. c. 193. Vid. & Strab. l. 15. p. 692.

and fecundation of this country, though, however, the ſame ſort of labour is neceſſary even in Egypt [d]. The ſoil being rich, the climate in general excellent, and the induſtry of the inhabitants what it ought to be, this country for fertility uſed to vie with any other ſpot on the face of the earth. We have ſeen it compared to Egypt, as above, and the ſouthermoſt parts of it between the rivers may be particularly compared with the Delta of that country, it being, like that, made up of endleſs iſlands, ſome formed by nature, and ſome by art, and is beſides almoſt under the ſame parallel of latitude; nor is the other part of it, Chaldæa properly ſo called, between the Euphrates and the mountains of Babylon, as they are commonly termed, much leſs watered by rivers and canals conducted from the Euphrates, and large reſervoirs or lakes ſeemingly borrowed from the ſame river. And hence it is, that [e] Herodotus compares this country with Egypt, and hence, together with the excellence of its ſoil, it was ſo fruitful, that the ſame venerable author [f] imagines it impoſſible any one ſhould believe what he could ſay about it, that had not, like himſelf, been an eye-witneſs of the ſame; though he ventures to aſſert, that, for the plenty of its productions, it was reckoned to be a third part of Aſia, that is of the Perſian empire, and that, when it exceeded even itſelf, it would yield 300 fold, but 200 moſt commonly.

BEING a country of ſuch plenty of waters, and being for the moſt part low and flat, it may chiefly, of trees, have abounded with the willow, whence it came to be called the The Valley of Willows, as Prideaux [g] would, after Bochart, mend the text [h]. The palm alſo flouriſhed naturally all over this land, and chiefly that of the date kind, as we underſtand our author [i], which afforded them, as he expreſſes himſelf [k], meat, and wine, and honey, though the vine, the olive, and the fig, were what this otherwiſe happy country could not boaſt of [l], no more than her ſiſter Egypt. But for grain it exceeded every other land; the millet and the ſeſame ſhot up here to the ſize of trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were uſually four good fingers broad [m]. The ſeſame afforded them oil inſtead of the olive, and the palm afforded them wine inſtead Productions.

[d] See Vol. i. p. 496. [e] Ubi ſupr. [f] Ibidem. [g] Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. part 1 book 2. p. 105. in 8vo. [h] Iſai. xv. 7. [i] Herodot. ubi ſup. [k] Ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid.

ſtead of the grape [n]. In ſhort, for vegetable productions it may be juſtly compared with Egypt; and to dwell on them would be little better than repeating what we have already ſaid about that country [o].

Rivers, canals, &c.

ALL this fertility muſt have been greatly owing to the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, which were wont in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, to overflow their banks, and lay this country under water; the ſnow in thoſe months melting away in great quantities from the mountains of Armenia. But this being found detrimental and deſtructive to the inhabitants, theſe inundations were guarded againſt by numbers of artificial rivers and canals, whereby the waters were diſtributed and abated, the country in general benefited, and an eaſy communication effected between the inhabitants. Some of theſe canals were ſo large as to be navigable in the winter months [p], but the chief of them all ſeems to have been the Naharmalcha, or Royal River [q]. Concerning this, and the reſt of its kind, we muſt always be a good deal in the dark; for till of late years we have known next to nothing of the face of this country, from the experience of our own travellers, or the aſſiſtance of the antient eaſt geographers, without which it is next to impoſſible to fix any thing certain about it in the antient weſtern geographers. Nor have we as yet, it is to be feared, ſufficient inſtructions with regard to the particulars of this intricate country, which can never be properly delineated, but by an actual and accurate ſurvey, which is what we can never ſo much as hope for. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the Naharmalcha, which, as repreſented by the antients, muſt have been a vaſt work, is not now eaſily diſtinguiſhable from the other branches and canals of this country. There is ſome difficulty to make the antient geographers, in this particular caſe, conſiſtent with the beſt of our preſent maps, nor are the ſame geographers in this caſe very conſiſtent with themſelves; ſo that in a point of this obſcurity we ſhall be as brief as poſſible deſpairing, with all the lights and aſſiſtances we have, to be able to fix this royal river quite to the ſatisfaction either of the reader or of ourſelves. The Naharmalcha is then by ſome [r] ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the river of Cûtha, now called Couti, or Cûti, which ſeems to have been an artificial branch conducted from the Euphrate

[n] Ibid. [o] See vol. i. p. 503. [p] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [q] Se
Vol. i. p. 191. [r] Al Tabari in cap. de Morte Saræ.

Euphrates into the inland of Arabia, where it falls into ſome lakes or waters, called the lake of Rahama, or Al Batayeh, in De Liſle's maps, and muſt have been, together with ſome overflowed lands, farther eaſtward in the proper Chaldea, the Paludes Babylonicæ of the antients. This river is ſaid to have been dug by Cûtha, or Cuſh, king of Babel, but it is more uſually by the oriental writers attributed to his ſon Nimrod [s]. This Naharmalcha is called a branch of the Euphrates, and is ſaid to have emptied itſelf into the lakes and upon the overflowed lands, to have divided the country, and to have waſhed the towns of Irâk, and is ſaid to have been the ſame called the river Sûd, the river of the Black Country, or of the Black Towns [t]. By this it ſhould have been no more than a branch of the Euphrates, by labour and art conducted into the inland of Arabia. The river of Nehardea, or River of Knowledge, ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the Narda of Ptolemy, and to have run not above 20 miles above Sora, or at leaſt the univerſity itſelf of Nehardea, a famous one belonging to the Jews, is ſaid to have been no farther diſtant from Sora, and to have been ſeated on the eaſtern banks of the Euphrates, and to have been many miles above the place from whence the royal river, or Naharmalcha, was derived on the oppoſite ſhore, by which it is to be concluded, that it ran weſtward or ſouthward of the Euphrates, and conſequently, that it could not poſſibly have had any communication with the Tigris, whereas by all the antients we underſtand, that it was a very large canal, navigable by ſhips, between the Tigris and Euphrates, and that it was cut for that very purpoſe. By Ptolemy we underſtand, that it did not only communicate with the two rivers, but alſo diſcharged itſelf into the Paludes, or ſtanding waters and overflowed grounds; by him we underſtand, that it was derived more properly from the Tigris, that it waſhed the walls of Babylon, or at leaſt ran not very far from that city, and that thence, mixing with the Euphrates, the canal was immediately continued away to the Paludes. It is not to be doubted, but that this Naharmalca was contrived more particularly for the great city of Babylon, that ſo it might have the immediate advantage of both the great rivers at once; and accordingly we have in De Liſle's maps a cut

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Vid. Hyde, & Hiſt. Relig. Vet. Perſar. p. 40.

or canal repreſented from the Tigris to the Euphrates, juſt by what are now called the ruins of Babylon; and exactly in a line with the river Cûtha, or Cûti, as it is now called and repreſented, which continues itſelf to the waters in the inland of Arabia; and thus we ſeem to have the true ſituation and extent of this river, which muſt certainly have been the ſame, and the rather as it is to this day called Almalec, the King, or Royal. It is in the ſame maps repreſented as imperfect, and as not reaching quite to the Euphrates, and therefore, as much as it may have been formerly conſidered as a branch of the Euphrates, it is now moſt properly a branch of the Tigris. It appears then, that it is partly choaked up, as it was in the days of Trajan [u], who reſtored it to its priſtine ſtate, after it had been for many ages dug by the great Nebuchadnezzar [w]. Thus, by comparing Ptolemy with the beſt of our modern geographers, it ſeems, that we have in general marked out the canal of the Naharmalcha, which may at firſt have included no more than the cut between the two rivers, though it came afterwards to be nominally extended to the incluſion of the river of Cûtha, which muſt have been a diſtinct work. At ſome diſtance to the weſtward of the Naharmalcha was another river, corruptedly in Ptolemy called the Maarſares, for the Naarſares, or the Nahar Sare, the Stinking River; this alſo he derives from the Tigris, and continues to the Paludes; but our beſt maps have no ſign of ſuch a river or canal at preſent in theſe parts; nor can we thereby fix the place of the Nehardea, or Naarda of Ptolemy above, which, though he mentions it as a town only, muſt by its name have been a river alſo, and, as we are told, to the weſtward of the Nahar Sare [x]. It may be labour in vain to attempt to trace out theſe and the other numerous branches and canals which watered the antient country of Babylon, though by the beſt helps we have. Many of them, that have been formerly conſiderable, may be now no more, and others may have been formed ſince, that were not in antient days; for a country ſo prodigiouſly watered, ſo low withal, and ſo ſubject to the violence of extraordinary inundations from two ſuch great rivers as the Tigris and Euphrates, and ſo neglected as it muſt for ages paſt have been, may be fairly con-

[u] Vid. Amm. Marcell. p. 498. [w] Megaſthen. ex Abyden. apud Euſeb. de præpar. evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456. [x] Vid. Hyde ubi ſupr. p. 71.

concluded to have changed face conſiderably, and frequently, ſince the time Ptolemy flouriſhed; and it muſt be next to impoſſible to delineate the exact face of this country, when it was the ſeat of empire, or when it had ſtrength and riches ſufficient to take care of its numerous banks, and to keep them in repair.

THE Euphrates, thus branched out and divided, may now claim to be conſidered ſeparately. The name of this river we have already ſpoken to [y], and have now to add, that it takes its riſe from the mountains of Armenia, and that it continues its courſe ſouthward, waſhing the eaſtern ſkirts of Syria, and ſouth eaſtward dividing Arabia from Meſopotamia, till, mixing with its fellow traveller the Tigris, it falls at length into the Perſian gulf. This conſiderable river is ſlow, for the moſt part, in its courſe [z], and not very well adapted throughout for navigation, becauſe of ſome parts of it which are ſhoal, and ſome parts of it that are rocky. We are told it is not navigable for the larger ſort of barks, any lower from Bir, or Beer, in Meſopotamia, than a place called Rouſvaine [a], which muſt be the Raſaine in ſome of De Liſle's maps, but that the ſmaller craft may go down quite to Baſſora. Beyond this Rouſvaine it ſeems there are rocks which are dangerous for the larger veſſels [b], but our author ſeems here to be quite miſtaken, for Rouſvaine, or Raſaine, is an inland place, at a diſtance from the banks of this river. A traveller [c] who actually went down this river, and ſeems to have had as great a ſenſe of the dangers of his voyage as any man could well have, makes no mention of rocks in this river till he comes down a great way below, to a place he calls Deer [d], and which is conſiderably beyond Racka, or Racca, where they were obliged to uſe the ſkill and aſſiſtance of pilots [e]. At Bir in Meſopotamia, which was the common place of embarkation from the weſtern parts, this river is compared to the Thames at London, but was then obſerved to have been conſiderably fallen [f]; and indeed the breadth of this river muſt be very uncertain, and, as the caſe uſually is, depend upon the ſeaſons and the weather. In many places it divides itſelf into ſeveral ſhallow branches,

The Euphrates.

[y] See vol. i. p. 191. [z] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. part 2. c. 1. p. 126. [a] Thevenot. Voy. au. Lev. part 1. c. 9. p. 46. [b] Thevenot. ibid. [c] Rauwolf. [d] Idem ibid. p. 152. [e] Ibid. [f] Maund. Jour. from Alepp. to the river Euphrat. p. 3. See alſo Thevenot. ubi ſupr.

branches, and forms ſeveral iſlands[g]; in ſome parts it is broad and ſhallow, in others wide and deep like a little ſea[h], and, upon the whole, is not near ſo convenient as the Tigris[i]. Though the Euphrates, we have obſerved above, is moderate in its courſe, its water is ſo continually foul, that there is no drinking it till it has ſettled for a time, or been paſſed through a cloth, or a ſtrainer[k]; but its water, when in proper order, is preferred before any in theſe parts, and ſaid to be lighter than any other, whence the river is known, with the neighbouring people, by a name which ſignifies the water of deſire[l]. The fiſh of this river is alſo reported to be excellent in kind, and particular notice is taken of one ſomewhat like a carp, which ſometimes weigh 17 or 18 pounds[m], which is all that may be neceſſary to ſay on this ſubject.

THE antient way of navigating this river has ſomething very ſingular and extraordinary in it. The veſſels they uſed were round, without diſtinction of head or ſtern, and were no better than great wicker baſkets coated over with hides, which they guided along with two oars or paddles. Theſe veſſels were of different ſizes, and would ſome of them carry a burden of palm wine, or other merchandiſe, to the weight of 5000 talents, and, according to their ſize, had live aſſes on board of them. Having thus fallen down the river to Babylon, and unloaded their cargoe, they ſtripped off their hides, and ſelling the reſt of their veſſel, with the ſtraw and whatever elſe might have ſerved them for the convenience of ſtowage, and putting their hides upon the backs of their aſſes, they returned by land to the place whence they came, where they wrought up another frame, or baſket, to repeat their voyage; it being impoſſible for them to ſtem the ſtream up again by water[n].

Natural and artificial rarities.

THIS country is more than ordinarily remarkable for the ſeat of Paradiſe, which is moſt rationally ſuppoſed to have been partly, if not all, within the limits of it[o]; as alſo for the great plain of Shinaar, now Senjâr, where the whole race of mankind were gathered together in one body after the flood, and whence they diſperſed themſelves over the face of the earth[p]. The bitumen of this country we

[g] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. p. 126. [h] Idem ibid. & p. 162. [i] Idem ibid. & Thevenot, ubi ſupr. [k] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. p. 126. [l] Thevenot. ubi ſupr. [m] Rauwolf ubi ſupr. [n] Herodot. l. 1. c. 194. [o] See vol. i. p. 193. [p] Ibid. p. 407, 444.

we have already [q] ſpoken of at large, as well as of the place where it more remarkably abounded [r]. The ruins of Babylon, and what remains of the tower, as ſuppoſed, of Babel, might here claim a place, had not another more proper occurred in the former part of this work [s].

SECT. II.

The Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the Babylonians.

BABEL is the firſt kingdom we find erected in ſcripture, and claims an origin prior to that of Aſſur, though, according to the common courſe of hiſtory, it muſt appear after it. Nimrod was the founder of it [t], but for many ages it enlarged not its bounds, and evidently appears to have remained a petty royalty, till the Aſſyrians paved the way to the empire it attained to. Or, on the other hand, if it be granted, that even under Nimrod himſelf it attained a height of power, nothing ſeems more natural than to conclude, that it ſuddenly fell down to a level with its neighbours, and even below ſome of them, and particularly the famous and antient kingdom of Elam, or Perſia; for ſo early as the days of Abraham we meet with a king of Sennaar, the antient Babylon, in the army of Chedorlaomer king of Elam [u], as a vaſſal, ſeemingly, and a tributary. The arguments we have formerly uſed to deſtroy the boaſted antiquity of Aſſyria [w], may be exhibited here to deſtroy that of this empire; but not to repeat what we have ſo fully urged, and which muſt of courſe affect this empire, as it confeſſedly roſe upon the ruins of the former; we would only take notice, that ſcripture knows nothing of any king of Babylon from the king of Shinaar above in the army of Elam, till the days of Merodach Baladan, who was contemporary with Hezekiah [x]; as alſo that, by the ſeveral hiſtories of the nations that precede in this work, it is plain, that no Babylonian ſcepter awed any one of them, till many years after the ſaid Merodach Baladan. So that, though we confeſs this to have been the moſt

Antiquity.

[q] See vol. i. in the notes, p. 413. [r] Ibid. [s] Ibid. p. 414, 416. [t] Ibid. p. 463. [u] Geneſ. xiv. 9. [w] See before in the preceding chapter paſſim. [x] 2 King. xx. 12.

moſt antient kingdom of the world, we deny it to have reached the imperial dignity till what we may call very lately, in compariſon of what has been vainly boaſted, and unwarily believed.

THE Babylonians, or Chaldeans, however laid claim to a moſt enormous antiquity, unwilling to be behind-hand with the Egyptians, or any nation elſe, pretending to have regiſtred the tranſactions of 150,000 years [y], according to ſome, or 473,000 years, according to others [z], reckoning down to Alexander, from the time they firſt began to obſerve the ſtars; a moſt monſtrous fable, which needs no refutation, though it may deſerve ſome animadverſion (M).

THE

[y] Vid. Syncell. Chronogr. [z] Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. 2. p. 81.

(M) This extravagant and ſenſeleſs deſire of ſeveral nations to be thought antient has not only been, in good part, the deſtruction of hiſtory, but has, to all appearance, alſo been conſiderably hurtful to religion. Vanity, as we have ſhewn (61), firſt introduced the forging of records to ſupply the want or loſs of them: and as antiquity was thought the moſt honourable diſtinction of a people, when nations, as the Babylonians, Egyptians, or others came to be great and powerful, and to remark how mean a figure their predeceſſors made, in compariſon, but a few years before, if they had any certain tradition about it, and that they had cannot very well be doubted; and to perceive, that perhaps ſome other nations had a great value for themſelves for their antiquity, they were aſhamed of their deficiencies, ſcorned in any degree to be inferior to any other nation under the ſun, and ſo not only run up their antiquities they knew not whither, but removed ſome of their eminent princes, who had lived as yeſterday, into ages far beyond the day of creation, and made gods of them; in their glory exalting themſelves above their fellows, and claiming a right of ſuperiority over them, which perhaps could never have been accounted for but by this method. We have in great meaſure given a glaring inſtance of this in the later Syrians, who, as Joſephus obſerves of them, celebrated the memory of their kings, Hadad and Hazael, in his time, and carrying their ſtatues about in proceſſion, vaunted their great antiquity, though they had not been dead above 1100 years; but by this they certainly meant no more than to ſet off the gods of their own country; for though they were ſtrangers in Syria at firſt, and introduced to ſupply the place of the natives who were carried away captive, they had then been in the country many ages, and reckoned

(61) See before, p. 203.

THE government of this nation, if the character which generally prevails concerning its founder Nimrod [a] may be relied Their government.

[a] See vol. i. p. 480.

oned themſelves as the original proprietors, juſt like the Iriſh at this day, who, though chiefly deſcended from colonies of Engliſh and Scotch, and not very antient ones either, diſown both the nations, and glory in what they find peculiar to that kingdom, true or falſe; and thus theſe later Syrians, though they had no manner of relation to the antient kings of their country, meant by this vaunting of their gods, Hadad and Hazael, to reflect a diſhonour upon the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, whoſe gods they knew by tradition or hiſtory to have been younger; and hence you have Adad, the firſt of gods (62).

If the want of regular hiſtory was not in ſome meaſure the ſupport of idolatry, which it certainly muſt have been, it was doubtleſs what gave birth to the notion of the world's being eternal. Philoſophers, at a loſs for the origin of things, and deſtitute of a guide to direct them thereto, preſently grounded themſelves upon falſe principles, and thence proceeded to ſubtiliſe themſelves into errors without end, and fancies infinitely abſurd, which were ſoon propagated among the ſtudious men in all branches of literature; ſo that hiſtorians and antiquaries thinking there was room enough to range in, and ſome of them being more greedy of it than others, though they were all deſirous of it, you have by this means the diſorder and diſagreement among antient authors never to be reconciled to one another, either with reſpect to affairs at home or abroad. Upon the whole, hence it is you have the variety of accounts given in by nations, one endeavouring to exceed another, as they have been partly collected (63) to our hands, and as they here follow:

	Years.
Zoroaſter lived before Plato's death - - - -	6000
. . . Before the Trojan war - - - -	5000
Chaldees had accounts of - - - - -	470000
From the firſt Chaldean aſtronomer to Alexander	473000
Sais in Egypt had chronicles of - - - -	8000
Athens built before Sais - - - - -	1000
From Vulcan to Alexander - - - -	48863
Kings of Egypt before Amaſis reigned - -	13000
From Oſiris to Alexander - - - - -	10000
Or - - - - - -	13000
Men reigned in Egypt after the gods - -	15000

(62) See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 346. (63) Ludov. Viv. in not. ad Auguſt. de Civit. Dei. xii. 10. See the Appendix to Whiſton's Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of ſcripture, p. 233.

relied on, was in its very infancy tyrannical and despotic; but that it continued so is not to be supposed, except at the same time it be conceived that first prince was succeeded by kings exactly of his own sort. After him it certainly became on a foot with the petty kingdoms of these parts, till the Assyrians, in process of time, laid the foundation whereon it afterwards exalted itself as the Queen of the East. And as from the former it derived its lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, or indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the maxims and practices of its founder; and the rather, as these Babylonians themselves were Assyrians, descended from Pul the great Assyrian, who immediately gave rise to both the empires, as will be amply made to appear in the sequel. The government therefore of Babylon, like that of Assyria [b], was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, as should seem, hereditary. The whole centered in the person of the king, all decrees issued from his mouth *; and how could it be less, when he affected even deity and divine worship, as the custom was with these princes? And here, by the way, it may be observed, that this political, not to say blasphemous, arrogance, was but natural to men who had such wide and unwarrantable views of lording it over the whole bulk of mankind. It was one of the most effectual means they could think of, to intimidate the nations who had not yet owned their power, and to restrain those who did, from asserting their right to be governed by whom, and in what manner, they pleased. For without some such bridle upon the superstitious minds of men, it had been next impossible to maintain dominion, over parts far remote from the seat of the imperial residence; and no doubt, the argument they used of having prevailed against all the gods of the nations, and of being mightier far than they [c], carried a conviction with it, which not only served all purposes for the present, but for the future also. And hence it must have been, or upon principles of the same sort, that the great conquerors of the east have always affected retirement from the immediate commerce of others, as too glorious to be beheld by vulgar eyes; a kind of arrogance which implies a superiority not much inferior to what was claimed by these first monarchs of the Assyrian race, as well on the throne of Niniveh, as on that of Babylon;

[b] See before, p. 201. * See Dan. iii. 29. iv. 6. [c] See before, p. 273.

bylon; and is, as we have ſaid, one of the moſt politic methods of keeping in ſubjection a number of nations of different languages, complexions, and manners, to a man who muſt be a ſtranger to almoſt all of them. Theſe proud potentates, however, adminiſtered their government by officers of ſeveral ſorts, civil and military, and accordingly we find them divided into three claſſes, and ſuppoſed to be choſen from among the graveſt and moſt noble perſonages in all the empire [d]; the firſt had the charge of virgins and their diſpoſal in marriage, and were to judge in matters of adultery, and the like; the ſecond took cognizance of thefts, and the third of the reſt [e]. We find the ſubordinate powers under this mighty emperor, divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treaſurers, counſellors, and ſheriffs [f], ſo that it is plain, nothing was wanting to keep peace and good order in the empire, and that the civil and military œconomy was under ſevere regulation: as for what relates to religion and ſuperſtitious matters, that will fall under another head.

His officers civil, and military.

THIS great King of Kings [g] had a houſhold equal to the ſublimity of his ſtation, the chief officers of which ſeem to have been the captain of his guard [h], the prince of his eunuchs [i], and the prime miniſter [k], in the nature of the Turkiſh vizier, who more immediately repreſented the perſon of his great maſter. The firſt of theſe had the execution of the arbitrary and ſanguinary commands [l]; the ſecond had charge of the education and ſubſiſtence of the youth of the palace [m], and the latter ſat in the king's gate, as it is called [n], to hear complaints and to paſs judgments. Beſides theſe, there ſeems to have been a maſter of the magicians always at hand [o], to ſatisfy the king upon any thing he might want to know, with regard to futurity and prognoſtication. None were allowed the honour of ſerving in his preſence that was not remarkable for beauty of perſon [p] and excellence of parts (N); and his

His houſhold.

wives

[d] Strab. l. 16. p. 745. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. [f] Dan. iii. 2, 3. [g] Dan. ii. 37. [h] Idem. ibid. ver. 14. [i] Idem. i. 10. [k] Idem ii. 48. 49. [l] Idem. ibid. 14. [m] Idem. i. 7, 8, 9, 10, &c. [n] Idem. ii. 49. [o] Idem. iv. 9. [p] Idem. i. 4—10—20.

(N) This has always been the cuſtom in the eaſtern countries, and at this day, "The youths, that are deſigned for the great "offices of the empire, [in Turkey] · · muſt be of admirable "features and pleaſing looks, well ſhaped in their bodies, and "without

wives and concubines, which were, doubtleſs, the moſt exquiſite of their ſex, ſeem to have been in very great numbers [q].

But though theſe kings ſeem to have claimed ſuch high honour, and to have placed themſelves at ſuch a diſtance from the greateſt even of their officers and ſubjects, and, in ſhort, to have conſidered the whole world as created for their uſe and ſervice, and to have conſulted nothing but their own glory and majeſty; yet we underſtand, that they would ſometimes deign to banquet and revel with their lords and chief men of their dominions, of whom we read, that a thouſand of them were at one time entertained by Belſhazzar [r]. The common ſtile of accoſting this mighty ſovereign was, O king live for ever [s]; and the man, who was ſo happy as in a particular manner to gain his favour, was cloathed in purple or ſcarlet, adorned with a chain of gold about his neck, and inveſted with ſome government [t].

Laws.

The laws of this empire, as we have hinted above, muſt have been quite vague and uncertain; yet there was one which ſeems to have been irrevocably fixed, and to have been very politically contrived to keep up and increaſe the number of the inhabitants, it being calculated in ſuch manner, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any man to live ſingle, and

[q] Idem. v. 2, 3. [r] Dan. v. 1. [s] Idem. ii. 4. 5. 10 [t] Idem. v. 7.

"without any defect of nature; for it is conceived, that a cor-
"rupt and ſordid ſoul can ſcarce inhabit a ſerene and ingenuous
"aſpect; and I have obſerved, not only in the ſeraglio, but al-
"ſo in the courts of great men, their perſonal attendants have been
"of comely luſty youths, well habited, deporting themſelves
"with ſingular modeſty and reſpect in the preſence of their maſter.
"So that when a baſha, aga, or ſpahee, travels, he is always
"attended with a comely equipage, followed by flouriſhing
"youths, well cloathed and mounted, in great numbers, that
"one may gueſs at the greatneſs of this empire, by the retinue,
"pomp, and number of ſervants which accompany perſons of
"quality in their journies; whereas in the parts of Chriſtendom
"where I have travelled, I have not obſerved, (no not in at-
"tendance of princes) ſuch oſtentation in ſervants as is amongſt
"the Turks, which is the life and ornament of a court (64).

(64) Sir Paul Ricaut's Preſ. State of the Ottoman Empire, c. 5. p. 46.

and designed particularly to encourage the poorer sort to engage themselves in wedlock, which is generally a great burthen to them the world over. By this law no man had it in his power to bestow his own daughters in marriage [u], but they were to be disposed of by the king, or his officers, in the manner we shall relate hereafter.

Punishments

As the laws were vague and changeable, the punishments seem also to have been unfixed, and to have been arbitrary and rigorous to the utmost, and such as might best suit with the degree of rage, which for the time happened to agitate the tyrant's breast. Beheading [w], and cutting to pieces [x], and turning the criminal's house into a dunghill [y], and burning in a fiery furnace [z], are punishments we understand to have been executed by order of the king's of Babylon.

Their religion.

Chaldees their priests.

The religion and boasted learning of the Babylonians are so blended together, that we hardly know how to separate them into distinct heads; for the Chaldees, properly so called, were not only their priests, but also their learned men; whose whole science seems to have been subservient to the purposes of superstition and infatuation. The Chaldeans, as distinguished from the Babylonians, were in some sort distinct from these people, and rather more so than the clergy were from the laity with us. These Chaldeans were as much revered in their country, as the Egyptian priests were in theirs; and are said to have enjoyed the same rank and degree in the kingdom [a]. They were wholly devoted to the business of their superstitious religion, and pretended to prophecy and the gift of prediction by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims; and professed the interpretation of dreams, and to explain all the extraordinary accidents and phænomena of nature, as portending good or evil to men or nations, and were thought by their inchantments and invocations to affect mankind either with happiness or with misery [b]. Having by their situation been early addicted to celestial observations, they, instead of conceiving as they ought to have done concerning the omnipotence of the creator and mover of the heavenly bodies, and of being confirmed in a due belief and practice of what had been handed by tradition down to men by Noah and his sons, fell

Are the authors of the Sabian religion.

[u] Vid. Herod. l. 1. c. 196. & Strab. l. 16. p. 745. [w] Dan. i. 10. [x] Idem, ii. 5. [y] Idem, ibid. [z] Idem, iii. 19.
[a] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Hist. l. 2. [b] Idem, ibid.

fell into the impious error of esteeming them as gods, and the immediate governors of the world, in subordination, however, to the deity, who was invisible but by his works and the effects of his power [c]. They concluded then, that God had created the stars and great luminaries for the governance of the world, that he had accordingly placed them on high, and made them partakers with him, and substituted them his ministers; and that it was but just and natural they should be praised, and honoured, and extolled; and that it was even the will of God they should be magnified, and feared, and worshipped; just as a king desires his servants should be respected in honour of himself [d].

First Stage of idolatry.

PERSUADED of this they began to build temples, or Sacella, to the stars, to sacrifice to them, to praise them, and to bow down before them, that through their means they might obtain the favour and good-will of God, so that they esteemed them as mediators between God and them. For that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed [f] to have been a notion that generally obtained among mankind from the beginning; "Conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impur-
"ity, and unable to conceive how it was possible for them
"of themselves alone to have any access to the all-holy,
"all-glorious, and supreme governor of all things; they
"considered him as too high, and too pure, and themselves
"as too low, and too polluted for such a converse; and
"therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by
"whose means only they could make any address unto
"him, and by whose intercession alone any of their pe-
"titions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation be-
"ing then made of the mediator, whom God had ap-
"pointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto
"the world, they took upon them to address themselves
"unto him by mediators of their own chusing; and their
"notion of the sun, moon, and stars being, that they
"were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences,
"which animated those orbs in the same manner as the
"soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of
"all their motions, and that those intelligences were of a
"middle nature between God and them, they thought
"these

[c] Vid. eund. ibid. [d] Rab. Mos. Maim. in Nore Nevoch. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] See Prideaux, and the authors he cites, Pocock, Golius, Hotting. Hyde.

" theſe the propereſt beings to become the mediators be-
" tween God and them; and therefore the planets being
" the neareſt to them of all the heavenly bodies, and ge-
" nerally looked on to have the greateſt influence on this
" world, they made choice of them in the firſt place for
" their Gods Mediators, who were to mediate for them
" with the ſupreme God, and procure from him the mer-
" cies and favours which they prayed for, and accordingly
" they directed divine worſhip to them as ſuch; and here
" began all the idolatry that has been practiſed in the
" world [g]." For, perſuading themſelves of this doctrine, they became anxious about the moſt effectual means of making their worſhip acceptable to the ſeveral deities, whence they firſt began to build temples or tabernacles to them, as we have ſeen, dedicated to their ſervice, and to be as places of abode for them, but as in matters of this kind there can be no ſtable form, where there is no immediate revelation, and men, actuated either by fear, or avarice, or ambition, or ought elſe, had liberty to pretend to what they knew nothing of, in proceſs of time impoſtors aroſe, and gave out, that they had had it injoined and commanded them from God himſelf, That this ſtar, or that, or all of them, ſhould be worſhipped in this, or that manner, and repreſented under this, or that form, and that none of any age or degree ſhould be exempt from the worſhip thereof; and this they impudently gave out, in a ſolemn manner, for revelation. Upon this it was, that men began to furniſh the Sacella, tabernacles, or temples, with images, and to erect the ſame under trees, and upon the tops of hills or mountains; and from henceforward they aſſembled themſelves together to pay them worſhip, and began to hope for all good, and to dread all evil, as proceeding from them, and to honour them with deepeſt reverence, and to fear them *; and their prieſts, ſenſible of the ſweets of the trade, began to think of forms of duty and practice to be obſerved by the credulous and deluded multitude †. Other impoſtors there were who improved on the firſt, and pretended to have been honoured with particular inſtructions from particular ſtars, concerning the exact mode of the worſhip due or peculiar to them, and what

Second ſtage of idolatry.

[g] Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and new Teſt. part i. book iii. p. 177. in 8vo. * Rab. Moſ. Maimonid. ubi ſup. † Vid. eund. ibid.

what ought, and what ought not, to be done to pleaſe them; ſo that, in proceſs of time, the name of God became obliterated among them; and the moſt ſtupid idolatry poſſeſſed the whole place of the true religion [h].

SUCH was the riſe of idolatry and the firſt ſteps of its progreſs, than which nothing can be more natural to conceive, and ſuch were the original Sabian doctrines, which, taking root firſt among the Chaldeans, did afterwards ſpread their branches ſo far as to over-ſhadow, at one time, all the nations of the eaſt with their prophane obſcurity. For it muſt be difficult to conceive, how men could have been deceived into ſo groſs an abſurdity, as to worſhip wood, ſtone, or metal, formed and faſhioned by their own hands, if it be not at the ſame time allowed, that they muſt have imagined their images to have been, ſome how or other, animated or informed with a ſupernatural power, by ſome ſupernatural means. A late author [i] thinks it more natural to ſuppoſe, that their loſs to know how to addreſs themſelves to the planets, when they were beneath the horizon, was what firſt ſuggeſted to them the uſe of images; for that, whenever they paid their devotions to any of them in their tabernacles, or Sacella, they directed their worſhip towards the planet, which they have thought of none effect, when he was abſent and hidden from ſight; and that therefore they thought to ſupply his abſence by a repreſentation: Thus it may have been, though it may be as natural to ſuppoſe, that as their prieſts obſerved the ſtars as their gods, and made them the chief ſubject of their ſtudy, and perſuaded themſelves that each ſtar or planet was actuated by an intelligence, they gave out to the people, from time to time, that thoſe ſuperior beings had revealed their will to them, juſt as their crazy imaginations, or deſigning craft, may have ſuggeſted to them.

LET this have been either this way or that way, it is certain that the firſt image worſhippers did not pretend to pay adoration to uninformed wood, ſtone, or metal, and that the Sabians, in their tranſition from planet-worſhip to image-worſhip, pretended to have infuſed the virtues of the planet into the image that was meant to repreſent it; which they thought to effect by forms of conſecration, and by various incantations, whereby to draw down from the ſtars their ſeveral intelligences into their reſpective idols; and hence

[h] Rab. Moſ. Maimonid. ubi ſup. [i] Prideaux, ubi ſup.

hence came all the foolery of Teleſms [k], or Taliſmans, and upon theſe pretended principles of communicative operation all the branches of magic and ſorcery muſt have had their foundation.

THAT this was the firſt origin of image-worſhip is evident, and that the ſame was firſt derived from the heavenly bodies, the moſt conſpicuous and glorious to ſight, is evident by the primary gods of the heathen in general, which are Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana; by which we can underſtand no other than the ſun, and moon, and the five greateſt luminaries next to them [l].

THIS was the religion of the Babylonians, Aſſyrians, and Meſopotamians, even before the days of Abraham; nay in the days of Enos, the ſon of Seth [m]; whoſe deſcendants are ſaid to have been the firſt that cultivated aſtronomy and aſtrology [n]; the Sabians themſelves boaſting the origin of their religion from Seth, and pretending to have been denominated from a ſon of his called Sabius, as alſo to have among them what they call the book of Seth, written by that ſame patriarch [o].

THIS was the ſtate of the old Babylonian religion, till they came to deify mortal men as well as the celeſtial bodies. In this we are apt to think they were not the firſt, and that the Syrians, whoſe empire was confeſſedly older than either the Aſſyrian or Babylonian [p], ſhewed them the way, by deifying their great kings, Benhadad the ſecond and Hazael [q]. A late learned author [r] is inclined to think, that the firſt Sabians, or idolaters, deſirous to have all the mediation poſſible with the ſupreme God, took it into their heads, that good men had a power with him to intercede for them, and that they deified many of thoſe they thought to be ſuch, and that thus they added to their polytheiſm: This is allowing much in favour of them, and is reflecting not a little upon the purity of the Roman church, which teaches the ſame doctrine, and allows of the ſame practice; and calls to our mind, how frequently Rome is ſuppoſed to be ſignified under the type of Babylon; and, perhaps, there may not be ſo wide a difference between ſome parts of the

Third ſtage of idolatry.

[k] See Prideaux, ubi ſup. [l] Vid. eund. ibid. [m] Rab. Moſ. Maimonid. ubi ſup. [n] See vol. i. p. 244. [o] See Prideaux, ubi ſup. [p] See before, paſſim. [q] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 287. [r] Prideaux, ubi ſup.

two religions, as may be generally imagined. But to wave this, as foreign to our purpose, we should rather chuse to think, that they deified their greatest and most powerful men, and that however they may have paid the same honour to men of virtue, their most conspicuous gods of this class were their greatest warriors and most potent kings.

ACCORDING to this we are told [s], That *by the vain-glory of men idols entered into the world . . .* That, *in process of time, an ungodly custom grown strong* was kept as a *law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandment of kings, or* [as it is in the margin] *tyrants.* That *whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end, that, by their forwardness, they might flatter him that was absent, as if he was present.* This was most certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who could not be contented with being less than gods. The same author [t] assigns two other reasons for this practice, which must strongly cooperate with the former; first, "The grief of a parent "for his child untimely snatched away, whose image he "may have been tempted to honour as God when dead, "and to deliver to those beneath, or in subjection to him, "ceremonies and sacrifices of duty and commemoration;" and secondly, "The skill of the workman, who by his "art might contribute greatly to the deception of the ig"norant; for that, ambitious to flatter some great man, "he may have exerted all in his power to represent him "beyond what he truly was, and so, by the beauty of his "work, captivate and delude the unwary multitude, who "took him now for a god, whom a little before they ho"noured but as man; and that thus men, subject ei"ther to calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and "stocks the incommunicable name of God."

SUCH were the causes of idolizing dead men, tyranny to compel to it, immoderate affection to consent to it, and the exquisite skill of the workman to allure to it. That the Assyrians and Babylonians were, in a particular manner, obnoxious to the first of these, must appear by the histories of their several kings, who seem, at least, to have been as absolute

[s] Wis. of Solomon xiv. 14, 16, 17. [t] Ibid. ver. 15, 18, 19, 20, 21.

abſolute tyrants as were ever ſuffered to live; and that they did give into this error is plain, both by ſacred authors and prophane writers; theſe laſt for the moſt part, aſſerting, That the Aſſyrians were the people that firſt ſhewed the example of it to others; though that this was falſe, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of the Syrians, who before them deified their great kings [u].

Pul meant by Belus.

HOWEVER, it was an opinion, that Ninus was the firſt that ſet up images to be worſhipped, and particularly one to his father Belus [w], and granted privileges and pardons to thoſe who reſorted to it. Who this Ninus ſhould have been but Tiglathpileſar, the ſon of Pul, or Belus, in ſcripture, we know not, and therefore we muſt conclude, that Pul, and none other, was the firſt that was worſhipped in theſe parts as a god [x], and that conſequently he, who was the undoubted founder of the empires both of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, and none other, was the boaſted Belus of the later Babylonians, Phœnicians, and others, where the deſcendants of his family extended the dominion he had founded.

His temple.

THIS Belus had a temple erected to him in the city of Babylon, and was revered as their primary god, he being the firſt founder of all the Aſſyrian and Babylonian grandeur, and ſource of all the reverence and adoration claimed by his ſucceſſors, both at Babylon and Niniveh. To him they erected the tower, we have formerly deſcribed, ſo famous in all ages ſince; though it ſhould ſeem, that the honour of this tower or temple was meant to be divided between him and the true God. This building, as we have obſerved before, conſiſted of eight towers raiſed upon one another, and in the uppermoſt was a bed magnificently ſet forth, and a golden table near it, but no image was here [y]; nor was any body ſuffered to be here in the night but a particular woman, who, as the prieſts gave out, was in an eſpecial manner preferred by the god before all others (O). In this

[u] See vol. ii. p. 287. [w] Ambr. in Epiſt. ad Roman. c. 1.
[x] See before in the notes, p. 261. [y] Herodot. l. i. c. 180.

(O) The Babylonians, it is plain, muſt have taught of this inviſible God, and attributed to him, what the Egyptian did to their god Cneph, (65).

(65) See vol. i. p. 530.

place they taught, that he was wont to come and repose himself [z]; for that, according to this, they must have held him to have been the supreme over all, the living and self-subsisting, who either could not be represented, or would not bear such presumption in them as to offer at it. But beneath this there was another temple, where there was a gigantic image of Jupiter, [Belus] all of gold, with a table before him of the same metal: his throne was gold also, as was all the furniture about him; insomuch, that the whole work was valued at 800 talents of gold [a]. This, it seems, was not the only statue in this temple; for, we think, we read of another all of solid gold, and twelve cubits in height [b]; but whether our author really designs to describe two distinct idols, by giving the weight of the one, and the dimensions of the other, or whether he gives the weight and the dimensions above as belonging to one and the same, is not quite clear.

Partly erected to him, and partly to the true God.

However, this great Jupiter, who, we think, cannot possibly be any other than the great Pul, or Belus, by being thus placed in subordination, as should seem, to the great and supreme God, was exalted to the utmost height they could raise him; and by this they must, to all appearance, have implied, that Belus, or Pul, divided the empire of the universe with him, and that as he was Lord above, the other was lord below; that as the other was the God of heaven, the other was at least delegated god on earth, and invested with all power here, by the immediate appointment of the invisible ruler of all things. Thus the thing seems to have been by this account of the temple at Babylon (P), and as it is perfectly of a piece with their superstitious persuasions, and agreeable to what we may safely conceive concerning this their first warrior, we know not how to think otherwise; and wonder not at what has been since exaggerated, concerning the age and pre-eminence of this great Belus.

As

[z] Idem ibid. c. 182. [a] Idem ibid. c. 183. [b] Idem. ibid.

(P) It may be disputed, whether or no the Babylonians did not actually mean the sun, rather than God himself. We are told, they never represented the sun, or, at least, that the Syrians never did (66), who derived their religion from these people, concluding it ridiculous to represent what was so gloriously conspicuous

(66) See vol. ii. p. 289.

As there were two gods in this temple and tower, there belonged to it alſo two altars; they ſtood without, one of gold of a moderate ſize, and another much larger; upon the golden altar none but ſucking victims might be ſacrificed [c], and on the great one none that were not full grown [d]; concerning which we leave the reader to make his own conjectures, only obſerving, that as it was evidently two diſtinct gods they ſacrificed to, the golden altar ſeems to have been devoted to the ſupreme God, and the other to his ſubordinate Jupiter; for by the ſucking victims they ſeem to have meant, that they peculiarly belonged to him as the nouriſher of all things, and that the full-grown ones, being brought to the perfection he deſigned them, he committed them to the care and government of his vice-gerent below, who therefore had none but full-grown creatures ſacrificed to him. But as here they plainly ſacrificed to them in diſtinction of each, they at other times ſeem to have ſacrificed to them in common; for the prieſts reckoned, that they, every year, upon the great altar, burnt 100,000 talents of fragrant libanotus [e]; this may ſeem to have been intended for them both, but that it may as likely have been intended as an acknowledgment from Belus to the God above him, might be inſiſted on, ſo far as it is poſſible to be certain in things of ſuch an ambiguous nature, were we a little fonder than we are of building upon conjecture. The two altars, and the different ſacrifices upon them.

SUCH was the god Belus among the Babylonians, and ſuch his temple and the rank he held in it; but that he was the inventor of the ſidereal ſcience, or of aſtrology, as ſome would [f] have it, muſt not be wondered at, after what has

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid. [f] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 6. c. 26.

cuous (67), and we have ſuppoſed, that they ſometimes paid adoration to the ſun and moon immediately (68); but it does not ſeem likely, that theſe Babylonians ſhould ever give it out, that the ſun himſelf was wont to come and repoſe himſelf upon the top of this tower, as we have ſeen; they never could have perſuaded the people to that abſurdity; ſo that if they had not an immediate view to the great God, in thus leaving his temple free from images, they muſt have deſigned it for the intelligence of the ſun, and that may with them have amounted pretty much to the ſame thing.

(67) Ibid. (68) See vol. ii. p. 350.

has been attributed to his daughter-in-law Semiramis, as we have partly ſeen already [g], and as we ſhall ſee farther in a more proper place. Nor muſt this ſame Belus, or Baal, be confounded with the others we read of in ſcripture, before the riſe of the Aſſyrian empire, as the Baal-peor of the Moabites [h], the Baal, or Moloch, of the Ammonites; the title ſignifies lord with all theſe people, who, and particularly all ſuch as are ſaid to have *paſſed their ſeed through fire*, meant thereby the ſun, whoſe heat being, as it were, the life of all things, they accounted the heat of fire to be ſacred; which muſt have been one of the firſt doctrines of the Sabians in Chaldea (Q), who, as we have ſaid, firſt broached this error, and communicated the ſame, by degrees, to the nations round about. This appears by what we read of Abraham, who left his country, on the other ſide of the Euphrates, for the idolatries of the land [k], and, to avoid them, came into the land of Canaan, where he found the ſentiments and practices of men more conformable to religion and the duties we owe to God; for Melchiſedec was then alive in Canaan, and ſtiled the prieſt of the moſt high God [l], and the people were, for the moſt part, in a ſtate of purity in matters of religion, as all the nations about muſt alſo have been [m]; nay, in theſe days we do not find, that even Egypt was much, if at all, infected with idolatry; ſo that whatever the Greeks may pretend of the Egyptians, that they brought idols and falſe gods into faſhion [n], the contrary appears by the book of Geneſis, which ſufficiently informs us, that while the country on the other ſide of the Euphrates was thoroughly polluted with all abominations, the countries on this ſide were as yet ſtrangers to them. Nothing then is plainer, than that all we have ſaid concerning the religion of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, and Philiſtines, is only the old Sabian religion of the Chaldees; ſo that

[g] See before in the notes, p. 249. [h] See vol. ii. p. 100. [i] Ibid. p. 118. [k] Ibid. p. 395. and vol. i. in the notes, p. 386. [l] See vol. ii. p. 193. [m] See before in the religions of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, &c. [n] See vol. i. p. 204.

(Q) The religion of the Magians, who worſhipped fire, was derived from the Sabians, as we ſhall obſerve a little farther on in this ſection.

that we ſhall not here need to repeat what we have ſo fully exhibited in the hiſtories of thoſe ſeveral nations.

BUT upon the building of Babylon by the Aſſyrians, the old religion, it ſeems, fell into ſome diſcredit, and eſpecially the more inferior branches of it; nor can it well be doubted, but that if ever they had, before the days of Pul, deified any heroes, he muſt have ſoared above them all, who could not properly be called the gods of the Babylonians before the city itſelf was built; for as much is granted by all authors, who ſuppoſe Belus to have been the immediate founder of the Aſſyrian greatneſs, and therefore deified; but who this Belus was we may read in ſcripture [o], and be confirmed in a certainty thereof by Ptolemy's canon, and therefore we are not to look ſo far back as Nimrod, or any man elſe that lived a thouſand years or more after him. Hence it may appear, that by Bel, or Baal, the Babylonians underſtood either the ſun, or their founder Pul; but whether or no they tranſlated him into the ſun, or whether they kept their planet-worſhip and their heroe-worſhip ſo diſtinct as never to confound them with each other, may be paſt our ſolution, and a point which might draw us into a needleſs length.

Succoth Benoth, the Aſſyrian Venus.

THE deity next in order to this ſeems to have been the Venus of later days in the weſt, and that ſhe was no other than the goddeſs Aſtarte of the Phœnicians, may be gathered moſt evidently from what is to follow. Succoth Benoth is mentioned as an idol of the Babylonians [p], though it was apparently rather the ſhrine, or ſhrines, of an idol belonging to ſome deity we have ſince tranſlated into the laſcivious goddeſs Venus, for the import of the word is, the tabernacles of Benoth, or, the tabernacles of the daughters [q], though there are thoſe who render them, a tabernacle of wings [r], and ſuppoſe the idol itſelf to have been repreſented as a hen brooding over her chickens, and that ſhe was deſigned in honour of the conſtellation, called vulgarly, the hen and chickens, but more learnedly the Pleiades; but this a dream ſeemingly. It is more likely, that theſe tabernacles of the daughters were for Venus, whom the Babylonians called [s] Mylitta, ſignifying Genetrix, or Mother, or Urania, as the Greeks will have it, and to this goddeſs, the daughters of the country, or the wo-

[o] See before in the notes, p. 262. [p] 2 Kings xvii. 30. [q] Vid. Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. [r] Kimchi & Jarchi, apud eund. ibid. [s] Herodot. l. 1. c. 131.

women, were, once in their life-time, bound to make a ſacrifice of their modeſty and virtue, a practice which will be found among the cuſtoms of this people. And hence it is, that a very learned author [t] gathers her not only to have been our Venus, but hence it is alſo, that he derives the very name itſelf from Benoth, by changing the B for a V, and the Theta for a Sigma, whence you will have Venos (R). This ſeems partly confirmed by an author, who ſeems to call her Binos; but particularly by what we are told of a city in Africa, called Sicca Venerea [w], a name which ſeems to have been tranſported from Phœnice, and evidently formed from this Siccoth, or Succoth, Benoth; and where there was a temple, where women were obliged to purchaſe their marriage-money by the proſtitution of their bodies [x]. Her temples ſeem to have been fixed at this place, and at Aphac [y], and at Babylon [z], and may likewiſe have been erected at other places; but for the convenience of ſuch as had not ſuch a building dedicated among them, the prieſts ſeem to have taken them into their conſideration, and to have carried ſmall tabernacles, or models of the ſeveral temples, upon their ſhoulders, for the public emolument and their own gain for their labour.

The derivation of the name of Venus.

Both maſculine and feminine.

THIS god, or goddeſs, for ſhe is underſtood to have been both Mars and Venus, though here placed ſecond to Belus, is generally underſtood to have been of much greater antiquity than the times we are ſure he lived in; but this is upon a ſuppoſition, that the prophane hiſtorians, poets, and mythologiſts are not out in the length of their computations, and hence you have an argument of her antiquity deduced from the words of Æſchylus [a], who calls Phœnicia the land of Aphrodite, or Venus, to which the ſcholiaſt ſubjoins, that ſo it was called, becauſe it was ſacred to her on the account of Byblus and Libanus, where ſtood her temple at Aphac [b]; but this may be no very great argu-

[t] Selden de Diis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 7. [u] Suidas, ad vocem. [w] Valer. Maxim. l. 2. c. 6. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 347. [z] Herodot. l. 1. c. 199. [a] In Supplicib. [b] See Vol. ii. in the notes, p. 347.

(R) Voſſius (69) ſubſcribes to this. Beyer, in his additamenta to Selden, diſputes it, though with no great ſtrength of argument.

(69) De Idololat.

argument to prove it; for if the Aſſyrians, whence the Phœnicians had her, are not ſo very antient as pretended, this deity muſt be deprived of the veneration conceived for it on account of its years. Though the date of this idol will not much depend upon the riſe of the Aſſyrian, or Babylonian empire, if it was a ſtar they meant by this Venus; for we have already obſerved, that the Chaldees, as they are called, worſhipped the ſtars by images before they conſecrated the Aſſyrian Belus, or perhaps any other mortal man; ſo that it may be worth the while juſt to enquire, whether or no this idol was really deſigned to repreſent ſome ſtar from among the hoſt of heaven, or ſome woman who may have been preferred to deification, for reaſons, in thoſe days, thought meritorious? or whether, as in the caſe of Baal, both a planet and a perſon may have been intended, and reciprocally tranſlated into each other?

We have ſeen, by ſome parallel circumſtances, that ſhe was, to all appearance, the ſame with the Phœnician Aſtarte, and we ſhall produce ſeveral others, to confirm the ſame, in the courſe of this ſubject. In the mean time, to begin with this Benoth, from whom the whole tribe of great goddeſſes ſeem to be derived; She is called the celeſtial Venus, and ſaid to have been firſt of all worſhipped by the Aſſyrians [c], whereby, though our author, it is moſt likely, means the Syrians properly ſo called, we ſhall plainly diſcover, that the former were the firſt authors of this worſhip, and tranſmitted it to the latter. This goddeſs was of both ſexes, and accordingly it was the cuſtom to worſhip her ſometimes in the habit of a man, and ſometimes in the habit of a woman [d], the men and women mutually changing dreſſes with each other [e], whence it is ſuppoſed, that Moſes forbids [f] *the woman to wear what pertaineth to the man, or a man to put on a woman's garment.* According to this, the worſhip of this planet, or idol, muſt have been of very antient date; and that the words of the text before us, are meant of this mode of worſhiping, is underſtood by Maimonides [g], who obſerves, that in the book of magic, compoſed by one Centir, as he is corruptly [h] called, it is written, that a man ſhould put on the flowered garments of a woman, when he ſtood before the

A rite in the worſhip of the Aſſyrian or Babylonian Venus.

[c] Pauſan. in Attic. [d] Vid. Selden de Dis Syr. Syntagm. 2. c. 4. [e] Vid. eund. ibid. [f] Deuteron. xxii. 5. [g] In More Nevoch. part iii. c. 38. [h] Vid. Selden, ubi ſup.

the ſtar called Venus, and that a woman ſhould put on the arms and armour of a man, when ſhe ſtood before the ſtar called Mars [i]; and hence the Aſſyrian prieſts are ſaid [k] to have been unfit to wait on the goddeſs Venus, except they effeminated their countenance, and aſſumed all the ſoftneſs and dreſs of a woman. And hence a Greek author [l], who calls her the moon, ſays, that the men ſacrificed to her in the habit of a woman, and the women in the habit of a man, and the reaſon, becauſe ſhe was both maſculine and feminine; whereby it is plain, that it is this Aſſyrian Venus he means, though, being tranſlated into Greece, he may not exactly have meant the ſame. That this Uranian or celeſtial Venus of the Aſſyrians was the moon, cannot be doubted, by the rank ſhe holds next to Bel, or the ſun; and that ſhe was ſo, will be immediately ſeen by what we certainly know of her, under other names: and that ſhe was of both ſexes, will appear as plain by the ſame evidence. For to bring her nearer to us, we ſhall find ſhe was the ſame with the Syrian goddeſs.

She is the ſame with the great Syrian goddeſs.

THIS Syrian goddeſs, as we have her deſcribed to us, and by her rites, was no other than the celeſtial Venus of the Aſſyrians. She was called Juno, and the ſtatue of her was contrived ſo as to partake of Minerva, Venus, Luna, Rhea, Diana, Nemeſis, and the Deſtinies, as if ſhe included them all, and that ſo ſhe did has been ſufficiently proved by very great men [m]. She was drawn, or ſupported, by lions, ſhe had rays on her head, and a tower, and was girt with the ceſtus, or girdle of the celeſtial Venus [n], and as ſhe was contrived to be the ſource of all idolatry, in honour of the female ſex; ſo we find her to have been equally honoured by Egyptians, Indians, Ethiopians, Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians [o], who all came in pilgrimage to this mighty goddeſs of Hierapolis, or the Holy City, which, in this reſpect, ſeems to have ſucceeded the city of Babylon, whence ſhe had been chaſed by the Perſians. Her eunuch prieſts, who took on them the habit and offices of women [p], declare her to have been one and the ſame with the Aſſyrian Mylitta; and the Babylonians, who, among others, are ſaid to have paid liberal contributions to her, abundantly confirm it.

To

[i] Maimonid. ubi ſup. [k] Jul. Firmic. c. 4. [l] Philochor. apud Macrob. Saturnal. 3. c. 8. [m] Vid Lil. Gyrald. de Diis Gent. Selden, de Dis Syr. Voss. de Idololat. [n] See Vol. ii. p. 289. [o] Ibid. p. 291. [p] Ibid.

If then it appears, that this great Syrian goddeſs was no other than the celeſtial Venus of the Aſſyrians, the ſame will as evidently appear of the Phœnician Aſtarte. We have ſeen her the Queen of Heaven [q], the Moon, Lucifer, Juno, Venus, Minerva, and Io [r], and married to an Aſſyrian [s]. We have ſeen her the luſtful goddeſs [t], and the warlike deity [u], and accordingly addreſſed to under both ſexes; nor need we cite the monſtrous effeminacies of the men at Aphac [w], or the impudent and mercenary proſtitution of the women at Byblus [x], to prove, that the one is in general a very faithful copy of the other; for as to the proſtitution of the women in particular, it muſt be confeſſed to owe its origin to an an infamous cuſtom, among the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, to be mentioned hereafter. She is the ſame with the Aſtarte of the Phœnicians.

Nor ſhall we find, that the Atargatis, or Derceto [y] of the proper Paleſtine in general, or of Aſcalon in particular, was any other than the Babylonian or Aſſyrian Venus. For although ſhe is made diſtinct from the great Venus, and is ſaid to have undergone her diſpleaſure, and in conſequence of that to have ſuffered a metamorphoſis into a fiſh [z]; the worſhip that was paid to that animal, under the eye of the great goddeſs at Hierapolis, declares her to have been the ſame; and this is not conjecture only, for Atargatis is ſaid to have been worſhipped at Hierapolis, by a very judicious author [a], who, in ſo ſaying, moſt evidently confounds her with the Syrian goddeſs, and makes them one and the ſame. Nor is he ſingle in this, for others [b] do the ſame, and particularly one [c], who calls her the mother of the gods, and Aſtarte, and the Hierapolitan, or Aſſyrian, goddeſs. In ſhort, Atargatis was alſo Venus, and Juno, and Minerva, and the Syrian goddeſs [d], and conſequently the celeſtial Venus of the Aſſyrians. That ſhe muſt, at the ſame time, have been Aſtarte, we need not ſay; but that we may depend as little upon probability as we can, we have an author who ſays, that the Syrians abſtained from fiſh, in regard to the rites of Aſtarte; ſo that we ſee her the ſame goddeſs tranſported from the banks of the Euphrates, into which ſhe is ſaid firſt to have plunged herſelf; to eſcape the fury of the [e] inexorable Typhon She is the ſame with Derceto of Aſcalon.

[q] Ibid. [r] Ibid. in the notes, p. 351. [s] p. Ibid. [t] Ibid. in the notes, p. 351. [u] Ibid. [w] Ibid p. 346, 347. [x] Ibid. p. 347. [y] See before p. 231. [z] Ibid. [a] Strabo, l. 16. p. 748. [b] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 5. c. 23. [c] Macrob. in Saturn. l. 1. c. 23. [d] Vid. Selden, ubi ſup. [e] Artemidor. apud eund. ibid. [f] Manil. Aſtronom. iv.

phon (S); and but juſt varied ſo as to give each particular country the honour of having an original of its own. So the Syrians, who ſeem to have received her firſt, and were neareſt to the place of her native abode, preſerved her, it is likely, in the moſt genuine form; the Phœnicians, who were next, altered her no farther than to make her a Phœnician; and the Philiſtines, or Aſcalonites, who were a little farther off, that they might make her their own alſo, turn her into a monſter, woman upwards and fiſh downwards [g], and rather than not have her their own, are willing to allow her to have been in ſubordination to ſome other goddeſs, who had power over her to the degree of chaſtiſing her by a change from her firſt ſhape [h].

It appears then, that all this adoration to this various goddeſs came from Aſſyria and Babylonia, and that it was eſtabliſhed in theſe countries by the prevailing might of thoſe two potent empires, who ſucceſſively ſubjugated all theſe parts; and while they flouriſhed, it is likely, they maintained a ſtrict uniformity of worſhip and tradition among them; but theſe empires being aboliſhed by the Perſians, who had an averſion to all this Sabianiſm, each of them forgetful of the ſource whence they derived their ſuperſtitions, claimed them as peculiar to themſelves, and new modelled them accordingly.

Is worſhipped as Semiramis.

And now it may not be amiſs to inquire, how far the tradition of Semiramis quadrates with what we are told of this goddeſs; as alſo, whether or no we cannot from thence make it out, that ſhe, as well as the moon, the earth, or any other ſubject, may have been adored as the celeſtial Venus, or Syrian goddeſs. Her preſence in the temple at Hierapolis [i] is as ſtrong an argument as any, that the ſuperſtition there migrated from Babylon; and her inferior degree [k] there will argue nothing againſt her original ſuperiority, if it be remembered, that this temple was built by Stratonice [l] the wife of Antiochus Soter, who may have had ſome pique to the memory of Semiramis, whom ſhe may have remembered with envy, and therefore reſolved

[g] See before, p. 231. and in the notes, p. ibid. [h] See before, p. ibid. [i] See vol. ii. p. 289. [k] See before, ibid. [l] See vol. ii. p. 292.

(S) We ſee here Typhon introduced into the Babylonian mythology, though he was an Egyptian; but we may perceive by ſome parallel circumſtances, that there was no very wide difference between the religions of the two nations.

reſolved to degrade her; if it may not rather be attributed to the ſenſeleſs caprice, or ſome ſtrange inconſiſtence with relation to the Aſſyrian heroine, whom they might ſome how or other, and in ſome caſes, make inferior to herſelf. Theſe are points not for us to dive into.

THUS much is certain, we ſhall in the tradition of Semiramis find ſo many circumſtances to make us believe ſhe was worſhipped as the ſupreme goddeſs of the Babylonians, that few will heſitate perhaps a moment to be of this opinion. We have ſeen her born of a goddeſs at Aſcalon [m], who, for the ſhame of conceiving her, plunged herſelf into a lake, and became a fiſh [n]; and hence fiſh are ſaid to have been worſhipped, though indeed not ſo much upon her own account, as ſhould ſeem, as on account of her mother Derceto, or Atargatis, who underwent this transformation. We have ſeen her miraculouſly fed by doves or pigeons in a deſart [o], and hence that bird became ſacred; hence it ſhould ſeem, and from other fabulous circumſtances it is, that you have the *dove from the land of Aſſyria* [p]. We have ſeen it predicted, that ſhe ſhould not die, but vaniſh from the ſight of men, and obtain divine honours from the Aſiatic nations [q]. We have ſeen it was pretended, that ſhe made her exit in the form of a dove, and that ſhe went off attended by a flight of them [r]; and hence another reaſon is given why the dove became ſacred. We have ſeen her the abandoned proſtitute [s], and the martial heroine [t]; and hence ſhe may have been the celeſtial Venus adored under both ſexes, and the Phœnician Aſtarte, now painted in arms [u], and now repreſented as the patroneſs of lewdneſs and effeminacy [w]. In ſhort, we have ſeen her the firſt that made eunuchs [x]; and hence we may have the origin of the eunuch prieſts, or Galli, who attended upon the Syrian goddeſs [y]; which was certainly more the caſe than what is pretended in the idle ſtory of Combabus and Stratonice [z], who, being wife to one of the Seleucidæ,

[m] See before, p. 231. [n] See before, ibid. [o] See before, ibid. [p] See before in the notes, p. 232. [q] See before, p. 243, 244. [r] See before, p. 249. [s] See before, p. 242. [t] See before, p. 235. [u] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 345. [w] Ibid. [x] See before in the notes, p. 833. [y] See vol. ii. p. 292. [z] See before, ibid.

cidæ, lived some hundreds of years after Semiramis, and who, as we have suggested above, may have affected to raise herself upon the depression of this great Babylonian queen, who is said even to have first built the temple at Hierapolis [a], which, though it is certainly false, may yet argue the tradition to have been, that she was meant by the celestial Venus, or the Syrian goddess, and that so she was must appear still farther, by her being called Rhea [b], Nemesis [c], and the like, if there could be any necessity farther to inculcate this opinion, after such variety of corroborating evidence.

Upon the whole, we think it self-evident to conclude, that the celestial Venus of the Assyrians, the Astarte of the Phœnicians, and the Derceto, or Atargatis, of the later Philistines were all derived from Semiramis, or whatever else her true name was, the first Babylonian foundress; who seems to have been translated into the bright and various Queen of Heaven, the moon, as Belus, or Pul, the first Assyrian monarch, was into the sun; and that whatever the mythologists and allegoricians may pretend by explaining all this worship into an adoration of the universe, or nature, or the earth, or any other element, which is what we are very ready to grant them, and what we may professedly treat of in the mythology of the Greeks, as we have partly already in the theology of the Egyptians [d]; yet nothing is more certain, than that all the Jupiters and Junos, and the rest who are supposed to have been once mortal, or conversant here on earth, are all derived from this source, and that on this Assyrian or Babylonian foundation the whole superstructure of the Greek polytheism and idolatry was raised. For the Greeks had their religion from the Phœnicians partly, and partly from the Egyptians, who had theirs from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, as may be pretty clearly gathered from the apparent religious state of the countries on this and that side of the Euphrates in the days of Abraham, as we have hinted before. The Egyptians seem in time, indeed, to have erected a system of their own, though not very widely different from the Babylonian, as any body that will compare them together will at the first glance perceive.

The

[a] Vid. Voss. de Idololatr. l. 2. p. 308. [b] See before in the notes, p. 250. [c] Vid. Jos. Scalig. in animadvers. [d] See vol. i. p. 550. & seq.

The Phœnicians, who had equally communication with the two nations, ſeem to have mixed the variations in each together, and we have plainly ſeen, that they worſhipped what the Babylonians worſhipped, what had been impoſed on them by the tyranny of that empire; in ſhort, Aſtarte, who, as we have proved as plain as things of this nature can be proved, was the celeſtial Venus of the Babylonians, was alſo as plain the Egyptian godddeſs Iſis [e]. And indeed there was hardly any difference as to the main points between the religion of thoſe two great and antient nations, who being in conſtant rivalſhip with each other, and emulous of ſurpaſſing each other, you thence have the ſeeming differences between them in religious matters, the Egyptians particularly contending the honour of antiquity * and ſanctity with the Babylonians, though by the Moſaic hiſtory they muſt yield to theſe laſt; nor is there any diſcrepancy between their great and favourite gods, but barely in the names they have conferred on them, to evince them reciprocally their own. Nor is there any thing plainer than that there was, in the main, a perfect uniformity between all the nations on both ſides of the Euphrates, as to the fundamentals of their religion; and conſequently, if we fix the place whence they were branched, which we think we have done, we have, at the ſame time, a clue at hand to guide us through the immenſe labyrinth of heatheniſm and idolatry: But for want of this certain ſtand to take the ſurvey from; for want of a due attention to the natural progreſs of idolatry, but eſpecially by not accommodating the fabulous writings of prophane writers to the tenor of ſcripture, which plainly points out to us, who were the firſt great Aſſyrians or Babylonians that were deified and tranſlated; our mythologiſts have rambled backwards to Noah, and Nimrod, and the whole tribe of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs, to diſcover in them what is deſigned more particularly for mortal men, who lived many and many ages after them; whereby they have moſt ſtrangely perplexed this part of learning, which would be full intricate enough without this help towards making it the more ſo, and, what is worſe, have caſt an impenetrable miſt upon the firſt days of profane hiſtory, which moſt certainly is fabulous, and quite ſo, if we make a very few

[e] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 344. * See vol. i. p. 265. 273.
[f] Ibid. p. 256.

few exceptions, till about the firſt riſe of the Babylonian empire, in the reign of Joſiah king of Judah. For not only the art or method of writing a regular hiſtory was not diſcovered, or at leaſt practiſed, as ſhould ſeem, till the days of Herodotus, who lived in about the middle of the Perſian empire; but the gods of all theſe nations being ſuppoſed to have been once meer men, and no more, the prieſts and others had no way to derive a depth of veneration for them, but by making them antient and fabulous, and by that means removing them as far as poſſible from the then race of mankind. If we had no other inſtance of this than Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory [f], it would be abundantly ſufficient to juſtify us in what we ſay; and if we had no other example of this affectation than that of the Syrians in the days of Joſephus, who in thoſe days boaſted of the antiquity of their great god Adad, who was one of their deified kings [g], who, at moſt, did not live above 901 years before Chriſt [h]; it might be deemed enough for our purpoſe. And here we cannot but note a common inaccuracy, even in the moſt learned, who, inattentive to the hiſtory of the antient empire of Syria, ſuppoſe this Adad to have been an Aſſyrian or Babylonian deity [i], and only, as ſhould ſeem, becauſe he is in prophane authors called an Aſſyrian, forgetting, that the name of Aſſyria extended itſelf over all Syria and the adjacent parts [k]. He was then, to all appearance, no Babylonian deity, but one who had been tranſlated into the heavens by the antient Syrians, and, as ſhould ſeem, revived again after the deſtruction of the Babylonian empire, whoſe new gods muſt have brought him into diſcredit [l], not only as having proved too weak for the gods of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, but alſo as being a ſtranger to the people tranſplanted into theſe parts [m], in the room of the firſt inhabitants, by the ſucceſſors of Pul; though ſome how or other received again into veneration, as we have obſerved before [n]. However, Adad was alſo the ſun as well as Bel, or Baal, Oſiris, and others. And this is what we have thought neceſſary to premiſe preparatorily to what we ſhall hereafter have to ſay of the Greek

Adad not properly a Babylonian deity.

[g] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 322, 323. [h] See in the margin, p. 309. [i] Vid Lyl. Gyrald. Hiſt. Deor. Selden. de Diis Syris. Voſſius, de Idololatr. [k] See before in the notes, p. 193. [l] Ibid. 261. [m] Ibid. p. 265. [n] See before in the notes, p. 312.

Greek mythology, and which we have on purpoſe deferred, till we came to this place, as the moſt proper for a reſearch of this nature.

Fiſhes and Doves worſhipped, and whence.

To return to our celeſtial Venus, or Syrian goddeſs, or Aſtarte, or Derceto, or Semiramis, we find, that fiſhes [o] and doves [p] were peculiarly ſacred to her; and whence this ſuperſtition took birth we have partly ſeen in the metamorphoſis of Derceto [q], and the birth, education, and apotheoſis of Semiramis [r], and we have ſeen, that both at Aſcalon [s] and Hierapolis [t] they were equally revered; ſo that they may well deſerve to be conſidered as deities with this people, and are ſeemingly ſo allied to this great and multiplied goddeſs, that, though we have ſome other deities of this nation, who may deſerve to take place of them, we have not been able to ſeparate them from their great miſtreſs. As for fiſhes in particular, they are ſaid to have been revered by the Syrians, or the Aſſyrians rather, not only on account of the metramorphoſis above [u], but alſo becauſe they were ſaid to have ſaved one Derce, [Derceto] a daughter to Venus, who happened to fall into the ſea [w], or becauſe ſhe took refuge among the fiſh when ſhe fled from Typhon [x]. It is ſaid, that Venus and Cupid being in Syria on the banks of the Euphrates, the giant Typhon came ſuddenly upon them, and made them jump into the river, and take on them the form of fiſhes to ſave themſelves [y]; in ſhort, Venus and Cupid are ſaid to have been tranſlated into the zodiacal ſign called Piſces [z]; ſuch were the reaſons given why they not only abſtained from fiſh, but worſhipped them likewiſe. As for doves, they ſeem to have been worſhipped as ſymbols only of luſt and fondneſs, which made up part of their goddeſs's character (T); but of theſe we have ſaid enough in this place [a].

[o] See before, p. 205. [p] See before, p. ibid. [q] See before, p. 232. [r] See before, p. 248. [s] See before in the notes, p. 232. [t] See Vol. ii. p. 289. [u] See before, p. 232. [w] Theon. apud Gyrald. Hiſt. Deor. Syntagm. 1. p. 85. [x] Manil. ubi ſup. [y] Diogenet. apud. Hygin. in Aſtronom. [z] Vid. Voss. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254. [a] See before, p. 205, and in the notes, p. 232, 249.

(T) This goddeſs is ſaid to have been produced from a vaſt egg which, being rolled out of the water by the fiſh of the Euphrates, was hatched by a dove who ſat thereon (70). This muſt

(70) Nigid. apud Voss. de Idolol. l. 2. p. 254.

Salambo. Salambo, as ſhe is called [b], was alſo a goddeſs of the Aſſyrians or Babylonians, and is plainly Aſtarte, or any other of the goddeſſes whom we have ſhewn to have been the ſame with her; but we particularly mention Aſtarte, becauſe this Salambo, or Salambas, is ſaid to have been a demon, or goddeſs, who was eternally roaming up and down, and mourning her loſt Adonis [c], ſo that we need add nothing farther concerning her.

Sheſhach. Shach, Saca, or Sheſhach, is another god, or goddeſs, of the Babylonians as uſually reckoned [d], and ſuppoſed to have been the earth, and to have been the ſame Romans afterwards worſhipped under the names of Tellus and Ops [e], and if ſo, ſhe was partly the ſame with Mylitta, or the Syrian goddeſs, whom we have already ſeen under the title of Rhea, and the mother of the gods [f], in whom all theſe titles and imaginary deities are ſaid plainly to have centered. However, there is ſome doubt, whether or no ſhe may not be more properly a Perſian goddeſs [g] than a Babylonian; though that ſhe was the latter, may appear to ſatisfaction from the prophet [h]; who calls Babylon the land of Sheſhac, before the Perſians aroſe to any thing like the height they afterwards did; and at a time when Babylon, to all appearance, had diſdained to have received any thing of this nature from them. In commemoration of this goddeſs, the Babylonians were wont to celebrate a feſtival for ſeveral days together, which we ſhall take notice of among the cuſtoms of this people, and which confeſſedly gave birth to the Saturnalia at Rome.

Nebo. Nebo, or Nabo, was alſo an Aſſyrian or Babylonian deity [i], and his name is often compounded in thoſe of the Aſſyrian and Babylonian kings [k]; he therefore may be concluded

[b] Heſych. apud Selden, & Alios, Etymol. Magn. ad vocem. [c] Etymol. Magn. ibid. [d] Vid. Voss. Selden, &c. [e] Willet upon Dan. i. 16. [f] See before, p. 330. [g] Vid. Selden, de Dis Syr. Syntagm. 2. [h] Jerem. xxv. 26. to v. 41. [i] Iſai. xlvi. 1. [k] See before, p. 215.

muſt be the primigenial egg mentioned by Helladius (71); and, according to this, our great goddeſs muſt have been the fabulous Oannes (72), concerning which we have nothing to repeat. To animadvert upon ſo ſtrange an inconſiſtency, as this ſeems to have been, or to attempt to reconcile the Aſſyrian goddeſs into the ſame with Oannes, may be a fruitleſs taſk.

(17) See Vol. i. p. 267. (72) Ibid.

cluded to have once been in high account with them, and bids fair to have been one of their moſt antient gods. He is thought to have been the Chemoſh, or the Baal-peor, of the Moabites, and accordingly we have formerly mentioned him in the religion of Moab [l], and ſaid almoſt as much of him as we know. However, we have to add, that by the prophet he is joined with Bel [m], and ſuppoſed generally to have been the ſun, and therefore may have been prior to this latter, whom we have aſſerted to have been the deified Pul, the firſt Aſſyrian [n], who may, by the viciſſitude of things, have taken place of him; though there are others who are of another mind, and conceive, that, by their being joined together, we are rather to underſtand him to have been deſigned for the moon [o], Bel being, for certain, known to have ſtood for the ſun, concluding it to be a ſenſeleſs tautology to mention the ſame deity, at the ſame time, under different names; ſo that, inſtead of ſuppoſing him to have been one with Bel, we are rather to conclude him to have been the ſame with Mylitta the great goddeſs; but this may appear a weak argument to thoſe who perceive how apt theſe people, and all that followed them, were to multiply one and the ſame god into many; and eſpecially if it be recollected, by what ſteps ſabianiſm or idolatry advanced among theſe apparently firſt founders of it, and how, by degrees, it began from the hoſt of heaven, till it degenerated, if we may uſe the expreſſion, into the adoration of men; till a full ſtop ſeems to have been put to this practice, in honour of the great Aſſyrian and Babylonian family, who muſt, for very ſtrong reaſons ſuggeſted formerly [p], have eclipſed all that went before them; ſo that nothing need prevent our ſuppoſing Nebo to have been worſhipped as the ſun before the riſe of Pul, to whom he may, according to the fantaſtic theology of this people, have been accounted inferior afterwards. This Nebo ſeems to have been famous as an oracle, his name being interpreted as ſignifying prophecy or divination [q]; but all this, and whatever elſe may be advanced concerning him, is too palpably obſcure for us to dilate on; all we know for certain is, that he was ſome god of the Babylonians.

[l] See Vol. ii. p. 103. [m] Iſai. ubi ſup. [n] See before in the notes, p 261. [o] Vid. Voss. de Idololat. [p] See before in the preceding chapter, paſſim. [q] Hieronym. in Eſai. in loc. ſupr. citat.

Sardanapalus.

HOWEVER, if true it be, that he was the ſame with Chemoſh, or Baal-peor, or Phegor, and if what is ſaid of the obſcene rites of this god [r] be juſt, we have a ſeeming reaſon to aſſert, that the famous, or, as the common tradition goes, infamous, Sardanapalus took the place of this ſhameleſs idol, in the latter days of the Aſſyrian family; and that, to all appearance, the Babylonians converted him into this god, when they deſtroyed the city of Niniveh, and extirpated the kings there. For that he was a god of theirs is evident enough, by the place given him in the ſame temple with the Babylonian Venus at Hierapolis, the Holy City [s]. We find him there in a particular habit and attitude [t], but whether or no this attitude was the ſame we have formerly mentioned [u], it is certain, that by the traditionary character of him [w], and as it is likely, that all the kings of Aſſyria to a man were deified after their death, he may very well have ſerved for a god of beaſtlineſs and ſenſuality. And this is plainly underſtood by the common way of ſpelling his name, for the moſt part, in antient manuſcripts, which write him Sardanapallus with a double L [x], and ſeemingly with an obſcene intention, for Phallus, or Pallus, ſignifies the privities of a man; and hence Cicero pronounces [y], he was not more odious for his character than this name; and the Priap which ſtood near him [z], in the temple of Hierapolis, may have been intended for him; for as there were confeſſedly two ſtatues of Semiramis in this temple [a], the ſame may have been with regard to Sardanapallus, as we will for this once write him.

Rach.

OTHER gods the Babylonians and Aſſyrians had, as Rach [b], who is generally thought to have been intended for the ſun, and therefore we may claſs him under the great Pul, or Belus, who, as we have ſeen, was ſubſtituted for the ſame. But a diſpute may take place, whether or no he was a deified man or ſome intelligence, as for example, that of the ſun, and if this latter be the caſe, he muſt be removed higher up, as he muſt have been much more antient than Belus. This we leave to the reader, for there is nothing particular beſides related of him.

Nego

[r] See Vol. ii. p. 101. [s] Ibid. p. 289. [t] Ibid. [u] See before in the notes, p. 254. [w] See before p. ibid. [x] Vid. Jos. Scalig. Animadverſ. ad Græc. Euſeb. p. 64. [y] De Repub. l. iii. [z] See vol. ii. p. 289. [a] Ibid. [b] Vid. Willet ubi ſup. Seld. de Dis Syr. Syntagm. II. c. 17.

NEGO [c] and Nergal [d] were alſo gods of this people, if they were not one and the ſame; but as they are generally agreed to have been worſhipped as fire, we forbear farther mention of them, till we come to the religion of the Magians. Nego, and Nergal.

MERODACH [e] alſo was a god at Babylon; but who, or what, he was, is quite in the dark to us. Merodach.

IN a word, we may call in the gods of the ſeveral nations, whoſe hiſtories precede in this work, to complete the liſt of the Babylonian idols; for they are confeſſedly ſprung from the city of Babylon; and hence it is, that Maimonides, in ſpeaking of the death of Thammuz, who was ſlain a martyr to the Sabian religion, relates, That all the idols of the world flew to the great temple of the ſun at Babylon, and there mourned the death of Thammuz [f]; ſo that we ſhall not here need to repeat what we have ſpoken ſo largely to already.

THUS we have ſeen, that the great Jupiters, and other gods and goddeſſes of mortal origin, are to be derived from the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, and that, inſtead of being ſo antient as mythologiſts and hiſtorians make them, they began not above 771 years before the birth of Chriſt among the Aſſyrians, who firſt erected themſelves into what we call a monarchy; as is by all confeſſed, though falſely, for the moſt part, related.

THE Sabians, as well as the Magians, had a veneration for fire, and therefore we might here conſider them in that light, did we not reſerve that ſubject for the ſection where we ſhall ſpeak of the Magian religion, in the hiſtory of the Perſians. Fire-worſhip.

THE ſtory of Bel and the Dragon [g] might here claim to be conſidered, were we not aſſured that the whole is ſpurious. We have therefore only to add, that by the Dragon here we ſhould underſtand a Serpent, or Aſp [h], which the Babylonians uſed as the ſymbol of God, for which they had ſeveral reaſons to give, as that this creature without the aſſiſtance of limbs, and by a kind of virtue or power latent within himſelf, could not only move [i] at a conſiderable rate, but alſo wind and turn himſelf into various forms; that he lived to a great age, and, as it were, renewed his life with his coat every year; and that the

[c] Vid. Eoſd. ibid. [d] See before, p. 203. [e] Ibid. p. 215.
[f] See vol. ii. p. 444. [g] In the Apocrypha. [h] See vol. i. p. 563. [i] Ibid.

the acuteneſs of his ſight might aptly enough qualifie him to repreſent divine providence, or God [k]. Other reaſons were given for this ſerpent-worſhip both by the Babylonians and the Egyptians, but we wave them, and ſhall only obſerve, that theſe ſame people revered the ſame reptile as the ſymbol of health and of prudence, not forgetting alſo, that they made him the emblem of fraud [l].

As the Babylonians were hardly at all different in religion from the Egyptians, but in many articles concurred with them, and particularly in the adoration they paid to fiſhes [m], ſo in other points of worſhip they were the ſame with each other. The goat they worſhipped as well as the Mendeſians [n] in Egypt, and for the ſame reaſon; and the onion, as mean an object as it may ſeem, was conſidered with a religious eſteem by both the nations [o], and for a reaſon, it is moſt likely, we have already given [p].

Worſhip a goat.

THEIR god Thurras, Thourias, or Mars, we have ſpoken to already [q]; and now refer the reader for the religious rites and ceremonies of this people, beſides what we have obſerved here, and ſhall relate hereafter, to what we have ſaid of the kind in the religion of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Canaanites, Syrians, Phœnicians, and Aſſyrians.

Their temples, idols, and prieſts.

WE have a general view given us of their temples, their idols, and their prieſts, in the epiſtle of Jeremiah [r]. Their idols were of gold, and ſilver, and wood, and carried about in proceſſion, with multitudes attending them before and behind, and worſhipping them. They were crowned, and cloathed with purple, and beſmeared with the ſmoak of incenſe, though they were carefully wiped and cloathed as they wanted it. Their temples were full of ſmoke and duſt, raiſed and cauſed by the numerous reſort of votaries; and their prieſts took care of themſelves. They would ſometimes make free with the gold and ſilver preſented to their gods, and either keep it for themſelves, or beſtow it upon lewd proſtitutes, who were accounted ſacred. Whatever was offered a ſacrifice to their gods, they were wont to embezzle, and appropriate to themſelves; and cloath their wives and children with the garments that had been given to adorn their idols. In return for this, they were

[k] Vid. Voſſ. de Idololatr. l. 9. p. 233. [l] Vid. eund. ibid. [m] See vol. i. p. 551. [n] Ibid. p. 560. [o] Alexand. ab Alexand. l. 9. [p] See vol. i. p. 567. [q] See before in the notes, p. 250. [r] Baruch vi. paſſim.

were ſure to light up numbers of tapers and candles to their images, and to ſit in the temples with their beards and their heads cloſe ſhaven, and uncovered, and with garments rent and torn, and roaring and crying out before their gods, as for the lamentation of ſome perſon deceaſed; and finally, that their gods and temples might be in no danger of the ſpoiler, they were ſure to lock and bar them up with great care. Such was the corruption and degeneracy of this people, and ſuch their practice, which muſt have had a very bad effect on their morals, as will appear in the ſequel. In the mean time;

Human victims.

THE Babylonians having given riſe to all the idolatries and ſuperſtitions in vogue among the neighbouring nations, we muſt charge them with the horrible cuſtom of ſacrificing human victims to appeaſe or conciliate their god or gods. That this muſt have been an antient cuſtom with all theſe people, we have ſometimes as good as aſſerted, in what we have ſaid of them in their religious capacity; and that it took birth among the Babylonians, muſt be as readily granted, as that they communicated the reſt of their ſuperſtitions to all their neighbours about. That this was a practice, in early days, in Meſopotamia and Babylonia, may appear by the attempt Abraham made to ſacrifice Iſaac [s]; for he came from thoſe parts; and though he is abundantly to be juſtified in that attempt, it is ſeemingly plain, that the thing was familiar to him; but if we had no other proof of it than in Jephthah, who, as the ſtory is commonly taken, actually made a victim of his only daughter [t], that would be ſufficient to charge the deed upon the nations of thoſe early times. This cuſtom, however, grew ſo ſhocking to human nature, that the prieſts ſeem to have been unable to maintain it long in credit, and by degrees it came to be diſuſed, and ſeems, in the latter days, at leaſt, of the Babylonians, to have been confined to a particular ſect or tribe. For the Sepharvites are ſaid by way of diſtinction from the other Babylonians, to have *burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim* [u]. Who theſe two gods were, we have ſeen already [w], and that theſe Sepharvites were Babylonians, properly ſo called, appears very plainly, if we can, with the moſt learned geographers, agree, that their city was that of Sippara in Ptolemy. However, there are

[s] See vol. ii. p. 415.
[t] See vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect. 6. under Jephthah.
[u] 2 Kings xvii. 31.
[w] See before, p. 203, and vol. ii. 118.

are traces of this antient cruelty to be diſcerned in the worſhip and rites of the Syrian, or rather Aſſyrian, goddeſs, at Hierapolis, to whom they without remorſe made away with their children, by precipitating them down a ſteep at her temple [x]; which is all we need ſay about it.

To enter into the allegory of all this worſhip and deification is what we have above profeſſed to avoid; for the preſent, and indeed for the future, we ſhall have no great matter to add to the ſubject, which we have in general treated already. In the hiſtory of the Egyptians [y] we have already declared almoſt as much as is known, as to the intent and meaning of all this idolatry in a phyſical or natural view; nor could we expatiate thereon here without a direct repetition of what goes before. We need only obſerve, that if the Babylonians, and others after them, made gods of the ſun, the moon, or any other luminary; that if they extended their view to the whole ſyſtem of nature in the worſhip they paid to their great deities, or if by them they meant the earth it ſelf, the air, or any other element or created being of any ſort or degree, the whole muſt be attributed to a kind of miſtaken gratitude at firſt for benefits received (V), which at length degenerated into

[x] See vol. ii. p. 293. [y] See vol. i. p. 549, & ſeq.

(V) Sir John Maundeville (73) has ſo judiciouſly ſummed up the hiſtory and progreſs of idolatry, that, for the curioſity of it, we cannot, though ſomewhat long, but preſent it to the reader, in his own words: ſpeaking of a people in India, he ſays, "Summe of hem worſchipe the ſonne, ſumme the mone, ſumme "the fuyr, ſumme trees, ſumme ſerpentes, or the firſt thing "that thei meten at morwen; and ſumme worſchipen ſymulacres, "and ſumme ydoles. But betwene ſymulacres and ydoles is a "gret difference. For ſymulacres ben ymages made aftre the "lykneſſe of men, or of wommen, or of the ſonne, or of the "mone, or of ony beſt, or of ony kyndely thing: and ydoles is "an ymage made of the lewed wille of man, that a man may "not finden among kyndely things; as an ymage, that hathe four "hedes, on of a man, another of an hors, or of an ox, or of "ſum other beſt, that no man hathe ſeyn aftre kyndely diſpo-"ſicioun. And thei that worſchipen ſymulacres, thei worſchipen "hem for ſum worthi man, that was ſum tyme, as Hercules and "many othere, that diden many marvayles in here tyme. For "thei ſeyn wel, that this be not goddes: for thei knowen wel, "that

(73) Voyage and Travels, c. 15. p. 198.

to every thing that was bad and ſtupid; and this ſhall ſuffice for the preſent to have ſaid concerning idolatry, and leſs

" that there is a god of kynde, that made all thinges; the whiche
" is in hevene. But thei knowen wel, that this may not do the
" marvayles that he made, but zif it had ben be the ſpecyalle
" zifte of God: and therefore thei ſeyn that he was wel with
" God. And for be cauſe that he was ſo wel with God, therfore
" thei worſchipe him. And ſo ſeyn thei of the ſonne; be cauſe
" that he chaungethe the tyme, and zevethe hete and noriſſchethe
" alle thinges upon erthe; and for it is of ſo gret profite, thei
" knowe wel, that that myghte not be, but that God lovethe it
" more than ony other thing. And for that skylle, God hath
" zeven it more gret vertue in the world: therefore it is gode
" reſoun, as thei ſeyn, to don it worſchipe and reverence. And
" ſo ſeyn thei, that maken here reſounes, of othere planetes;
" and of the fuyr alſo, be cauſe it is ſo profitable. And of ydoles,
" thei ſeyn alſo, that the ox is the moſt holy beſt, that is in
" erthe, and moſt pacyent and more profitable than ony other.
" For he dothe good ynow, and he dothe non evylle. And thei
" knowen wel, that it may not be with outen ſpecyalle grace of
" God: and therfore maken thei here god, of an ox, the on
" part, and the other halfondelle of a man; be cauſe that man
" is the moſt noble creature in erthe; and alſo for he hathe lord-
" ſchipe aboven alle beſtes; therfore make thei the halfendel of
" ydole, of a man upwardes, and the tother half of an ox down-
" wardes: And of ſerpentes, and of other beſtes, and dyverſe
" thinges, that thei worſchipen, that thei meten firſt at morwe.
" And thei worſchipen alſo ſpecially alle tho that thei han gode
" meetynge of; and whan thei ſpeden wel in here jorneye, aftre
" here meetynge; and namely ſuche as thei han preved and aſ-
" ſayed be experience of long tyme. For thei ſeyn, that thilke
" gode meetynge ei may not come, but of the grace of God.
" And therfore thei maken ymages lyche to tho thinges, that thei
" han beleeve inne, for to beholden hem and worſchipen hem
" firſt at morwe, or thei meeten ony contrarious thinges. And
" there ben alſo ſumme criſtene men, that ſeyn, that ſumme
" beſtes han gode meetynge, that is to ſeyn, for to meete with
" hem firſt at morwe; and ſumme beſtes wykked meetynge: and
" that thei han preved ofte tyme, that the hare hath fulle evylle
" meetynge, and ſwyn, and many othere beſtes. And the ſpar-
" hauk, and other foules of raveyne, whan thei fleen aftre here
" praye, and take it before men of armes, it is a gode ſigne: and
" zif he fayle of takynge his praye, it is an evylle ſigne. And
" alſo to ſuche folk, it is an evylle meetynge of ravenes. In
" theiſe thinges, and in ſuch othere, ther ben many folk, that

" be-

leſs than this we could not have ſaid in this place, where the whole ſeems to center, and where the whole, or at leaſt a great part of it, may be fixed to a chronological æra, which may be of uſe to us hereafter, in ſpeaking of theſe deities, or ſome borrowed from them, in climes far remote from this.

Their cuſtoms. IT may be now time to ſpeak of the cuſtoms of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians; and of theſe one of the chief ſeems to have been their method of diſpoſing of all their young women in marriage. No man ſeems to have had a right to diſpoſe of his own daughters, but as ſoon as they were of age fit to marry, they, with others, were expoſed in ſome public place appointed for the purpoſe, where, in the midſt of a crowd of men who attended upon theſe occaſions, they were ſold one by one. The moſt beautiful of them were firſt put up, and delivered to the higheſt bidder, and ſo on. When all that were valuable for their charms were thus diſpoſed of, the money, that was raiſed by this ſale, was applied in behalf of ſome of them to whom nature had not been ſo laviſh of her exterior gifts. The homely ones were then offered to ſuch as would take the leaſt money with them; and the poorer ſort, to whom the uſe of a little money was more precious than all the beauty of a wife, were as eager in underbidding each other, as the wealthy men had been before in vying for the fair ones. The conſequence of this was, that their young women were all diſpoſed of in marriage; the poorer ſort of the men only labouring under this particular reſtriction, that they ſhould give ſecurity to take the girls they had conſented to, before they were in proper poſſeſſion of the money they had agreed to take with them.

Sale of Virgins.

Purification. WHEN a Babylonian had lain with his wife, they both ſat by hot perfumes, and took care to waſh themſelves about twilight, accounting themſelves unclean, till they had

[z] Herodot. l. 1. c. 196. Strab. l. 16. p. 745.

" beleeven, be cauſe it happenethe ſo often tyme to falle, aftre
" here fantaſſyes. And alſo there ben men ynow that han no
" beleeve in hem. And ſithe, that criſtene men han ſuch beleeve,
" that ben informed and taughte alle day, be holy doctryne where
" inne thei ſchold beleeve, it is no marvaylle thanne, that the
" Paynemes, that han no gode doctryne, but only of here na-
" ture, beleeven more largely, for here ſympleneſſe (74)."

(74) Ibid.

had performed this ceremonious office, and unfit to touch any thing [a].

Every Babylonian woman was once in her life-time bound to proſtitute herſelf to ſtrange men, at the temple of Venus. A number of them ſat crowned with knots and garlands at the door of the temple, while ſome were continually going and others coming. They were ſo ranged between lengths of line, and parted by the ſame in ſuch manner, that the men had paſſage among them, and the convenience of getting at thoſe they beſt liked. The women having once ſat down before the temple, it was unlawful for any one of them to return home, till ſome ſtranger had thrown money into her lap or boſom, and taken her aſide; the man as he threw the money to her, ſaying, *I implore the goddeſs* Mylitta *for thee*. The money, how little ſoever it might have been, was by no means to be rejected, being accounted ſacred; nor had the woman the power of rejecting any man that accoſted her in the form preſcribed, but ſhe was abſolutely to retire with him without delay; and having ſuffered his embraces, and performed the accuſtomed rites to the goddeſs, ſhe returned home; after which no temptation, though ever ſo great, could procure the enjoyment of her. Thoſe who were handſome were ſoon diſpatched, but thoſe who were not ſo happy, lingered a long time before they could fulfil the law; ſo that they ſometimes waſted two or three years in a wretched expectation (W). Thoſe who were rich, and ſcorned to ſit with the meaner ſort were conveyed thither in ſome covered vehicle, and ſeated therein [b], while their ſervants waited their return at ſome diſtance. Proſtitution to Venus.

For five days in one month of every year they celebrated a feſtival they called Sacea, or Sacca, during which the ſervants commanded their maſters, one of them being, for the time, conſtituted chief over the houſe, and wearing a kind of royal garment they called Zogana [c]. Feſtival of Sacca.

Their

[a] Herodot. l. ibid. c. 198. Strab. ibid. [b] Herodot. ibid. c. 199. Strabo, ibid. [c] Beroſ. apud Athen. Deipnoſoph. l. 14. p. 639.

(W) We have this cuſtom, with ſome additional circumſtances, in Baruch, (75); *The women*, ſays he, *alſo, with cords about them, ſitting in the ways burn bran for perfume; but if any of them, drawn by ſome that paſſeth by, lie with him, ſhe reproacheth her fellow that ſhe was not thought as worthy as herſelf, nor her cord broken*. From this particular of their cords being broken, it has been ſuppoſed they were cords of ruſhes (76), which might be eaſily broken.

(75) vi. 43. (76) See Purch. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 12. p. 65.

Manner of treating the sick, and burials.

THEIR manner of treating their sick was very extaordinary. Having no physicians among them, it was their custom to expose them publicly in the most frequented places, that so every body might see them, and offer their advice, if they had any knowledge of the case, either from their own experience, or from the experience of others; nor was it lawful for any that passed by to omit this office. Their dead they buried in honey and wax, and mourned for them much after the manner of the Egyptians [d].

The Babylonians; their character.

THE Babylonians were excessively credulous, superstitious to the utmost, and as lewd and as debauched as nation well could be. Their credulity must appear by the esteem their Chaldeans, priests, or juglers were in among them, and their superstition must appear by the same, and what we have said of their religion; and so excessively prone to idolatry were they, that we even find an instance of their great Nebuchadnezzar falling down before Daniel to worship him [e]. Debauchery ran high among them, in which they were justified by the example of their princes, who lived beyond all the bounds of decency and moderation; as we may gather by the banquet Belshazzar was giving when he saw the fatal inscription on the wall [f]. Nor was the king's example all, their religion as inculcated by their priests, and as we have seen in the rites of their great goddess and others, together with the reverence paid to prostitutes [g], compleated them the most sensual and abandoned race that can be imagined. Parents and husbands would, for money, expose their wives and children to the embraces of their guests. Drunkards they are particulary said to have been, and their women were admitted to their debaucheries. The women, upon these occasions, first appeared modest and reserved, till putting off their cloaths by degrees, they at length appeared quite naked; and this was the practice even with the married women and the maids, who thought it good breeding thus to reveal whatever belonged to them [h]. Such is the character given of the Babylonians, and it seems exactly to agree with their religion, which encouraged such monstrous impudence in the women and shamelessness in the men; though it cannot be supposed, that in the beginning of their empire they were quite so dissolute as here represented.

THEY

[d] Herodot. ibid. c. 198. Strabo l. 16. ibid. [e] Dan. ii. towards the end. [f] v. [g] See before, p. 342. [h] Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1.

THEY seem to have indulged themselves in dress as well as in other respects, and to have affected some pride and effeminacy therein; their under garment was a linen vest, down to their heels, over which they had another of woollen, and over all a white mantle, or cloak. They wore their own hair; their heads were adorned with a tiara or mitre, and their bodies were anointed all over [i] with oil of sesame [k]. They each of them wore a seal-ring on the finger, and in their hand a wrought staff or scepter, adorned at the head with some particular ensign or figure, as an apple, or rose, or lilly, or an eagle, or some such badge, without which it was unlawful to appear with one of these sticks or staves. On their feet they wore a kind of slippers [l]. Traces of which may be picked out of the figures remaining at Persepolis, as we may observe hereafter. Their habit.

THIS people was famed for learning, and particularly those of them that were peculiarly called Chaldæans, who were, as is said, their priests, their philosophers, astronomers, astrologers, soothsayers, and the like. And in respect of this pretended claim to learning and supernatural knowledge, the Chaldees are distinguished from the Babylonians, and are said to have inhabited a region peculiar to themselves next to the Arabians and the Persian gulf [m]; just where we have placed them. They were divided into several sects, as the Orcheni, the Borsippeni, and known by other names of distinction, borrowed either from particular places [n], where different doctrines on the same points were held, or from particular persons, who had doctrines peculiar to themselves. Many of their learned men were famous, and known by name among the Greeks, as Adena, Naburian, Sudin, and many others [o]. Learning of the Chaldees.

WE have already considered this tribe as set apart for devotion and superstitious concerns, when just now we spoke of the religion of this people; we are now to speak of them as philosophers only, and of what they taught as such, as well as of their manner of institution.

WE have already seen how they pretended to have first come by their learning [p], and their strange fable concerning their first instructor Oannes, who, long before the deluge, came out of the sea, and formed them in the several branches Had not their learning from the Egyptians.

[i] Herodot. ubi sup. c. 195. [k] Strabo ubi sup. p. 745. [l] Herodot. Strab. ibid. [m] Strabo Geogr. l. 16. p. 739. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] Idem, ibid. [p] See vol. i. p. 266.

branches of policy, religion, and learning, and particularly explained to them geometry and aſtrology; and I have obſerved, that, as the tradition went, he was a monſter, partly man and partly fiſh, and that by his coming out of the ſea he muſt have been ſome ſtranger, that his name might be, with no great violence, derived from a word, which in Syriac ſignifies a Traveller, or a Foreigner [q]; as alſo that by ſome circumſtances he muſt have been the ſame they meant by their Mylitta or great Venus [r], and would now add, that, by what is ſaid of his inventions and uſeful communications to men, he may have been conſidered as the Egyptian Iſis, or Oſiris, or both. However this may have been, the report of Oannes's appearance in Chaldea from out of the ſea has given birth to an opinion, that Oſiris and Oannes were at leaſt contemporaries, and that the Babylonians had all their learning from the Egyptians, and that not much earlier than the days of Ammon and Seſac, or Shiſhak, whom our author [s] will have to have been the ſame with Seſoſtris, or not long before the days of David and Solomon. To prove this, he exhibits the authority of ſeveral antient authors, the one [t] writing, That the Egyptian Belus, the ſon of Neptune and Lybia, carried colonies from Egypt into Babylonia, and that, ſettling upon the banks of the Euphrates, he inſtituted prieſts with the ſame privileges as in Egypt, and that theſe were called Chaldæans, and were to obſerve the ſtars after the manner of Egypt; another [u] declaring the Babylonian Belus had his name from the Egyptian of that name, the ſon of Lybia. In a word, our author [w] concludes, that when Sabbaco, the Ethiopian, invaded Egypt, multitudes of that country fled from him into Chaldæa, and carried with them their aſtronomy, aſtrology, architecture, and the form of their year, which they preſerved in the æra of Nabonaſſar; and, as a farther proof of this, he produces the form of the tower or temple of Belus at Babylon, which was built pretty nearly after the manner of the Egyptian pyramids. All this, according to our author's hypotheſis, ſeems plauſible enough, but muſt be confeſſed to be quite deſtructive of what we read in ſcripture, by which the reverſe ſhould appear.

Both

[q] Ibid. in the notes, ibid. [r] See before in the notes, p. 337, 338. [s] Sir Iſ. Newt. Chron. of Anc. Kingd. amend. p. 210, 211, & ſeq. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. 1. p. 17. [u] Pauſan. l. 4. c. 23. [w] Sir Iſ. Newt. ubi ſup.

BOTH the nations, their very countries, and situations, have certainly in all respects a very near resemblance of each other, and an exact parallel might be deduced between them to make it self-evidently appear. We have seen, that they were constant rivals with each other for antiquity [x], in which the Babylonians must have had the preference, according to scripture, where we read, that they kept possession of what we may call the original seat of mankind after the flood; and must have been therefore settled before any of the other nations, who left them behind in Shinar, a country which must have been a good deal improved before the dispersion, when all the rest went out in quest of new seats. This historical circumstance may be sufficient to rank them the first of nations, though the Egyptians would never allow them that honour; and if these unjustly arrogated the point over them in this respect, why may they not have done the same with regard to others? Arguments to prove it.

THE truth is, both these nations have been strangely addicted to fable, and both of them may be questioned in most we know of their pretences to superiority; and are doubtless to be equally disbelieved. But if the Egyptians are preferred to the Babylonians in any respect by the Greeks, it must be attributed to partiality and prejudice, in favour of such near neighbours as they were in comparison; and if not to this, at least it may be owing to their better acquaintance with the former than with the latter, and to their hearing of the story but on one side. We have at least as good authority to argue in behalf of the Babylonians, as can be produced in favour of the Egyptians.

THE early transaction of attempting to raise the tower of Babel, in the very country of this people, must imply them to have been informed of architecture in those days, and some of the concomitant arts; and as for the learning of either of the nations, it does not seem to have been such as to deserve the contending for; it appearing to have been rather the corruption of human knowledge, than the refinement of it, or, at least, it seems to have been built upon such principles, as were a reproach to sound reason, rather than an honour to the human understanding, and rather calculated to deceive, than to inform; to spread

[x] See before, p. 336.

the mists of ignorance, than to clear up the lights of knowledge.

HOWEVER, to turn the tables, we have as good an authority as to the contrary, that the Egyptians were instructed in all their knowledge by the Chaldees, and namely by Abraham [y], who was one of this country. This is the tradition of the Jews, the Arabians, and the Indians, which deserves at least as much credit, and even more, with regard to this people, as the pretences of the Egyptians, who were immediately parties concerned, or of the Greeks, who were particularly biassed in their favour. Nor are these orientals unsupported by the traditions of the westerns, according to whom the Assyrian or Babylonian Belus was the inventor of the sidereal science [z], and the nation he belonged to the foremost in antiquity for empire and power, and consequently for the arts and learning; and as they derived their instructor Oannes from times preceding the deluge [a], as should seem, and suppose him to have sprung from the primigenial egg; it is seemingly plain, that whatever constructions may have been put upon his appearance from out of the sea, or the derivation of his name, they acknowledged themselves beholden to no nation under the sun for what they pretended to know; and indeed it must be confessed, that by the bulk of what we understand, both by sacred and profane writers, our author, has here strained things too violently to accommodate them to his hypothesis; but to insist no longer on this doubt, let us take a survey of what the learning was that is so contested.

Their manner of institution.

THEY acquired not their learning in the manner of the Greeks, but possessed what they knew by tradition from father to son, and being exempt from all offices or impositions to divert their studies, they had nothing to do but to apply themselves to the instruction they received, which came not from the mouth of a mercenary pedagogue or master. They never departed from what they imbibed, fully satisfied of what they received from their ancestors; and, by a tenacious adherence to their point, they became perfectly knowing in what they professed [b].

SUCH was the manner of their institution, and the tenaciousness of the adherence to what they had received from

[y] See vol. ii. in the notes, p. 425. [z] See vol. i. p. 266.
[a] Ibid. [b] Diodor. Sicul. Bibl. Histor. l. 2. p. 82.

from their fore-fathers, which if true, we need no other proof to assure us, that they made little or no progress, even in the learning they particularly professed, and that so it really was, may be discovered in the sequel.

Their doctrine about the world.

THEY taught, that the world was eternal, that it never had beginning, and never shall have an end, though they acknowledged a divine providence; that the motions of the heavens were not directed by blind chance, or performed spontaneously, but by the guidance and direction of superior agents, or gods. They are universally said to have been the first that cultivated astronomy, and are pretended to have made such progress therein, as to have not only discovered the exact motions of the heavenly bodies, but also to have found out certain influences they have over things below, and to have thence been able to foretel what was hidden in the womb of futurity [c].

They were more astrologers than astronomers.

BY this it appears, that whatever advances they made as astronomers, they were more particularly valuable, if we may so express ourselves, as astrologers. From this delusive amusement, they boasted a knowledge of what was to come, with the power of averting evil, and the procuring of good; hence chiefly they were considered as magicians, and, as we call them, fortune-tellers [d].

THE planets they called Interpreters, and made the greatest account of their influence, and particularly, as we are told, of that we call Saturn; the next degree of eminence with them was Sol, or the sun, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter; six in all, which were all the planets they reckoned: These they called Interpreters, as by their motions and aspects they, in a more evident manner, portended the will and pleasure of the gods. They sometimes judged by their rising, and sometimes by their setting, and sometimes by the colour or degree of their light; whence they foretold storms of wind, or of rain, or exceeding droughts; as also the appearance of comets, eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, and the whole train of pretended fore-runners of the good or bad fortune of nations in general, and of kings and private persons in particular [e].

The system of their astrology.

UNDER these six planets they ranged 30 stars, which they called Counselling Gods; and half of these they allotted to take notice of what was done under the earth; and the other half to take cognizance of what was done

[c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem ibid.

by men, or transacted in the heavens. And they gave out, that once in ten days one of the superior of these stars descended to the inferior, as it were a messenger from those above; and that in return one of the inferior ascended to the superior in the same nature; and that this their mutual correspondence was natural to them, and to continue for ever. They reported, that the chief of these Counselling Gods were 12 in number, and assigned to each of them a month of the year, and a whole sign of the zodiac [f].

ALL these stars they gave out to have influences over the nativities of men, and to forbode whatever is to befal them of evil, or happen to them of good, in the course of their lives. Again, out of the zodiac they selected 24 stars, and placed 12 of them towards the north pole, and 12 towards the south. Those of them within our sight they assigned to the living, and those not within it they called the stars or constellations of the dead; and these stars they termed the judges of all things: In short, the Chaldeans were complete astrologers, and pretended to excel all other nations therein [g].

Deficient in astronomy.

THEIR astronomy, which ought to have taken place of the former, in respect of its dignity above it, must yield its rank here, it being seemingly what they cultivated as a science secondary to the other; and accordingly we find it to have been quite coarse and plain. They had notions, that the earth was like a vessel or boat, and that it was hollow within; and had a way of supporting this doctrine by various arguments [h].

WE have seen their division of the zodiac into 12 signs, throughout which they taught that the several planets performed their revolutions: But they seem to have had no notion of the immense distance of some of the planets from the sun, and accounted for the time they took up in their revolutions, purely by the tardiness of their motion; though, by their theory of the moon, the contrary should appear, for they taught, that she completed her course the soonest of any, not because of her extraordinary velocity, but because her orbit, as we now speak, was less than the orbit of any other body that circumvolved in the heavens. They taught, that she shone with a light not her own, and that when she was eclipsed she was immerged in the shadow of the earth.

But

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid.

But for eclipſes of the ſun they were quite out and extravagant, nor could fix the time when they would happen [i]. In ſhort, the whole of their philoſophy and learning ſeems to have been chiefly what we now call judicial aſtronomy; a ſcience, falſly ſo called, as much contemned with us, as it was prized by the antients.

Their boaſted learning condemned.

NOR has this boaſted knowledge and learning of the Chaldees been arraigned by the moderns only; it has alſo been condemned by the antients, as inconſiſtent with the nature of things, and as implying a fatal neceſſity and deſtroying the freedom of our will [k]. And this was the mighty learning for which the Chaldæans were ſo famed, as to be denominated, as it were, a diſtinct nation from the Babylonians for the ſake of it; and indeed from ſcripture we gather they were no better; for Daniel, ſpeaking of them, divides them into four ſorts or kinds, as magicians, aſtrologers, ſorcerers, and Chaldæans [l], adding afterwards to theſe wiſe men or ſuch as divined by lots, and ſooth-ſayers or ſuch as foretold events by the inſpection of entrails [m]. And though there are thoſe who ſuppoſe the Chaldæans, as here diſtinguiſhed from the five other ſorts, to have been a ſect peculiar to themſelves, and to have been of deeper and more ſolid learning [n]; we may eaſily perceive, that they, as well as the reſt, pretended to divination, and that they were called upon, as well as the reſt, to diſcover what was hidden to other men. Whence we may ſafely conclude, that they all in their ſeveral ways were ſo many oracles, and they were all devoted to the ſame end, however they may have been divided as to the means and methods of attaining thereto; ſo that ſeemingly theſe Babylonians had their ſcience branched out amongſt them, much after the manner the Egyptian phyſicians had theirs [o]. Their learning muſt have been made up entirely of ſuperſtitious practices and deluſive arts, and if any better they had, they muſt have concealed it under ſuch enigmas, and far-fetched reſemblances and allegories, as muſt have rendered it quite a ſecret even to themſelves, who, conſidering that they are ſaid from father to ſon to have received implicitly whatever was taught them, may have been as little able to explain what was really intended by their doctrines, as others were to conceive them to any ſolid

[i] Idem ibid. [k] Vid. Bardeſan. apud Euſeb. præpar. evangel. l. 6. c. 10. p. 273. & Alios apud eund. ibid. [l] Dan. ii. 2. [m] Ibid. v. 27. [n] Purch. Pilgr. l. 1. c. 12. p. 63. [o] See vol. i. p. 579.

purpose; and it seems not to have been without good reason, that many [p] of later times have made slight of them as philosophers, and concluded, that the Greeks were in this respect little, if at all, beholden either to them or the Egyptians.

Babylonians in distinction from the Chaldees; their arts.

As the Chaldees were peculiarly the men of learning among this nation, so the Babylonians, properly so called, were the men of art; though perhaps we shall have more reason to call these the men of learning among them than the former, if true it be that they were wholly addicted to, and set apart for, the sidereal consultations, and the propagation of the extravagancies, which must, as should seem, have made up the system of their philosophy. For in this case the Babylonians, as distinguished from the Chaldæans, must have been good mathematicians and mechanics, as must appear by the immense buildings they reared, and which could not be effected without great skill in the several branches of the mathematics and geometry. This we may say in general; but to say how far, or how far not, they excelled in perspective and the true harmony of proportion, may not be quite so easy a matter, though that their ornaments and decorations fell short of what was afterwards seen in Greece can never be doubted. This may be plain to any body that has seen the representations of the ruins of Persepolis, which must certainly have been built in the Babylonian manner, which, how far it was beneath the Grecian for elegance and proportion, may be more properly considered, when we come to speak of the Grecian architecture, and to compare it with that of the Egyptians and this people, who, it is certain, were more ambitious of being vast in their performances of this nature than exquisite. And hence we may pronounce, that their paintings and statues, however gaudy, rich, and colossean, were nothing to compare with the fame that took birth with the Grecian artists.

Music.

Music they had, but in what perfection we must never hope to know; nor would it be worth our while to labour in so unfruitful a field. But that they had a variety of instruments among them, we are well assured, for we read, that they had flutes, cornets, harps, sackbuts, psalteries, dulcimers, and all kinds of music [q]. What these instruments

[p] Cæl. Rhodog. Joseph. Scalig. Peucer. &c. &c.

[q] Dan. iii. ver. 5.—15.

ments exactly were, no-body will ever know; but if we may judge of their skill in harmony, by what we can diſcover of their painting and ſtatuary we muſt not equal them with the Grecians in the harmonic ſcience.

THEIR poetry we have nothing to ſay to; but muſt leave the reader to form his judgment of it, by that of the other eaſtern nations their neighbours, both ancient and modern. Nor do we pretend to ſay by whom it was particularly cultivated, whether by the Chaldæans or the Babylonians, but as it has at all times been ſacred to religion and ſuperſtition, we may ſuppoſe the former, as prieſts, laid claim thereto as a part of their province. Poetry.

PHYSIC we have declared to have been no regular ſcience among this people, in what we have ſaid of their manner and cuſtom of treating the ſick; though that the ſame, as a ſcience, grew into vaſt repute with the Perſians, their ſucceſſors, will be obſerved when it comes properly in turn. Phyſic.

WE have already declared, there is no more difference between the Syriac and the Chaldee, the language of this people, than between the Engliſh and the Scotch [r]. Their common alphabet we have already given [s]; and as for the Mendean character, which is alſo peculiar to them, it is not only what we may call modern, but alſo ſo nearly like the Eſtrangelo of the Syriac [t], that we have thought it unneceſſary to inſert it. Bochart [u] ſuppoſes they had a ſacred character as well as the Egyptians, but upon a very unſatisfactory foundation. Language.

THE Babylonians, properly ſo called, were great architects, and ingenious in the caſting of metals, and great workmen and contrivers, as will be particularly remarked when we come to ſpeak of their great city of Babylon; and therefore it may be needleſs to expatiate thereon in this place, when we have reſerved another, where we intend to do them ſufficient honour for their great labour and induſtry in theſe reſpects, wherein they will be obſerved to have fallen ſhort of no one nation under the ſun; and in which they, perhaps in great meaſure, ſhewed the way to every nation beſides. Architecture.

NOR were they leſs famous for their manufactures, and particularly for their rich embroideries, ſumptuous veſtments, and magnificent carpets, and fine linen; inſomuch, Manufactures and fine linen.

that

[r] See Vol. ii. p. 298. [s] See Vol. iii. p. 444. [t] See Vol. ii. p. 300. [u] Canaan c. 17. col. 773.

that we read of Cato, that he immediately ſold a Babylonian cloak or mantle, which was left to him by inheritance, as being what he was aſhamed to wear [w]; and elſewhere, that at Rome there had been paid for a ſuit of Babylonian hangings for a dining-room ſix thouſand four hundred and fifty-eight pound ſix ſhillings and eight pence [x]. It were to no purpoſe to quote authors for farther inſtances of this magnificence, which is known to a proverb; or to aim at a detail of the ſeveral products of their induſtry: we would only add, that the Babylonians, as well as the Tyrians, had their purple, which they ſent into the eaſtern parts by way of traffic [y]. This purple they had from a port called Apologus near the Euphrates [z]; but as it is diſputed, whether or no this was what may be called a diſcovery among them, and whether they were not before uſed to ſupply themſelves therewith from Tyre [a], we ſhall not inſiſt thereon, any farther than to take notice, that their country afforded the beſt material of its ſort for dying, meaning alom, both natural and artificial [b].

Particular tribes.

THIS people was not only divided into two great tribes, the Babylonians and Chaldeans properly ſo called; there ſeems to have been other ſubordinate tribes or ſects of them. Three of theſe are ſaid to have fed upon nothing but fiſh [c], and thereby ſeems to have infringed a ſacred law among them, in reverence of their great goddeſs, for whoſe ſake the Babylonians ſeem to have abſtained therefrom. Thus we have ſeen, that ſome of the Egyptians worſhipped the fiſh which others of them fed upon. However, it may not have been upon a religious principle that this people departed from the reſt of their countrymen; and the rather as it ſeems to be imputed to neceſſity [d], theſe tribes living among the fens, and being deſtitute of corn; to ſupply the want of which, it was their cuſtom to dry their fiſh in the ſun, which they afterwards made into paſte, and having baked it ate it by way of bread [e]. Something yet more extraordinary than this we are told of the inhabitants of Borſippa, where the bats being much larger than uſual in other places, they were uſed to ſalt them for food [f]; and

[w] Plutarch. in vita Catonis. [x] Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 8. c. 48. See Arbuth. of anc. coins, weights, and meaſures, p. 142. [y] Arrian. Peripl. Mar. Eryth. in minor. Hudſon, vol. ii. p. 20, 21. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Vid Bochart. Phaleg. c. 7. col. 28. [b] Vid. eund. ibid. [c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 200. [d] Strab. l. 16. p. 746. [e] Herodot. ubi ſup. [f] Strab. ubi ſup. 739.

and this, whether it proceeded from any ſuperſtition or want, which laſt ſeems a little hard to believe in ſo plentiful a country as this muſt have been, we leave undecided.

THE trade of this antient people is no where, that we know of, profeſſedly treated of; but that it muſt have been very conſiderable, is not in the leaſt to be doubted, and eſpecially when Babylon was in the meridian of her glory; whoſoever contemplates the ſplendor of this monarchy, and the commodious ſituation of this country in general, and its capital in particular, cannot doubt, but commerce muſt here have flouriſhed to a very eminent degree. Babylon was ſituated, as it were, in the very midſt of the old world, and by means of the two great rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, had very eaſy communication with the weſtern and northern parts, as alſo with the eaſtern by the means of the Perſian gulf. In a word, it may, either by land or water, have had eaſy commerce with all the points of the compaſs; and as it was not only the ſeat of a potent monarchy, but alſo afforded many productions and manufactures of its own to exchange with its neighbours round about, and lay ſo within the reach of them all, it is not to be doubted, but that trade was as extenſive here as ever it was any where. Whether the Babylonians were famous for ſhipping of their own is pretty much in the dark; though it cannot well be diſputed, but they muſt have been conſiderable as navigators; the ſame is hinted at (X), and as Babylon

Commerce.

(X) Beſides what might be gathered to prove this point in the Prophets, the book of Revelations, (77) deſcribing the fall of Babylon, has theſe words, which at once diſplay the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, and convince they muſt have abounded in ſhipping; *Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen* . . . . *The merchants of the earth ſhall weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth her merchandiſe any more: The merchandiſe of gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones, and of Pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and ſilk, and ſcarlet, and all thyine, or ſweet-wood, and all manner of veſſels of ivory, and all manner of veſſels of moſt precious wood, and of braſs, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincenſe, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beaſts, and ſheep, and horſes, and chariots, and ſlaves, and ſouls of men* . . . . *The merchants of theſe things which were made rich by her, ſhall ſtand afar off, for the fear of her torment, weeping, and wailing, and ſaying, Alas! alas! that great city, that was cloathed in fine linen, and purple, and*

(77) xviii. 2. 19.

Babylon was so much *a city of waters*, as the prophet expresses himself, it is but natural to conclude, that they very much abounded in shipping of their own.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the BABYLONIANS, *from the first rise of the monarchy, to its dissolution.*

WE are here to consider the Babylonians in two very different views; first, as composing a small, though perhaps a formidable, kingdom, immediately after the deluge, the chronology of which we have already settled as exactly as the nature of the thing will bear [g], and secondly, as constituting a potent and wide-spreading empire, founded by, and at last rising upon the ruins of, the Assyrians their brethren [h]; so that in effect we are here only to look back to the early times of the Assyrian monarchy, of which this was a collateral branch, and possessed, as should seem, by princes of the same blood with those who filled the throne of Niniveh. We may refer the reader back to what we have said, in the chronology of the Assyrians, to satisfy himself concerning the chronology of this people; for they properly took rise in one and the same person, meaning Pul king of Assyria, and nearly at one and the same time. But not to anticipate what may be more properly insisted on hereafter in the course of this section, we shall proceed to distinguish the kingdom of Babylon from the kingdom of Assyria, and to exhibit, according to our custom, a series of the kings of Babylon, according to several authors.

A TABLE

[g] See Vol. i. p. 370.

[h] See before p. 295.

and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls . . . . *And every ship-master, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off and cried* . . . . *Alas! alas! that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea, by reason of her costliness* . . . . *is* . . . . *made desolate* (78).

(78) Ibid.

A TABLE of the Succeſſions of the Babylonian Kings, according to Ptolemy's Aſtronomical Canon and the Eccleſiaſtical Account.

According to the moſt correct copies of Ptolemy's canon.			According to the eccleſiaſtical account in Syncellus.		
		Years.			Years.
1	Nabonaſſar reigned	14	1	Nabonaſarus or Salmanaſar reigned	25
2	Nadius	2	2	Nabius	8
3	Chinzirus and Porus	5	3	Chinzerus and Porus	5
4	Jugæus	5	4	Illulæus	5
5	Mardoc-Empadus	12	5	Mardocempadocus	12
6	Arkianus	5	6	Arceanus	5
7	Inter-reign I.	2	7	Inter-reign I.	2
8	Belibus	3	8	Belithus	3
9	Apronadius	6	9	Aporanadiſus	6
10	Rigebélus	1	10	Iregiballus	1
11	Meſeſſimordacus	4	11	Meſſiſimordacus	4
12	Inter-reign II.	8	12	Inter-reign II.	8
13	Aſſar-Addinus	13	13	Iſarindinus	13
14	Saoſduchéus	20	14	Saoſduchius	9
15	Chyniladanus	22	15	Cineladanus	14
16	Nabopallaſarus	21	16	Napobalaſarus	21
17	Nabocolaſſarus	43	17	Nabuchadonoſor his ſon	43
18	Ilvarodamus	2	18	Ebidan Merodach	5
19	Niricaſſolaſſarus	4	19	Nireglesarus or Baltaſar	3
20	Nabonadius	17	20	Nabonadius, or Aſtyages, or Darius, or Aſſuerus, or Artaxerxes	17
		210			209

This table contains on the one ſide a genuine and moſt correct copy of Ptolemy's aſtronomical canon (Y), and on

(Y) This canon was particularly rectified from a manuſcript in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and ſent by Dr. Overal, Dean of St. Paul's, to Seth Calviſius, and firſt publiſhed, with Ptolemy's Hypotheſis by Dr. Bambridge, (79), profeſſor of the mathematics at Oxford (80).

(79) Vid. Gregor. Poſtum. de æra & Epoch. c. 7. p. 149.
(80) Vid. Marſh. Can. Chron. Sæcul. 17.

on the other a corruption of it. We ſhall not here inquire into the differences between the two liſts, or the liberty the author of this eccleſiaſtical account has taken with his original, which we may occaſionally conſider under the reigns of theſe kings. Syncellus, whence we have taken this eccleſiaſtical computation, has under the ſame head another, the authors of them being Africanus and Euſebius [i]. We ſhall therefore have little to do here; few arguments can be wanting, and indeed none can be neceſſary, to prove the firſt riſe and duration of the Babylonian empire, which is ſo happily aſcertained to our hands by Ptolemy, whoſe canon is ſo exactly agreeable to ſcripture hiſtory, that if this latter could poſſibly ſtand in need of confirmation as to the hiſtorical parts of it, ſo far as it relates to the hiſtory of the great empires of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, nothing could be ſo effectual towards it as this canon, which has given birth to one of the moſt famous profane æras, that of Nabonaſſar the firſt king in it, and without which there would be the moſt palpable darkneſs over the affairs of theſe people. Nothing is more ſurpriſing, than that this moſt noble monument ſhould have been ſo little examined, by the light naturally reflected on it from the ſacred pen-men, as not to have extricated the whole body of chronologers and hiſtorians from out of the labyrinth they have almoſt all bewildered themſelves in, miſled by the extravagances of one fabulous Greek writer, who has been blindly followed by the antients, and unnaturally by the chriſtian moderns. This canon takes date from about the 23d year of Pul's firſt appearance on this ſide of the Euphrates, about the year 2252 after the flood, according to our computation, and 747 years before Chriſt; which ſhews the kingdom of Babylon to have been immediately of Aſſyrian origin, according to the prophet *; *Behold the land of the Chaldæans; this people was not till the Aſſyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs; they ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof.* The kingdom of Babylon was then founded by the Aſſyrians. This is ſo plain, that it may be needleſs to multiply words in proof of it, eſpecially after what we have ſaid in the chronology of Aſſyria, which tends directly to make it appear.

The æra of Nabonaſſar.

Ptolemy, we may perceive, could diſcover no king of Babylon older than Nabonaſſar, and therefore begins with him;

[i] Vid. Can. Chron. Sæcul. xvii. * Iſai. xxiii. 13.

him; and ſcripture mentions no king of Aſſyria before Pul, who appeared on this ſide of the Euphrates about 23 years before the firſt year of the canon; and as Nabonaſſar is an Aſſyrian name, moſt evidently compounded of Nebo-addon-aſſar, we may be certain, that he was the ſon or grandſon of Pul, who upon his death divided his monarchy between his children. This is a moſt evident point, and abundantly helps us to underſtand what the prophet means in the text above; and without which it is impoſſible to underſtand how the Aſſyrians ſhould have founded the land of the Chaldees. This kingdom of Babylon being then of Aſſyrian extraction, and conſidered as a ſiſter-kingdom with Aſſyria, and being a natural branch of it, we have nothing here to add to what we have already urged, except that we can fix the date of it with ſomewhat more certainty than that of the Aſſyrian empire, which we could have no notice of till the firſt appearance of Pul in the weſt. It may begin then with us in the 24th year of Pul's appearance to the weſtward of the Euphrates, 2252 years after the flood, and 747 years before Chriſt: It ends 2462 years after the flood, and 537 years before Chriſt. So that its whole duration was no more than 210 years complete; to which if we add the 23 or 24 years of Pul before the date of this canon, we ſhall have a number not exceeding 234 for the years of the duration of the great Aſſyrian family; whether at Niniveh or at Babylon, with reſpect to what we know of the riſe of theſe kingdoms; and that Niniveh, which is confeſſedly the oldeſt, did not much exceed this number, muſt appear to any one that gives himſelf the trouble to recollect what we have ſo amply obſerved in the third, fourth, and fifth ſections of the preceding chapter.

THE Chaldees, we are told, were founded by the Aſſyrian, and, by the undoubted authorities of ſcripture and Ptolemy's aſtronomical canon, this Aſſyrian can have been no other than Pul. If any one can prove the exiſtence of another Aſſyrian conqueror or founder before him, we ſhall be very ready to congratulate him upon the diſcovery. The canon itſelf directs us when to date the fall of the Babylonian empire, meaning the 18th year of Nabonadius; though according to the canon he reigned but 17 years; for every king's reign there begins with the laſt Thoth of his predeceſſor's reign.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The history of the Babylonians.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of this people, as constituting a wide and most famous monarchy, we must just take a retrospect of their first establishment as a kingdom, which is vainly given out to have existed before the deluge. In doing of this, we have little more than to remind the reader, that we have already exhibited the antediluvian princes of this part, according to the several authors, and that we have already said as much of its first founder Nimrod as we have been able to collect. We have therefore now nothing that remains, but to declare who are said to have been his immediate successors in this infant kingdom, a list of which we have transcribed.

A TABLE of the Kings of BABYLON, that immediately succeeded NIMROD.

According to EUSEBIUS.

		Years.
1	Evechoos or Nimrod reigned	6
2	Chomasbolus	7
3	Porus	35
4	Nechobes	43
5	Abios	48
6	Oniballus	40
7	Zinzirus	45
		224

According to SYNCELLUS.

		Years.
1	Evochoüs or Nimrod reigned	6
2	Chosmabolus	7
3	Porus	35
4	Nechubes	43
5	Abius	48
6	Oniballes	40
7	Zinzirus	45
		224

OUR authors, we see, perfectly agree as to these kings who are called the dynasty of the Chaldees, and indeed, in this case Syncellus has faithfully copied Eusebius. This dynasty, which lasted no more than 224 years, was no sooner expired, than the Arabians became uppermost, and produced a race of six kings at Babylon. This Arabian dynasty lasted 216 years, and the two dynasties together lasted 440 years. The whole interval, as we have stated it, between the first of the reign of Nimrod and the call

of

of Abraham, is 646 years. This Arabian dynaſty then expired 206 years before the call of Abraham, and was ſucceeded by the Aſſyrian dynaſty, beginning with Belus and ending with Sardanapalus, as we have given it in the chronology of the Aſſyrians [k]. The Aſſyrians muſt then have erected their monarchy long before the call of Abraham, and the ſame muſt have continued at leaſt a thouſand years after him without any intermiſſion, according to the moſt common accounts, which may be ſufficiently diſproved by this one argument. Beſides there can be well no doubt, but theſe Arabian kings were, according to ſcripture, of the country of Elam or Perſia; for under Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, we find Amraphel king of Shinar, the undoubted Babylonia, warring upon the kings of the Canaanites; we may then as good as ſatisfy ourſelves, that this Arabian dynaſty, as it is called, ſubſiſted after the call, when Abraham reſcued his brother Lot from them; ſo that hence it may appear, that if any people can claim to have been properly the firſt monarchy, the Elamites or Perſians are the people, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper place.

FROM the year of the flood 431, or from its foundation, we have no certain notice of any thing relating to this kingdom, except that, about 600 years afterwards, there was a king of it called Amraphel, who warred under the king of Elam [l]. This is all we have to ſay concerning theſe early times of this antient kingdom, except we adopt the Cteſian accounts of Semiramis, who, according to him, muſt be called the foundreſs of Babylon; and that is what we need not repeat. First kingdom of Babylon, when founded Amraphel.

HOWEVER, we cannot but take notice, that the ſeries we have given of the Aſſyrian kings, as they ſtand in Euſebius and Syncellus, is reckoned as the third dynaſty of the Chaldæans or Babylonians, and called the Aſſyrian; but concerning this we muſt refer the reader to our chronology of the Aſſyrians, where we hope he will meet with what may ſatisfy him of the little weight this ſucceſſion of dynaſties ought to have with him.

ACCORDING to this method of arrangement, the kings in Ptolemy's canon ſhould be called the fourth dynaſty of the orientals, and diſtinguiſhed by the title of the Babylonian;

[k] See before, p. 210. [l] See vol. ii. p. 401.

nian; but this we muſt reject as built upon no tolerable foundation, and eſpecially with us, who diſtinguiſh, ſo widely as we do, between the antient kingdom of Babylon and the monarchy or empire of the ſame.

WE have now brought all the hiſtory we know of this people down to the æra of Nabonaſſar; but before we begin with that genuine race of princes, who are the only kings of Babylon we can poſſibly acknowledge, from the days of Amraphel above to the ſaid Nabonaſſar, we muſt relate what is fabulouſly reported of the man, who, according to ſome prophane authors, muſt be accounted the firſt king of Babylon.

The ſtory of Beleſis, or Nanybrus.

HE is by ſome called Beleſis [m], and by others Nanybrus [n], and both affect to give us an extraordinary ſtory of him, which will be almoſt all we ſhall be able, in theſe authors, to find concerning the Babylonian empire, till it was put to an end.

UNDER the name of Beleſis this firſt prince is repreſented as a crafty and a mean-ſpirited knave, and as nothing leſs than a hero. It is ſaid he was baſe enough to circumvent Arbaces, his collegue and friend, in the moſt ſhameful manner, by pretending a vow he had, in the midſt of the war, made to his god Belus, That if ſucceſs was the event of it, and the palace of Sardanapalus was conſumed, as it was, he would be at the charge and trouble of removing the aſhes that were left to Babylon, and there heap them up into a mount near the temple of his god; there to ſtand as a monument, to all who ſhould navigate the Euphrates, of the ſubverſion of the Aſſyrian empire. He, it ſeems, had been privately informed, by an eunuch he kept cloſe up to himſelf, of the immenſe treaſure which had been conſumed in the conflagration of the palace at Niniveh, and knowing it to be a ſecret to Arbaces, he was tempted to forge this pretence. His requeſt was granted him, the aſhes were given to him, to do with them as he would; and not only ſo, but Arbaces conſtituted him king of Babylon, with an exemption from all tribute. Beleſis, by this artifice, carried a prodigious treaſure with him to Babylon; but when the ſecret was diſcovered, he was called to an account for it, and tried by the other chiefs who had been aſſiſtant in the war, and who, upon his confeſſion of the crime, condemned him to the

[m] See before, p. 256. [n] Nicol. Damaſc. in Excerpt Vales. p. 424.

the loss of his head. But Arbaces, a magnificent and generous prince, freely forgave him, left him in possession of the treasure, and also in the independant government of Babylon, saying, The good he had done ought to serve as a veil to his crime; and thus he became at once a prince of great wealth and dominion [o].

In process of time, and under the successor of Arbaces, he became a man of dress and shew, and effeminacy, unworthy of the kingdom or province he held. Nanybrus, for so we must now call Belesis, understanding a certain robust Mede, called Parsondas, held him in the utmost contempt, and had sollicited the emperor of the Medes to divest him of his dominions, and to confer them upon himself, offered a very great reward to the man who should take Parsondas and bring him to him. Parsondas, hunting somewhere near Babylon with the king of the Medes, and straggling from the company, happened at length to fall in with some of the servants of the Babylonian Nanybrus, who had been tempted with the promised reward. He had been all the day at his exercise, and being very thirsty, and these servants being purveyors to the king of Babylon, he asked them for a draught of wine, and they, knowing him, very readily plyed him therewith, and not only so, but prevailed on him to stay and eat a meal with them. Parsondas, who was thoroughly fatigued, thankfully accepted the offer, and sending the prey he had taken to his king, he indulged himself in what was laid before him, and especially in some rich wines, which were plentifully poured out on purpose to inebriate him. Parsondas quite flustered called for his horse, that he might go to the king of the Medes where he was encamped, but instead of his horse they brought him some beautiful women, and desired he would pass the night with them, and defer his departure till the light of the next morning. He consented, and being fated with his pleasures, and fallen into a profound sleep, they rushed upon him in the midst of the night, bound him, and carried him off to Nanybrus; who no sooner saw him, than he began to expostulate with him for his subdolous attempts to displace him in Babylon, without any the least offence given on his part, that should make him an enemy. In the end, Parsondas, resolutely declared, That he thought himself to be more

[o] Ctes. apud Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 78.

worthy of the dominion, than so indolent and effeminate a prince as he was; which the other taking into high disdain, and reflecting on him for the manner in which he had suffered himself to be surprised by his servants, vowed he would make him as soft, and as tender, and as delicate as any body [p].

HAVING thus sworn by the gods Belus and Molis, [or Mylitta as it should be] he called for the eunuch who had charge of his music girls, and ordered him to shave him, and smooth, and paint him, and dress him just after the manner of those girls, and to see that he learned their art, and by all the means and methods possible to transform him into one of them; so that in a very short time Parsondas was quite effeminated, and became more delicate than the fairest female of them all, and exceeded them all in singing and playing, and the other arts of allurement; and whoever saw him at the entertainments the king gave, not only pronounced him a woman, but the most beautiful of the train in waiting [q].

THE king of the Medes, Artæus it seems by name, had in vain sought after his favourite companion Parsondas, and in vain offered rewards to whoever should produce him alive or dead, and hearing no news of him, gave himself up to grief for his faithful servant, concluding he had been destroyed by some wild beast in the chase when he lost him. At length, after seven years, it happened, that an eunuch having been most cruelly scourged and beaten by Nanybrus's order, Parsondas took the opportunity of the man's discontent, and, with great promises, prevailed on him to fly to the king of the Medes, and to make known to him his metamorphosis. The eunuch went and told what he was ordered, and the king of the Medes no sooner heard it, than he was moved with the highest indignation. Immediately he dispatched an officer to Nanybrus to demand Parsondas; but when the officer arrived at Babylon, he denied, that he had ever known any thing of any such person. This answer being carried back to the Mede, he sent a more resolute and robust officer, than the former, with letters commanding Nanybrus, without delay or reserve, to send him the man whom he had shamefully debased and confined among his eunuchs and music girls, or to expect the sudden loss of his head; and ordered the officer, if he persisted in the denial, to

[p] Nicol. Damasc. ubi sup. [q] Idem ibid.

to bind him with his ſaſh or girdle, and to lead him to immediate execution. Nanybrus, ſcared at this, and conſulting his own ſafety, promiſed to deliver up the man, though he could abundantly juſtify himſelf with the king of the Medes for what he had done in this reſpect. He then entertained the officer at table, and the diſhes were no ſooner placed before them, than 150 women, among whom Parſondas was, made their appearance, ſinging and playing upon various inſtruments; but Parſondas was more charming to the eye and to the ear by far than any of the reſt; and accordingly Nanybrus inquiring of the Mede which he liked beſt? he immediately pointed at Parſondas. The Babylonian at this clapt his hands; and fell into an immoderate fit of laughter; and aſking his gueſt, whether or no he ſhould be willing to paſs the night with his favourite? and he declaring his deſire that the thing might be ſo; Nanybrus told him he could not poſſibly grant it: Why then did you aſk me the queſtion ſaid the Mede? Nanybrus pauſed a while, at laſt, This, ſays he, is the Parſondas you want. The officer was aſtoniſhed, and incredulous of what he heard, till at laſt the Babylonian convincing him that what he told him was fact, alledged, that what he had done with Parſondas he could anſwer for before the king of the Medes. Artæus, wondering at the prodigious alteration he ſaw in Parſondas, aſked him, how it had been poſſible for him to live ſo long under ſuch a load of infamy? Parſondas pleaded neceſſity, and the deſire he had to ſee his face again, as alſo to live to ſee himſelf revenged; and begged of all things that he would take revenge for him accordingly. Artæus promiſed him fair, and Parſondas recovered himſelf to his former maſculine habit and appearance [r].

ARTÆUS came to Babylon attended by Parſondas, who was continually calling upon him for juſtice; but when Nanybrus appeared before the king, he pleaded his cauſe with great reſolution, urging that Parſondas, towards whom he never was guilty of the leaſt offence, would ſubdolouſly and barbarouſly have procured his death, that ſo he might ſucceed him in the kingdom of Babylon. The king of the Medes obſerved, that this was but a weak argument in him, who had preſumed to act as judge in his own cauſe, and inflict puniſhments in his own right, inſtead of appealing to him, and ſubmitting to what he ſhould have ſeen to have been

[r] Idem. ibid.

moſt proper to be done in the caſe; and in ſhort, declared, that in ten days time he would paſs the ſentence on him he had deſerved [s].

NANYBRUS, terrified at this, repairs to an eunuch called Mitraphernes, who was in greateſt favour with the king of the Medes, and promiſed him 10 talents of gold, 100 talents of ſilver, 10 golden cups, 200 of ſilver, and a great quantity of fine cloathing, if he would but ſtand his friend. As for the king of the Medes himſelf, he made him by his eunuch, at the ſame time, an offer of 100 talents of gold, 1000 talents of ſilver, 100 golden goblets, 300 of the ſame in ſilver, innumerable veſtments, and other rich gifts, if he might but have his life ſpared, and the kingdom of Babylon ſecured to him [t].

THE eunuch, thus tempted, repaired to the king's bed-chamber, and preſſed him very much in the behalf of his client, repreſenting, that he had done nothing worthy of death; that he had not even taken a cruel revenge on Parſondas; that he had abſtained from his blood, and ſerved him only in kind. He then urged, that, if after this it ſhould be thought right to deprive him of life, he might be ſpared for his ſake, and promiſed, that if the favour was granted him, the Babylonian ſhould preſent him with vaſt gifts, and give Parſondas 100 talents of ſilver. The king, at length, gave ear to the inſinuations and arguments of this his favourite eunuch, and ſentenced Nanybrus to a fine accordingly; which, as it gave great joy to Nanybrus, affected Parſondas equally with indignation and diſdain, who beſtowed his maledictions upon the man who firſt found out gold, ſeeing for the ſake of that he was to live the ſport and deriſion of an effeminate Babylonian. The eunuch, who had thus interpoſed with his good offices, underſtanding that Parſondas ſtill glowed with rage, and even more than ever, not only exhorted him to be reconciled to Nanybrus, but told him, it was the king's will and pleaſure he ſhould be ſo. But Parſondas, deaf to all that could be ſaid to him on that ſubject, continued to meditate revenge both on Nanybrus and his friend the eunuch; and in the end had the ſatisfaction of being revenged on both [u].

BUT we have been too particular in theſe ſtories about this firſt king of Babylon, ſo ſelf-evidently fabulous, and to dilate thereon would only lead us into a repetition of what is gone before in diſproof of it.

FROM

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid.

FROM this fictitious relation then, to proceed to the genuine hiſtory of the Babylonians, in which there is a vaſt chaſm of many hundreds of years, between the times of Nimrod and Amraphel to the time we have now reached down to; the firſt Babylonian king we meet with after theſe, and thoſe we have mentioned to have ſucceeded between them, that we meet with in hiſtory ſacred and profane, is Nabonaſſar, the firſt in Ptolemy's canon. Concerning this king, ſo well known for the æra that paſſes under his name, we have nothing particular recorded but as it may be of great uſe to know in what manner he came to be king of Babylon, and how it comes to paſs, that Ptolemy could be aſſured of no Babylonian king who lived before his time, ſo late in compariſon of what has moſt generally, and till very lately, been pretended, we will venture to ſupply the deficiency by ſome probabilities and conjectures, which may carry ſo much weight with them, after what we have ſaid of the firſt riſe, progreſs, and apparent obſcurity of the antient kingdom of this people, as may ſatisfy every reader, that no point of hiſtory has been ſo perfectly miſtaken, as that which relates to the firſt riſe of the Babylonian kingdom, ſo much talked of by profane writers.

The genuine hiſtory of the Babylonians.

Nabonaſſar.

TOWARDS this attempt we have done much already, but this muſt be here premiſed, or rather repeated, that, however, we diſtinguiſh the Aſſyrians and Babylonians from each other; they were but two branches of one and the ſame family. By ſcripture this moſt evidently appears, where the Babylonian names are pure Aſſyrian; and by profane authors as much as explicitly confeſſed, who own and declare the city of Babylon was built by the Aſſyrians; and hence we are to conclude, that the antient people, that were in immediate ſubjection to Nimrod, have properly nothing to do with the great Babylonian kingdom, which aroſe in after-times, but that the whole muſt be attributed to the people who migrated with Aſhur, or Aſſur, and ever after retained his name. If any proof of this could be wanting, after what we have ſo often attempted in favour of it, we might not only recur to Cteſias himſelf and to Herodotus, but to the whole tribe of Greek and Latin writers; we therefore ſhall inſiſt no farther on it here, ſuppoſing it to be what muſt be univerſally granted, and ſhall only obſerve, that in Ptolemy's canon the king's of Babylon are called Aſſyrians, and that in the ſame the kings of Perſia are called the kings of the Medes, as it were in honour to the two nations of which they were natural

tural branches; for, in ſtrictneſs, the hiſtory of the empire of Babylon is no other than a continuation of the hiſtory of the Aſſyrian empire; juſt as the empire of the Perſians is of the empire of the Medes, and hence in the title of the canon above you have mention only of the Aſſyrians and the Medes, though none but the kings of Babylon and Perſia are to be found therein, excepting the princes which follow Alexander the great.

HAVING ſettled this point, as we think, beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, we ſhall next endeavour at the proof of what we ſuggeſt, by the very ſituation of the countries in reſpect of each other, and the nature of things; by which it muſt be plain, that the kingdom of Babylon took birth with the kingdom of Aſſyria, and that they were twin ſiſters, or at leaſt produced within a few years of each other. Previous to this we muſt juſt repeat, that Pul, the firſt Aſſyrian with us, does not appear as a conqueror weſtward above 24 years before the firſt of the reign of Nabonaſſar, and we would venture to aſſert, that Pul muſt then have been in the middle of life, and that after this he may have lived at leaſt 24 years. And this being ſuppoſed, as it very naturally may, we ſhall have as good a proof as we can almoſt require, that he divided his empire between two of his ſons; for, according to Ptolemy, Nabonaſſar, had Babylon for his portion, and, according to ſcripture, Tiglath-pileſar had Aſſyria for his; for in ſcripture we find him as the immediate ſucceſſor of Pul, in about ſeven years after whoſe death, as we have here ſtated it, he appears on this ſide of the Euphrates, and leads off with him a number of captives of different tribes and nations; ſo that no chronologies can more exactly concur together than the ſcripture and the canon in this particular; and what is more, they will, at the ſame time, help us to ſome lights to guide us to the truth of what Cteſias and his followers have ſo ſeemingly diſguiſed, as we ſhall not fail to obſerve. In the mean time, to return to our point: The very ſituation of theſe countries may convince us, that the thing was as we contend; for they ſo mutually extend againſt each other on the banks of the Tigris, which was the common boundary of both, and the only partition between them, and Babylonia was ſo throughout a barrier between Aſſyria and the weſtern parts, that the Aſſyrian could not have reached any of them, but by croſſing ſome part or other of the country of Babylon [w], and

[w] See the map of theſe countries.

and but to imagine he attempted to croſs the Euphrates, before he had made a conqueſt of this rich and fertile land, were an abſurdity of the moſt glaring kind. And accordingly we find, that Cteſias, how inconſiſtent ſoever he may have been in other points, was ſo ſenſible of this, that he makes this the firſt conqueſt the Aſſyrians attempted, even though he as good as confeſſes his Ninus never to have croſſed the Euphrates, concluding, it would appear ridiculous, that a man, who had taken it into his head to become a conqueror, and to extend his dominion over all other countries, ſhould not firſt make ſure of ſo near a neighbour, which muſt have been more tempting to him than any other he could poſſibly have in view.

The kingdom of Babylon in ſubjection to that of Aſſyria.

Now, as we have plainly ſeen, that the two kingdoms took birth together in one man, it is inconſiſtent to ſuppoſe, they were not in ſubordination to one another; and accordingly it appears, that Nabonaſſar was the younger ſon, and conſequently in ſubjection to his brother Tiglathpileſar, who is ſtiled the king of Aſſyria, and held his reſidence at the original ſeat of the empire Niniveh, which that it was older than the city called by us Babylon, is not only to be gathered from the prophet [x] and other paſſages in ſcripture, but from the bulk of prophane authors, who concur, that Niniveh was finiſhed before the foundations of Babylon were laid.

This being ſettled, we ſhall have no more reaſon to wonder, that theſe two kingdoms were in perfect harmony, than that two brothers ſhould agree together; the ambition of the one muſt have contributed to the grandeur and proſperity of the other reciprocally; and that a right of ſuperiority was acknowledged by the younger branch at Babylon, towards the elder at Niniveh, may be eaſily conceived. If this was not exactly the caſe, we ſhall have ſuch difficulties ſtart up againſt us, both in the hiſtory of Babylon and that of Aſſyria, as are quite inſurmountable. We know they exiſted as collateral kingdoms, for while the great Sennacherib was in his full glory, and warring in the weſt, we read of an embaſſy from Merodach Baladan, king of Babylon, to Hezekiah; not to mention the other kings before him and after him in the canon. Now if there had not been the ſtricteſt union, and a moſt natural ſubordination, between the two kingdoms on the other ſide of the Euphrates; is it to be imagined, that any king of Aſſyria would have croſſed that river to war in the weſt, while

[x] See before, p. 363.

while he was disjoined from his own country by ſo formidable and powerful a kingdom as Babylon muſt have been, and who might have taken the advantage in his abſence, when he had, as it is likely, drained his country of the choiceſt of his ſoldiery, to ſpoil and deſtroy it? Or might they not have joined the Ciſeuphratenſians againſt him, and have ſurrounded him on all ſides, and, by the additional numbers they muſt have brought into the field, have routed and utterly deſtroyed him? And muſt not this or the other have really been the caſe ſome time or other, if the kings of the two countries had not been bound together by the moſt ſolemn ties of obligation every way? Could the Babylonians, who were confeſſedly a kingdom all the time, have been ſo ſupine as ſuppoſed, with ſuch a neighhbour at their very door, and when, at the ſame time, they muſt have known, that all the weſtern nations would moſt readily have joined them to deſtroy theſe ambitious princes, who, by ſo frequently croſſing the Euphrates, expoſed themſelves, as powerful as their armies may have been, as often in great meaſure to their mercy? Other irreſiſtible arguments may be urged to maintain us in what we would here advance; but, apprehending, we have ſaid rather more than enough to convince the reader already, we ſhall paſs them over as needleſs.

Nabonaſſar likely to have been the Ninus of profane authors.

FROM all this we may gather, that Nabonaſſar, this firſt king of Babylon, bids as fair to have been the Ninus of Cteſias as Tiglath-pileſar, and rather more ſo; and particularly as he was, as is moſt likely, the huſband of Semiramis, who, if ſhe had any right to be denominated from any city of theſe parts, was confeſſedly, according to the common notion, a Babylonian, as we ſhall obſerve immediately. For notwithſtanding the Ninus of Cteſias is ſaid to have raiſed the city of Niniveh, in which he differs from what we think very evident, he agrees in ſo many other points with the perſon of Nabonaſſar, that he makes full amends for it. We have ſeen him the viſible ſon of Pul, whom we have aſſerted to have been the Belus of that author: and that he was a warrior, cannot be doubted, when it is conſidered, that the family he was a branch of had juſt began to eſtabliſh a power, by conqueſt, over all the nations they could reach. But that he may have been magnified a little beyond the truth, or indeed a great deal, muſt not aſtoniſh us, when we remember, that this younger family, riſing upon the ruins of the elder, may have

have arrogated more to themselves than was really their due, and that even what they did arrogate may have been enlarged by tradition, which always spreads as it goes.

THUS far again we see a resemblance between Ninus and Nabonassar, the conquests of the former are confined wholly to the Transeuphratensian regions, he never once makes his appearance on this side of the river[y], except in the romantic lists of his conquests. And so it is most likely to have been with Nabonassar, who may have warred upon the Medes, the Bactrians, and neighbouring people, while the emperor, his eldest brother, was prosecuting a war, and grasping at conquests of far greater importance, whereby he hoped to become master of the great and wealthy kingdoms of Syria, Phœnice, and Palestine, and thereby to pave his way to Egypt itself; states, who for their great opulence must, above all others, have allured a race of princes, possessed with an unnatural lust to live upon the spoil.

As we have seen, that he may possibly have been the Ninus of profane writers, we are next to declare, that he can never have been either the Shalmaneser of scripture, or the Belesis of Ctesias, according to the generality of christians. Shalmaneser he cannot possibly have been; for he had, according to the canon, been dead five years before Shalmaneser seems to have begun his reign; nor can he have been Belesis, for if he be a prince any where in the canon, he must have been Nabopalassar, and indeed can have been no other. Now Nabopalassar did not begin to reign at Babylon till full 108 years after Nabonassar had been departed this life. Nor consequently can have been Nanybrus, who was confessedly the same with Belesis.

Semiramis most likely to have been the wife of Nabonassar.

To dwell no longer on the mistakes that have been committed with regard to this first king of Babylon, we would next observe, that the Semiramis of the Greeks must have been his wife, if ever there was such a queen of Babylon; whereby we shall still more amply evince that he may have been Ninus. We have been told she was born at Ascalon in Syria, that she was brought from that country by a certain officer belonging to the king of Assyria, and that Ninus fell in love with her, though married to that officer, and made her his queen[z]. Now as we have stated the chronology of Assyria and Babylonia, it was about the middle of Nabonassar's reign at Babylon, that his

[y] See before, p. 224, 225, & seq. [z] See before, p. 236.

his ſeeming brother, Tiglath-pileſar, croſſed the Euphrates, and captivated ſome of the tribes and nations to the weſtward. Among theſe captives, it is very likely, Semiramis may have been, according to the ſtory of Cteſias; and, as ſhe muſt have been a woman of very ſuperior wit and beauty, it is not ſtrange, that ſome great Aſſyrian lord ſhould take her to his bed, and even make her his moſt favourite wife. It is poſſible alſo, that ſhe may have attended him to the war with the Bactrians as related [a], where we have made it probable, that Nabonaſſar may have commanded. And that this was ſomething of the caſe appears by this, that Ninus lived not very long with her, and left her behind him with a young child [b]. Now Nabonaſſar reigned but 14 years in all [c]; and it was in the ſeventh year of his reign that Tiglath-pileſar firſt made any captives from this ſide of the river. If then we ſuppoſe, as according to the ſtory we may, that ſhe lived with her firſt huſband five years, ſhe muſt have fallen to the lot of Nabonaſſar, if ſhe was his wife, in the latter end of his 12th, or the beginning of his 13th year, and ſo he can have lived with her but barely two years; and this agrees ſeemingly with Cteſias, who, as we apprehend, makes the duration of their marriage to be very ſhort [d].

Whence it came to paſs, that Semiramis ruled over Babylon.

If we build upon any foundation, as poſſibly we may, we ſhall hereby be able to diſcover, how it came to paſs, that ſhe had the ſovereign ſway over Babylon, as alſo that her reign was but very ſhort. For, conſidering her own perſonal excellencies that ſhe muſt have been the idol of her deceaſed huſband, and the mother and nurſe of a tender infant he had left to ſucceed him, nothing is more natural, than that ſhe ſhould aſſume the reins of the government, and in conſequence thereof attempt to make herſelf an everlaſting name, for her exploits abroad and her works at home. Accordingly it is poſſible, ſhe may have headed armies againſt ſome of the people mentioned in her hiſtory; and though ſhe did not build the city of Babylon, which by all circumſtances we may aſſure ourſelves ſhe did not; ſhe may ſo have added to it, or embelliſhed it, as to have intitled her as much, in proportion, to the honour of being reckoned the foundreſs of Babylon, as Nebuchadnezzar had to be eſteemed the founder. A woman of the ſort ſhe muſt have been could never ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity

[a] See before, p. 235. [b] Ibid. p. 237. [c] See before in the canon, p. 361. [d] See before, p. 237.

portunity of making herself conspicuous to all ages; and by her example she is said to have stirred an emulation in a queen, who succeeded almost 200 years after her, and who, it seems, vied with her to the degree of eclipsing her [c]. The name of this queen is Nitocris, and between her and Semiramis there is said to have been five generations [f], which, according to the common way of computing, being equal to 150 years, and the sum of the years of the Babylonian kings amounting to 210, if from thence we deduct the 14 years of Nabonassar's reign, and as many from that of Nabonadius, who was the last king, and the son of this Nitocris [g], we shall have a remainder of 182 years. This will be an argument against us, with regard to what we are attempting to prove of Semiramis, and we confess it; for after this rate Semiramis must have lived above six generations before Nitocris; we would therefore, since we have so many concurrent circumstances in our behalf, conclude, that Herodotus is mistaken in this matter, which he well may be, in so traditionary a piece of history as this must have been in his time. If no historian had made greater mistakes than this, we should not have been involved in such labyrinths, as we have often been throughout the course of this work.

Now if things were as we suspect them to have been, this great and deified Semiramis reigned but two years [h], for her son, according to this, lived no longer, and must have died at two or three years old; and indeed we have formerly made it an objection [i], that she should have reigned so great a length of time after her son was arrived at years of discretion. Nor can she have been any other than the wife of Nabonassar, by the tradition which makes her the foundress of Babylon, of which she is reported to have laid the very foundations; this is supposing her to have been the first queen there, and if so, as at the bottom of the profane accounts there may be something of truth, as we have observed [k] before, she can have been queen to no Ninus but Nabonassar, and can have reigned no longer than her infant son, who was king but two years.

Her reign but short.

HAVING thus picked some seeming truth out of Ctesias's fiction, we may from the several particulars reflect a light on the worship that was paid to her, particularly in Palestine,

[c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 185. [f] Idem, ibid. [g] Idem, ibid.
[h] See before in the canon, ubi sup. [i] See before in the notes, p. 249. [k] See before, p. 223.

leſtine, Syria, and Babylon [l]. For ſhe may have really been born in the firſt, tranſported from the ſecond, and deified in the third; ſo that, each having a ſort of natural claim to her, it is no wonder they ſo eagerly contended to do her honour. All this may ſtand with the times we here ſuppoſe her to have lived in; but can poſſibly ſuit with no other that we know of. And that ſhe was of mean extraction at Aſcalon, that ſhe was in the ſtate of a ſervant in Syria or the parts adjacent; and that thence ſhe was carried to Niniveh or Babylon, does not only appear by the Cteſian account of her, and by what is poſitively aſſerted of her, that ſhe was originally a ſervant or ſlave [m]; but alſo by the fable invented to cover the obſcurity of her birth. In a word, the circumſtances, as related of her by profane authors, may very naturally be deduced from the circumſtances of the firſt riſe of the Aſſyrian monarchy in ſcripture; and it is plain, they are put backwards a number of ages, only to reflect the greater degree of reverence on her; nor muſt we wonder, that ſhe had forty years added to the length of her reign, by the prieſts, or others, who may have had a greater intereſt in magnifying her, than in adherence to the naked truth, any more, than that ſhe ſhould be ſaid to have done infinitely more than it is certain ſhe did; or that in the end ſhe ſhould have been deified; for whatever could contribute to derive the greater honour on her contributed the more to confirm her in the ſuperſtitious awe that in time came to be contracted for her.

Particulars concerning her.

HAVING thus ſeen, that Semiramis muſt, in all probability, have been the wife of Nabonaſſar, the firſt Babylonian king, and ſon to the great Pul, or Belus, we ſhall next take notice of ſome circumſtances concerning her, which we purpoſely omitted when we gave her hiſtory as queen of Aſſyria. She is equally famed as the foundreſs of the city of Babylon, and as a fortunate heroine, who aimed at no leſs than the conqueſt of the then known world, as we have ſeen: That ſhe may have embelliſhed or added greatly to that city we have granted, nor can we refuſe ſome ſort of credit to ſo general a tradition; nor will we deny, but ſhe may have warred againſt the Bactrians, and other nations in thoſe parts [n]; and of this her maſculine turn of mind may, by the way, confirm us in a belief, that

[l] See before, p. 330. & Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l. 35. c. 18. p. 694.

[m] See before in the notes, p. 238.

[n] See before, p. 242.

that ſhe was from her youth bred up to the toil and labour of a ſervant, as reported, which muſt naturally have formed her to ſuch exploits. As for what ſhe did at Babylon, it muſt have been but little in compariſon to what was done to it afterwards, when it came to be improved by the great Nebuchadnezzar, as we ſhall hereafter obſerve; only for the preſent taking notice, that, as the city muſt in her time have been in its infancy, and ſhe at moſt reigned but two years without the participation of her huſband, and not above four years in all, and in the midſt of the wars then waging by the Aſſyrians with all the nations round about, it is not conceivable, but ſhe muſt have left that city in no very extraordinary ſtate for magnificence or grandeur.

AGAIN, as her reign muſt have been very ſhort, we would urge, that ſhe did not any thing like what is reported of her as an heroine; and that it is almoſt clear, that ſhe did no more than finiſh the war with the Medes, or with the Bactrians, or perhaps with both, as tradition informs us; and that thus ſhe completed what her huſband Nabonaſſar, according to our ſuppoſition, had begun and conducted towards an end. More ſhe certainly cannot have done in the ſhort ſpace of her adminiſtration, whether in the days of her huſband or of her ſon; and this muſt have intitled her to immortal fame, if, at the ſame time, as it ſeems, we muſt grant, ſhe did any thing notable towards the improvement or embelliſhment of the city of Babylon; nor is it ſtrange, that after this we ſhould be ſhewn her through the magnifying-glaſs of profane authors, who had their accounts from the Babylonians, who may have thought, they could not poſſibly do themſelves too much honour in reporting wonders of this their firſt and moſt fortunate queen. And all their tales being greedily ſwallowed even by the moſt judicious, we have her thence compared with Seſoſtris [o] a fabulous hero, and hence we ſee her building fleets, arming legions, raiſing Babylon, and, in ſhort, circumnavigating the red ſea, or Indian ocean, and reducing the Arabians and Ethiopians [p]; and hence her altars, together with thoſe of Hercules, the Liber Pater, and others towards the confines of India [q]. Hence ſhe is repreſented to have been a tyranneſs of the moſt rigid and inexorable

[o] Pluarch, Γυναικων ἀρεταὶ, p. 243. [p] Idem, Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς λογὸς, β'. p. 336. [q] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 16. p. 314.

inexorable fort[r]; and hence she is fabled to have been so active in keeping the people in subjection and awe, that hearing of a tumult and an insurrection of the Babylonians, as she was dressing her head, she would not give herself time to finish what she was about, but rushed forth from her chamber, with her hair half about her ears, to reduce the revolters, and would never so much as set her hair in order before she had done as she had resolved [s]; and that thenceforward she was represented, by a statue at Babylon, in an undress, and her hair dishevelled [t]. Hence it is she is represented as a monster of lust [u]; and hence she is celebrated for the many mighty deeds and exploits we have formerly related of her [w], and others equally fabulous, which we shall not here insist on. In fine, she is said to have been the first Assyrian queen and lady, to have first surrounded Niniveh with walls, and to have changed its name into Babylon [x], a strange absurdity we need not animadvert on. But after all that is boasted of her by the same author [y] he acquaints us, that she died in her bed [z].

Nadius. THE second king of the Babylonians is called Nadius [a], who reigned but two years; and if what we have ventured to conjecture in the foregoing reign was at all the case, as, by comparing things together as we have there done, it seems to have been, this Nadius must have been the Ninyas of Ctesias and his followers, and his followers, and must have dyed an infant of about three years old.

Chinzirus and Porus. THE next that filled the throne was Chinzirus [b] and Porus, who reigned five years: Concerning these we have nothing to conjecture. The names seem to belong to two persons, and they may have been brothers; or it may be, that one man may have born both the names, which seem to have no direct affinity either with the Chaldee or the Assyrian.

Jugæus. JUGÆUS * reigned next; there is nothing recorded of him, nor can we offer at one conjecture concerning him, except that he, as well as those he immediately succeeded, and those that came after him, down to Assar-addin, did nothing worthy notice, and that they may have passed their days in sloth and effeminacy.

MARDOC-

[r] Excerpt. Chronol. ex African. Eusеb. & aliis, p. 74. [s] Valer. Maxim. l. 9. c. 3. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] Plin. ubi sup. [w] See before in the fourth Sect. of the Hist of Assyria. [x] Suidas ad vocem Σεμίραμις. [y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] See before in the canon, p. 361. [b] Ibid. * Ibid.

MARDOC-EMPAD [c], he is certainly the Merodach-baladan of ſcripture, the ſame that ſent an embaſſy to Hezekiah *king of Judah*. The times of the former in the canon, and of the latter in ſcripture, agree exactly; and it muſt have been in the ſeventh or eighth year of his reign that he ſent to Hezekiah. In Iſaiah [d] he is called Merodach-baladan, as we have written him above, but in the book of Kings he is called Berodach-baladan [e], and in both places, the ſon of Baladan, whence we gather, that the Jugæus above, who ſeems to have been his father, would be more properly called Baladan, though that is what we would not venture to do. If, as is moſt generally ſuppoſed, he ſent this embaſſy to Jeruſalem, to inquire concerning the regreſſion of the ſhadow upon Ahaz's ſun-dial [f], he muſt be concluded to have been a prince of curioſity, and a man that cultivated aſtronomy, or at leaſt encouraged it in others: Though that this was all the buſineſs of this embaſſy, may be diſputed; for there ſeems to have been ſome other view in it, by the parade Hezekiah, upon this occaſion, made of his warlike ſtores and treaſures [g]. It may be ſuſpected there was ſomething more than the ſolution of a curious enquiry intended; for, as Senacherib was then alive, it cannot well be conceived, how there ſhould have been ſuch a liberty taken by his Babylonian relation or dependant, as to correſpond with an enemy by ambaſſadors. This is the firſt Babylonian king we read of in ſcripture to have had any intercourſe with the kings at Jeruſalem; and he muſt have been a man of reſolution and ambition, if we ſuppoſe he wanted to draw Hezekiah into an alliance with him againſt the Aſſyrian emperor. Upon the whole, the men he ſent from Babylon ſeem rather to have been private agents than public ambaſſadors, and what was tranſacted with them ſeems to have been quite a ſecret. He may have underſtood, that the Medes were on the point to revolt, as they certainly did a very ſhort time afterwards, and that other nations, their neighbours, were ripe for the ſame; this he may have known, and may therefore have attempted alliances with the Jews and others, on this ſide of the Euphrates, againſt Sennacherib, to ſecure his own dominions, or to enable him to withſtand

Mardoc-empad.

[c] Ibid. [d] Iſai. xxxix. 1. [e] 2 Kings xx. 12. [f] See before, p. 115. [g] Iſai. xxx. 2.

withstand such incursions, as he may have dreaded from the same people; but we forbear to expatiate farther hereon. Thus far is certain, that things now began to threaten some calamity to Assyria; and it is likely, Merodach-baladan might have foreseen it, and bestirred himself to make sure of what belonged to himself. This prince reigned 12 years and was succeeded by

Arkianus. ARKIANUS [h], concerning whom all we know is, that he reigned but five years, and that after him there was an inter-reign of two years [i]. This is distinguished as the first

First inter-reign. inter-reign in the Babylonian kingdom, and thereby it might be fairly concluded, that the line of Nabonassar became extinct in the last king, or that it was set aside, if it be not more rational to suppose, that the kingdom was not hereditary, so as to fall of course to the eldest son. There may have been disputes among the sons about the succession, or the king of Niniveh, who may have appointed the kings of Babylon according to his own pleasure and good liking, may not, in this space of time, have determined who should next be king of Babylon. Assarhaddon was now emperor of Assyria, and the Medes had actually revolted five or six years before, and he may now have been at a loss whom to substitute in the throne of Babylon, which, if what we have observed be right, may have been filled with slothful and inactive princes ever since the death of Nabonassar, or his wife, if she was so, Semiramis. For while the kings of Niniveh were successively warring in the west, the kings of Babylon may have degenerated considerably, and have fallen into disgrace and vice, in conformity to what prophane authors relate of the successors of Semiramis; and may, by their indolence or connivance, have encouraged the Medes to shake off the yoke.

Belibus. BELIBUS [k] succeeded to this inter-reign, but by what means, or by what right, we know not, except that it may plainly appear, that he was appointed by Assar-haddon. He reigned but three years, at the end of which term, whether he died, or was displaced, may be doubted, by the shortness of his duration as king.

Apronadius. Regibélus. Mesessimordacus. HE made room for Apronadius [l], who reigned six years, and gave place to Regibelus [m], who, possessing the throne but one year, made way for Mesessimordacus [n], who held the

[h] See before in the canon, ubi sup. [i] See before, ibid. [k] See before, ibid. [l] Ibid. [m] Ibid. [n] Ibid.

the ſcepter but four years, and gave place to an interreign [o], which laſted full eight years. To fill up this chaſm, it may hence be confirmed to us, that the kings of Babylon were at the pleaſure of the king of Aſſyria, and appointed by him, as he thought proper, out of the Babylonian family; the ſhortneſs of the four preceding reigns may perſuade us, that the kings, between this inter-reign and the former, did not ſucceed each other as father and ſon, and the ſame we may indeed conclude of the kings between Nabonaſſar and the firſt inter-reign, who were but a little while on the throne, and ſeem to have been rather appointed governors for a certain term of years, than kings ſucceeding in right of each other; nor can it well have been otherwiſe. The elder family at Niniveh muſt in time have aſſumed conſiderably over the younger at Babylon, and contracted a jealouſy of them, and impoſed ſuch hardſhips on them, or have ſome way or other behaved to them ſo as to provoke them at laſt to join with the Medes to deſtroy them. Thus the thing ſeems to have been. Second inter-reign.

THE eight years of this inter-reign being expired, Aſſar-addin [p], the Eſar-haddon of ſcripture, poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Babylon. We have already ſaid all we poſitively know of him, when we formerly gave his reign as king of Aſſyria. It is remarkable, that he ſhould deliberate ſo long as eight years, before he aſſumed the government of Babylon in perſon. We formerly made it a doubt [q], whether or no he ſeated himſelf maſter here by art or by violence; but by what, we think, we plainly diſcover of theſe collateral kingdoms of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, he now ſet aſide the Babylonian family as uſeleſs, or dangerous, to his empire, which muſt now have been in a very crazy condition [r]. By this ſtep of policy he ſeems to have re-eſtabliſhed the Aſſyrian monarchy; and remarkable it may be thought, that he made no attempts towards the recovery and extenſion of the Aſſyrian conqueſts weſtward, till he had thus taken Babylon to himſelf [s]. Hence it may appear, that the former diviſion of the empire, however ſmall it may have been, was now judged hurtful thereto, and that ſo it had been, appears by the conſequences of this junction, after which the Aſſyrians roſe to a higher pitch than ever they had been, at leaſt in the weſtern parts, where under this king they eſtabliſhed their power more firmly than Aſſar-addin.

[o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. [q] See before, p. 278. [r] See before, ibid. [s] Ibid.

it ever had been, and even conquered Egypt [t]. The obſcurity of the kings of Babylon, between Nabonaſſar and this Aſſar-addin, may have given birth to what is related of the ſloth and inactivity of all the kings that ſucceeded between Semiramis and Sardanapalus, a name which we have as good as proved to have belonged to this prince [u]; but at the ſame time we have ſhewn there were two of the name, a warrior and an effeminate man. This then muſt have been Sardanapalus the warrior, for his hiſtory declares him to have been ſuch, but that is what we need not repeat. He reigned at Babylon 13 years, and was ſucceeded by

Saoſducheus. SAOSDUCHEUS, or Saoſduchinus [w], who, as well as his predeceſſor, was king both of Niniveh, and Babylon. We have already ſaid all of him we have been able to collect [x], as king of Aſſyria. He reigned 20 years and was ſucceeded by

Chyniladan. CHYNILADAN [y], whom we have ſhewn to be the Nabuchadonoſor of the book of Judith [z], where we have given all the hiſtory we know of him. He, as well as his two predeceſſors, was king both of Aſſyria and Babylon, and reigned 22 years. The length of theſe three reigns, which in ſum make up 55 years, which exceeds the ſum of the nine reigns and two inter-reigns between Nabonaſſar and Aſſar-addin by two years, may convince us, that the kings of Babylon during that interval were little better than governors, placed and diſplaced by the kings of Aſſyria at their will and pleaſure; and continued or diſcontinued juſt as they approved themſelves more or leſs truſty and ſerviceable to the Aſſyrian kings. Hitherto the kingdom of Babylon had been dependent on the emperors at Niniveh; it now begins to emerge, and to rear up the head as an empire, exalting itſelf on the ruins of the Aſſyrian monarchy.

Nabopallaſſar. FOR Nabopallaſſar [a] ſucceeded Chyniladan, and is ſaid to have wreſted the kingdom of Babylon from the Aſſyrians, and to have ſeized on it himſelf, and is plainly the man who transferred the ſeat of the Aſſyrian monarchy to Babylon.

[t] See before, p. 279. [u] See before in the notes, p. 280. [w] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [x] See before, p. 282. [y] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr. [z] See before in the notes, p. 282, 283, &c. [a] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr.

bylon [b]. His name declares him to have been an Aſſyrian, and to have derived his origin from Pul and Nabonaſſar his ſon, it partaking equally of both; for as Nabonaſſar is plainly compounded of Nebo-adan-aſſur, this man ſeems to have rejected the Addon for Pul, and to have had his name compounded from Nebo-pul-aſſur; which, it is likely, he may have aſſumed upon his revolt from the Aſſyrian Sarac, Sarchedon, or Sardanapalus [c], and claims, as ſhould plainly appear by his name, to have been lineally deſcended from Pul by Nabonaſſar, and ſo, it is likely, pretended to a right of inheritance in the kingdom of Babylon, of which his family had been unjuſtly deprived by the elder branch of Aſſyria. Thus it ſeems natural to conclude; if ſo it was, he had a fair opportunity of aſſerting his right, for being appointed over Chaldæa upon the death of Chyniladan, who left the Aſſyrian affairs in great confuſion, and at a time when the Medes were in full vigor of their purſuit againſt the kings at Niniveh [d], he took the advantage, and ſeizing on the kingdom of Babylon for himſelf, he entered into alliances with Aſtyages the Mede, and to confirm the ſame deſired his daughter Amyite in marriage for his ſon Nabocolaſſar [e], and joining heartily in the war with him againſt the kingdom of Aſſyria, they reduced it to a very humble condition, though, as we have made it appear [f], he did not live to ſee the final deſtruction of it; for the irruption of the Scythians put a ſtop to the progreſs of theſe new allies, for the ſpace, as we are told, of 28 years [g].

Year of the Flood, 2373. Year before Chriſt, 626.

THIS prince is called by contraction Nabulaſſar [h], but by the ſame author he is alſo called Nabuchadonoſor [i], as he is by others [k] Nebuchadnezzar, whence he is diſtinguiſhed from his ſon, as the firſt of the name [l]; in a word, he, and no other, muſt have been the Beleſis of Cteſias [m], and the Nanybrus of Nicholas of Damaſcus [n]; but what is ſeemingly ſtrange, he is alſo called Sardanapalus *, which we have taken notice of already. This prince, beſides what he muſt have ſuffered and apprehended from the Scy-

[b] See p. before, 292, 293. [c] See before in the notes, p. Ibid. [d] See before, p. ibid. [e] Alex. Polyhiſt. apud Syncel. p. 210. Euſeb. in Chron. [f] See before in the notes, p. 296, 297. [g] See before in the notes, p. ibid. [h] Beroſ. apud Joſeph. contr. Ap. l. 1. p. 1044. & Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [i] Idem apud eund. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. [k] In Libr. Juchaſin. p. 136. [l] David Gantz II. Chron. l. 2. n. 285. [m] See before, p. 366. [n] See before, ibid. * See before in the notes, p. 293.

thians, who during his time prevailed in Aſia [o], was in imminent danger of being blaſted in his hopes by an invaſion from Egypt. For Pharaoh Necho, at that time king of the country, underſtanding, that the kingdom of Aſſyria was as good as diſſolved, by the combination of the Babylonians with the Medes, and that the confederates themſelves were under reſtraint from the Scythians, thought this a proper opportunity to be revenged on the Tranſeuphratenſians, who had captivated the kingdom of Egypt in the days of the great Eſar-haddon [p], and to raiſe himſelf an empire over the kingdoms and countries on this ſide of the Euphrates, which had, for ſome time paſt, been under the kings of Aſſyria by conqueſt. He proſecuted his deſign, ſuceeeded to his wiſh, and even took the great city of Carchemiſh, Circutium, or, as it is moſt corruptly written, Carchabeſa [q], upon the Euphrates [r]. This we are told was his caſe, but we have ſeen it is falſe; for before this invaſion of Necho he muſt have been dead [s] ſome time, as appears by the circumſtance we are told of Joſiah's death, who was ſlain at Megiddo in making head againſt Necho, as he was marching againſt the king of Aſſyria [t], who can have been none other than Sarac [u]; for as Joſiah reigned full 31 years [w], he muſt according to the courſe of ſcripture and Ptolemy's canon, have ſurvived Nabopallaſar. It is therefore plain, that we cannot rely upon Beroſus [x], when he informs us, that he ſent his ſon Nabuchadonoſor to quell the rebellious ſatrapa, or governor of Egypt, Phœnicia, and Syria, as he plainly calls Pharaoh Necho; nor did Nabuchadonoſor effect this till after his death, and after he had ſubverted Niniveh, which was brought to paſs by his valour and good fortune, in conjunction with Cyaxares the Mede his brother-in-law [y]. There was then no war between Babylon and Egypt during the life of Nabopallaſſar, nor was there any ſuch officer as a ſatrapa over Egypt, Phœnicia, and Syria, in his time, for the Aſſyrians; Egypt had recovered itſelf a conſiderable time before [z] from the conqueſt and captivation of Eſar-haddon; and Judah was all this

[o] See before in the notes, p. 297. [p] See before, p. 279. [q] Joſeph. Antiq. ubi ſup. c. 7. [r] See vol. ii. p. 63. [s] See in the notes, p. 296. [t] See before, p. 169. [u] See before, p. 292. [w] See before, p. 168. [x] Apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. & contra Apion. l. 1. [y] See Newton's Chron. of anc. Kingd. amend. p. 292. [z] See before in the notes, p. 280.

this time under her own king Joſiah [a], and that all the weſtern regions, on this ſide of the Euphrates, had ſhaken off the Aſſyrian yoke is plain, not only by the hiſtory of Chyniladan [b], but by the trouble the great Nebuchadnezzar had afterwards to reduce them to Babylon. We may perceive then that Beroſus, in the paſſage before us, confounds the father and ſon together, and that he is too haſty in bringing on the deſtruction of Niniveh; for till that had been effected, there is no ſuppoſing the Babylonians could have pretended to croſs the Euphrates; and that there was a king of Aſſyria ſubſiſting in the day that Joſiah was killed by Necho, we learn from ſcripture [c], and that Joſiah ſurvived Nabopallaſſar, we underſtand by comparing the ſame with the canon [d]. This ſatrapa of Egypt and Syria muſt be underſtood proleptically, except we ſuppoſe the office to have ſubſiſted upon the conqueſts of Eſar-haddon; which if it did, whoever enjoyed it had little to boaſt but the empty title, as may be eaſily diſcovered. We are certain then of no one particular fact relating to Nabopallaſſar, except that he withdrew obedience from the king of Aſſyria, that he joined with the Mede, in order to put an end to that kingdom, and that he reigned 21 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

NABOCOLASSAR [e]; this is the great Nebuchadnezzar of ſcripture, by the Greeks called Nabuchadonoſor (A). It Nabocolaſſar

[a] See before, p. 161, 162, 165, & ſeq. [b] See before, p. 282, 283, & ſeq. [c] 2 Kings ubi ſup. [d] See before in the notes, p. 297. [e] See before in the canon, p. 361.

(A) His name, taken which way you will, may be diſcovered to have been Aſſyrian, by the termination Aſſur. We have already given the ſeeming derivation of it, and only mention it here to remind the reader of what we have ſo often aſſerted, that the Babylonian monarchy, how much ſoever it may have been diſtinguiſhed from the Aſſyrian, was no more than a continuation of it. And this may be the more pertinently remarked here, as this prince was not only the firſt emperor at Babylon, properly ſo called, for his father can never be quite conſidered as ſuch; but as he was alſo the man in whom the Aſſyrian or Babylonian greatneſs arrived at its utmoſt height, as appears by Daniel, who, ſumming up the whole of it in his perſon, declares, that the golden head he ſaw in his viſion was meant to ſignify himſelf *.

* Dan. ii. 38.

Year of the Flood, 2394. Year before Christ, 605.

was he that completed what his father had aimed at, and subjected what had been before the Assyrian empire to the obedience of the throne at Babylon; it is he that must be called the first Babylonian monarch. It has been said, that his father, grown old and feeble, had intrusted him with the reins of the government some years before he died, and that, in consequence of this, he waged war with Pharaoh Necho, who had conquered all Syria to himself, while the Medes and Babylonians were under restraint by the Scythians, or busied in the reduction of Niniveh; and that in this war he not only wrested Carchemish, or Circesium, or Circutium, a considerable town on the Mesopotamian side of the Euphrates, from Pharaoh Necho, and routed him with a great slaughter; but reduced all the provinces on this side of the Euphrates which had been seized by Necho, and made a conquest even of Egypt itself, where, understanding his father was dead at Babylon, he took the necessary measures to secure those countries, and, by the shortest way of the desart, hastened to Babylon [f]. This we have shewn to be a mistake, so far as it is possible to detect an error of this nature (B). He certainly

[f] Beros. apud Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 1. & apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. 9. c. 40. p. 455.

(B) We have already (1) demonstrated the thing to have been as we here suggest, concerning the death of Nabopalassar; but as it is a point which immediately concerns the history of this branch of the Assyrian family, we may be allowed to repeat our attempt here, by stating it in another manner, and to make it still clearer, if it be possible so to do. From the death of Assar-addin to the first year of the reign of Chyniladan is 20 years, and from the first of the reign of Chyniladan to the 12th, that he warred upon the Medes, is 32 years. Manasseh was taken prisoner by Assar-addin in the 21st year of his reign, and, according to all appearance, in the 9th or 10th year of Assar-addin's reign at Babylon. The 9th or 10th year we say; because, as he took Manasseh captive not long before he invaded Egypt and was to hold Egypt but three years (2), according to the prophet, and reigned at Babylon but 13 years, we cannot be induced but to think, he effected his conquest of Egypt in the latter part of his reign, and that, as he certainly must have kept the same in subjection all his life-time, he died within three or four years after he had taken Manasseh

(1) See before in the notes, p. 282, 297. (2) See before, p. 297.

tainly did not croſs the Euphrates, before he, in conjunction with his brother-in-law Cyaxares the Mede, had put an

Manaſſeh priſoner. This being ſtated, if Manaſſeh was made a captive in the 9th or 10th year of Aſſar-addin at Babylon, and as Manaſſeh reigned 34 years after his ſaid captivity, if, to the 32 years between the war Chyniladan made upon the Medes and the death of Aſſarhaddin, we add three or four years, to make the 13 years of this laſt king complete at Babylon, it muſt follow, that Manaſſeh died either in the 10th or 11th year of the ſaid Chyniladan; and as, between the laſt year of Manaſſeh and the firſt of Joſiah, there is an interval but of two years, Joſiah muſt have begun his reign either in the 12th or the 13th year of the ſame Chyniladan; from the 14th or the 13th of Chyniladan to the laſt year of his ſucceſſor Nabopalaſſar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, muſt, according to this, have been either 30 or 31 years. Now Joſiah reigned 31 years, and therefore muſt either have outlived Nabopalaſſar by one year, or have died the ſame year he died; ſuppoſing the reign of this Babylonian to have ended with his life, and we know not how to think otherwiſe; for if he had committed the reins of his government ever ſo much to the guidance of his ſon, he muſt have been conſidered, according to all appearance, but as his lieutenant; the father muſt ſtill have been king, tho' we conſider him but as collegue with his ſon, and the years he lived and reigned, either in whole or in part, muſt have been reckoned to him accordingly. Now when Joſiah was killed, there was a king of Aſſyria ſtill in being; it was not againſt the Medes and Babylonians that Pharaoh Necho went up, as Joſephus * in a hurry miſtakes the matter: His buſineſs was apparently to get a ſhare of the Aſſyrian empire, which the Medes and Babylonians were on the point of dividing between them; Nabopalaſſar then could have claimed no lawful homage of the king of Egypt, who can have been no rebel to him, nor can he have even ſent his ſon to ſuch remote parts as Egypt, when he had ſo much to do at home, and found, that his whole force, combined together with that of the Medes, was not more than neceſſary to deſtroy the old Aſſyrian family; not to mention the Scythians, who, if ever they held any dominion in theſe parts of Aſia, muſt have held it now, in this interval between the fall of the Aſſyrians and the riſe of the Babylonians and the Medes. Beroſus then, in what he ſays of the expedition Nabopalaſſar ſent his ſon againſt his pretended Satrapa of the Syrians and Egyptians, ſeems rather to have deſired to magnify this firſt Babylonian hero, than to adhere to

* Antiq. l. x. c. 6.

an end to Niniveh, and eſtabliſhed himſelf on a ſolid baſis in the eaſt.

THIS when he had done, he croſſed the Euphrates (C) to recover what formerly made a part of the Aſſyrian empire,

to the truth. No attempt can have been made, either by him or his ſon, on this ſide of the Euphrates, till Niniveh had been deſtroyed and the Scythians expelled. Now in the very laſt year of his reign, Pharaoh Necho came upon his very frontiers, and took Carchemiſh from him, as we have here ſtated it, though, as we computed before †, this invaſion and ſucceſs of the Egyptian muſt have fallen out full four years after his reign had been expired. So that take it which way you will, and make all the allowances you poſſibly can in the behalf of Beroſus, it is plain, he is not ſincere with us in this caſe. Pharaoh Necho, who muſt have been the Satrapa or governor he talks of in the weſtern parts, muſt have been by far a more powerful prince than Nabopalaſſar his pretended maſter; and we are, for this reaſon, inclined to think, that by the ſame rule he degrades this potent Egyptian, he muſt have ſpun out the life of his Babylonian beyond its natural limits, and have made him a mightier man than he was. If Beroſus abounded with many ſuch miſtakes as theſe ſeem to have been, he deſerves to be as little regretted as Trogus, or any other we have condemned.

Here we would beg leave to rectify an overſight and ſeeming inconſiſtency, that formerly (3) eſcaped us, where we ſuppoſe the city of Niniveh to have been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar, which, as we have ſtated things there, coincides with the year Joſiah was ſlain by Necho, though, according to ſcripture, there was then an Aſſyrian king abſolutely in being, and though we have elſewhere determined (4), that Nineveh was not ruined but in the ſecond, third, or fourth year of Jehoiakim, which is what we ſtill adhere to as moſt probable: By the computation here above it muſt appear, that Niniveh had been ſome time deſtroyed in the fourth year of Nebuchadnezzar; though there had been, as there actually was, a king of Aſſyria, when Joſiah was ſlain at Meggido.

(C) Eupolemus (5) tells us, that Nebuchadonoſor king of Babylon, underſtanding, that Jeremiah had propheſied in his favour, entreated Aſtibares, the king of the Medes, to aſſiſt him in this expedition againſt Syria and Paleſtine. That accordingly the army of the Medes and Babylonians united together, and conſiſted of

† In the notes, p. 283. (3) See before in the notes, p. ibid. (4) Ibid. p. 298. (5) Apud Euſeb. præpar. evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454.

pire, taking Carchemiſh from the Egyptians, and reducing Syria as related; but as for Egypt, he laid no hands on that till many years afterwards; as not only appears by the hiſtory of Egypt itſelf, as delivered by profane authors, but alſo by the plain concurrence of ſcripture.

He takes Carchemiſh, and conquers Syria.

HAVING deſtroyed the city of Niniveh, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Carchemiſh [g], he croſſed over to this ſide of the river Euphrates, and, having conquered Syria and the neighbouring countries, came with a mixed number of nations [h], and having ravaged [i] Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, and the Jews in Galaaditis, he at length laid ſiege to Jeruſalem [k], and took it on the 9th of the month Ciſleu, or November, a day the Jews commemorate even in our times [l]. He now took Jehoiakim priſoner, and bound him in chains with deſign to carry him to Babylon; but he changed his mind upon the humble deportment of the captive king, who ſwearing to be true to him as his vaſſal and tributary, he reſtored him to his liberty; though he did not abſtain from the plunder of Jeruſalem, whence he tranſported the veſſels in the temple to that of Belus in Babylon [m], and took with him ſome of the choiceſt and moſt promiſing youths, whom he committed to the care of Aſhpenaz, the prince of his eunuchs, with a charge to ſee them inſtructed in the learning [n] and language of the Chaldees, and to educate them in ſuch manner, that they might be fit to attend him as his royal domeſtics. Of theſe, particular notice is taken of Daniel and his three friends, Hananiah, Miſhael, and Azariah [o].

Returns to Babylon.

THUS did Nebuchadnezzar begin to eſtabliſh himſelf in the weſt (D), and returning to Babylon, he reſolved to adorn

[g] Beros. ubi ſup. [h] Eupol. apud Euſeb. præpar. evang. l. 9. c. 39. p. 454. 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [i] Eupolem. ubi ſup. [k] 2 Kings xxiv. 11, 12. Dan. i. 2. [l] Uſſer. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3398. [m] Dan. i. 2. [n] Dan. i. 3. [o] Ibid. 6.

of ten thouſand chariots, one hundred and eighty thouſand foot, and one hundred and twenty thouſand horſe. By this author then it appears, they had made an end of the Aſſyrian monarchy, before they attempted any thing upon Syria, which though it is certain, without any ſuch evidence, we may yet quote it, to confirm what we have endeavoured to clear up in the note above.

(D) Thus it was, and moſt natural it muſt appear: he had ſettled himſelf in the eaſt, and his buſineſs now was to ſtrip Pharaoh Necho of his new empire over Syria, which had formerly belonged

adorn and inlarge the ſeat of his growing empire, in proportion to the ſovereignty it was to poſſeſs over the nations far and near [p]; and being thus employed at home, it happened, that he was, in an extraordinary manner, affected by dreams [q]. Under great anxiety of mind, he called together his magicians, ſorcerers, aſtrologers, and Chaldæans, and not only demanded of them the interpretation of a certain dream which had eſcaped his memory, but alſo what the dream had been. Perceiving it was in vain he conſulted them, his diſappointment wrought upon him to that degree of fury, that he reſolved to put them all to death [r], and gave his orders accordingly to Arioch, the captain of his guard; who, being on the point to do as he was commanded, was accoſted by Daniel, who, expoſtulating with him upon the raſhneſs of the decree againſt the wiſe men, and requeſting him to ſuſpend the execution of it, gave him aſſurance, that he could ſatisfy the king in what he was ſo ſollicitous to know [s].

His dream of the image.

Daniel then went into the preſence of Nebuchadnezzar, and, begging that he would grant him a little time to conſider of the thing, repaired to his three companions above-mentioned, and joining with them in an addreſs to heaven, the ſecret was revealed to him in a night viſion [t]. Thus inſtructed from above, he went to Arioch, the captain of the guard, deſiring, he would not ſo much as think of the orders he had received againſt the wiſe men, but conduct him to the king, whom he was prepared to ſatisfy [u]. When the king ſaw Daniel, or Belteſhazzar, (that was his name in Babylon) he aſked him if he could tell him his dream, and what it portended; to which he anſwered, with a prefatory introduction to inſtil into the haughty prince ſome notions of the might and majeſty of god,

[p] Beroſus ubi ſup. [q] Dan. ii. [r] Ibid. ver. 12. [s] Ibid. ver. 16. [t] Ibid. ver. 19. [u] Dan. ii. 24.

ed to the Aſſyrian monarchy. He does ſo, drives the Egyptians from Carchemiſh, whence they pretended to curb the Babylonians even in their own country, recovers all the dominions of Syria and Paleſtine quite to the river of Egypt (7) and the king of that country dares no more ſhew his head in theſe parts; being more ſollicitous to defend himſelf in his own country, which was to have its turn of invaſion, as having been joined to the Aſſyrian empire by Eſar-addon (8), than any thing elſe.

(6) 2 Kings xxiv. 7. (7) Ibid. (8) See before, p. 279.

God, that his dream had been as follows [w], That in his ſleep he ſaw an image, vaſt, and reſplendent, and terrible to the ſight; and the head of this image was of fine gold, the breaſt and arms of ſilver, the belly and thighs of braſs, the legs of iron, and the feet of part iron and part clay; that from an inviſible power he ſaw a ſtone, that ſtruck the image on the feet, which were part iron and part clay, and cruſhed them to pieces; that immediately all the metals in the body of the image became as duſt, which was ſwept away by the wind and no more ſeen; while the ſtone, which had cauſed this deſtruction, remained behind, grew into a mountain, and filled the whole earth [x]. That as for the interpretation of this extraordinary dream, He himſelf, as king of kings, was ſignified by the golden head of the image; that a ſecond kingdom, inferior to his, ſhould ariſe, which was denoted by the breaſt and arms of ſilver; and that from thence a third kingdom of braſs ſhould ariſe, and lord it over the whole earth; that a fourth kingdom ſhould ariſe, and be as ſtrong as iron, and deſtroy all that had gone before; but that, the feet and toes being part iron and part clay, this fourth kingdom ſhould be nevertheleſs partly ſtrong and partly feeble: That after theſe, God would ſet up a kingdom which ſhould endure for ever, and that this was ſignified by the ſtone hewn or thrown without hands, and which had ſhattered the gold, the ſilver, the braſs, the iron, and the clay of the image into duſt, which had been ſcattered abroad by the wind [y] (E).

Ne-

[w] Ibid. ver. 31. [x] Ibid. ver. 35. [y] Ibid. ver. 45.

(E) "In this viſion of the image compoſed of four metals, the "foundation of all Daniel's prophecies is laid. It repreſents a "body of four great nations, which ſhould reign over the earth "ſucceſſively, viz. the people of Babylonia, the Perſians, the "Greeks, and the Romans. And by a ſtone cut out without "hands, which fell upon the feet of the image, and brake all "the four metals to pieces, *and became a great mountain, and "filled the whole earth*, it further repreſents, that a new kingdom "ſhould ariſe after the four, and conquer all thoſe nations, and "grow very great, and laſt to the end of all ages.

"The head of the image was of gold, and ſignifies the nation "of Babylonia, who reigned firſt, as Daniel himſelf interprets. "*Thou art this head of gold*, ſaid he to Nebuchadnezzar. Theſe "nations reigned till Cyrus conquered Babylon; and, within a "few months after that conqueſt, revolted to the Perſians, and "ſet them up above the Medes. The breaſt and arms of the

image

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, amazed at what he heard, fell on his face and worshipped Daniel, commanding, that they should strait offer him an oblation and sweet odours, acknowledging his God to be a God of gods, and a Lord of kings [z]. He then promoted him to a great height of dignity, made him great presents, invested him with the government of all the province of Babylon, and made him chief of the presidents of all the wise men. But Daniel requested, that his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (so they were called in Babylon) might have charge of the affairs of the province of Babylon, and the thing was so; while Daniel was appointed to sit in the gate of the king, as next immediately to himself [a].

Sends several nations to harass Jehoiakim.

WHILE he was thus at Babylon, news came to him, that Jehoiakim had rebelled against him, and refused to pay him any more tribute; but, not having a proper opportunity to chastise this distant king in person, he ordered the Chaldees, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites to make incursions into the territories of Judah [b]; and in this manner did they continue to perplex him for the space of three years; till, at length uniting, they besieged Jerusalem, and laying hands on Jehoiakim, they slew him, and threw his body into the highway [c]; a warfare related a different way by Josephus [d], according to whom Nebuchadnezzar must

[z] Ibid. ver. 47. [a] Ibid. v. 49. [b] 2 Kings xxiv. 1. [c] See before, p. 175. [d] Antiq. l. x.

" image were of silver, and represent the Persians, who reigned
" next. The belly and thighs of the image were of brass, and
" represent the Greeks, who, under the dominion of Alexander
" the great, conquered the Persians, and reigned next after them.
" The legs were of iron, and represent the Romans, who reign-
" ed next after the Greeks, and began to conquer them in the
" eighth year of Antiochus Epiphanes. For in that year they
" conquered Perseus king of Macedon, the fundamental kingdom
" of the Greeks; and from thence forward grew into a mighty
" empire, and reigned with great power, till the days of Theo-
" dosius the great. Then, by the incursions of many northern
" nations, they brake into many smaller kingdoms, which are
" represented by the feet and toes of the image, composed part of
" iron and part of clay *.

* Sir Is. Newton's Observ. on the Prophecy of Dan. Part i. c. 3. p. 25, 26.

muſt now himſelf have been before Jeruſalem, and muſt have taken it in perſon, and have put the flower of the inhabitants to the ſword, and have carried off 3000 of the chief citizens into captivity.

BUT to return to ſcripture [e]; theſe confederated nations, though they had thus deſtroyed the king of Judah, did not poſſeſs themſelves of Jeruſalem, and continued to blockade it till Nebuchadnezzar came, who appeared in a few months (F) at the head of his whole army; and inveſting it with a regular ſiege, he forced Jehoiachin to ſurrender himſelf, with the circumſtances before related [f]. He now reſolved to exert the utmoſt of his rigor, and to give a glut to his avarice; and, in conſequence thereof, he emptied the ſacred and the royal treaſuries, and cutting to pieces the golden veſſels of the temple, he carried all off, together with the inhabitants that were conſiderable either for valour or ingenuity; draining the land to that degree, as to leave none but the poorer ſort juſt to cultivate the land; and appointing Mattaniah, whoſe name he changed into Zedekiah, king over the deſolate kingdom of Judah [g]. Thus did he march back in triumph to Babylon, laden with the ſpoils of the Jews, and followed by numbers of the captive people, who, by their valour and ſkill, might have

Year of the Flood, 2400. Year before Chriſt, 599.

[e] Ubi ſup. [f] See before, p. 175. [g] Ibid.

(F) If it be wondered, how it came to paſs, that Nebuchadnezzar neglected, for at leaſt three years, to appear in this war perſonally; it is anſwered (9), That it is uncertain what detained him ſo long, though it is very probable, he was buſied in the conduct of his vaſt deſigns at Babylon; that, however, he may have been engaged, as a mediator between the Medes and the Lydians, who, after a war of ſeveral years, being on the point of fighting a deciſive battle, were interrupted by a total eclipſe of the ſun (10), which, as they interpreted it, prevailed on them to ſubmit to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes, they ſhould agree to chuſe for each other. It is now ſuppoſed, that Nebuchadnezzar was choſen by the Mede, and that he was employed in that affair, while the nations mentioned made war upon Judah; but Herodotus expreſly ſaying it was Labynetus (11) who was this mediator, we ſhall defer what may be ſuggeſted thereon to the time of his reign.

(9) Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and new Teſt. vol. i. part i. l. 1. p. 69. 8vo. (10) Herodot. l. 1. c. 74. (11) Idem l. 1. c. ibid.

have been, and no question were, of great use to him in the stupendous works he had begun or projected at Babylon, and highly serviceable to him in the prosecution of his conquests. And thus ended his second war with the Jews.

No sooner was this over, than Jeremiah [h] began to prophecy the increase of this prince's dominion, and particularly, that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris (G). This country must have been the Susiana of the Greeks, and lay so opportunely for him, being, as it were, a borderer on him, that he can have been no very great while in the completion of this advantageous prophecy. And accordingly we find, that, in after times, the capital of this country, Shushan, was sometimes honoured with the presence of the Babylonian monarchs.

This mighty prince, the darling of heaven, or the instrument rather of God's wrath to punish the wickedness of the nations round about him, had always his victories and accessions of fortune preceded by prophecies from the mouth of Jeremiah, or some other prophet; nay, plots and seditions contriving against him were blasted, while yet in embryo, by typical remonstrances from men divinely inspired. So, when the kings of the Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, and Zidonians would have tempted Zedekiah, the thoughtless king of Jerusalem, to rise against the Babylonian; Jeremiah [i] sent to each of the embassadors in his court a present of yokes and bonds, to be carried to their masters, with this declaration, That the Lord of hosts, the God of the whole earth, had doomed them all to be servants to Nebuchadnezzar; that they should all serve

[h] Jerem. xlix. 34.—39. [i] Ibid. xxvii.

(G) By the words of the prophecy Elam must have been a great and potent kingdom; *Behold I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might. And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the out-casts of Elam shall not come. For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger saith the Lord, and I will send the sword after them till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in Elam, and I will destroy from thence the king and the princes, saith the Lord* (12).

(12) Jerem. xlix. 35.—38.

ſerve him, his ſon, and his ſon's ſon; that ſuch as ſhould but offer to reject his yoke, he would puniſh with the ſword, and with famine, and with peſtilence, till they were utterly conſumed by him; but that thoſe who quietly ſubmitted their necks, and faithfully obeyed the king of Babylon, ſhould find mercy, and remain in poſſeſſion of their country [k]; ſuch was abſolutely to be their fate if they reſiſted, and ſuch their reward if they behaved ſubmiſſively under their bondage.

A more ſublime elevation no man can be ſhewn in than this, which exalts him to the height of being, as it were, God's immediate vicegerent here on earth. But how great and terrible ſoever he was repreſented, he was dreaded but for a time, by the weſtern nations eſpecially; who, notwithſtanding the ſevere remonſtrance and declaration of Jeremiah, were contriving how they ſhould free themſelves from the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar, underſtanding that the Egyptians, the Jews, and the other nations, were contriving to withdraw themſelves from his obedience; and that Zedekiah, whom he had appointed king of Jeruſalem, had been encouraged by Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, king of Egypt, to ſet him at defiance, reſolved particularly to puniſh ſuch ingratitude and infidelity [l] in the moſt extraordinary manner; and putting himſelf at the head of his army, he advanced to the frontiers, at the ſame time to chaſtiſe all theſe preſumptuous nations; where being arrived, and conſidering with himſelf, that he had a number of them to deal with, he remained in ſuſpence for a while, dubious where he ſhould firſt open the war; till at laſt he referred this important buſineſs to the ordinary methods of divinatory direction in practice with the Chaldees, who, conſulting entrails, their images, or teraphim, and their arrows (H), delivered it as their own opinion,

Year of the Flood, 2409. Year before Chriſt, 590.

[k] Jerem. xxvii. [l] 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jerem. xxi. 1. xxxii. 4.

(H) This practice of divining by arrows continued among the Arabs till Mohammediſm prevailed, which abſolutely forbids it (13), and appears to have been the very ſame in uſe with the Babylonians at this time. "The arrows uſed by them for this purpoſe were like thoſe with which they caſt lots, being without heads

(13) See the Koran, c. 5. p. 94. of Mr. Sale's tranſlation.

opinion, That the war ſhould firſt break out againſt the Jews [m]. The Babylonian army then made its way to the kingdom of that people, and in a few days became maſter of all their cities, except Lachiſh, Azekah, and Jeruſalem [n]; which in the latter end of December, the ſame year, was blocked up by Nebuchadnezzar, with all his formidable army, and a cloſe and vigorous ſiege enſued [o].

WHILE he thus was employed, he had advice, that Pharaoh Hophra was on his march to relieve the beſieged; where-

[m] Ezek. xxi. 10.—24. [n] Jerem. xxxiv. 7. [o] 2 Kings ubi ſup. Jerem. xxxix 1 lii. 4.

" heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of ſome idol, " in whoſe preſence they were conſulted. Seven ſuch arrows " were kept at the temple of Mecca; but generally in divina- " tion they made uſe of three only; on one of which was writ- " ten, My LORD hath commanded me; on another, My LORD " hath forbidden me; and the third was blank. If the firſt was " drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprize " in queſtion; if the ſecond, they made a contrary concluſion; " but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and " drew them over again, till a deciſive anſwer was given by one " of the others. Theſe divining arrows were generally con- " ſulted before any thing of moment was undertaken; as when " a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the " like [Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh. & al Beid. in Kor. c. 5. Al " Moſtatraf. &c. Vid. Poc. Spec. p. 327. &c. & D'Herbelot. " Biblioth. orient. Art. Acdâh.] This ſuperſtitious practice of " divining by arrows was uſed by the antient Greeks, [Vid. Pott. " Antiq. of Gr. vol. i. p. 334.] and other nations; and is " particularly mentioned in ſcripture, [Ezek. xxi. 21.] where it " is ſaid, that *the king of* Babylon *ſtood at the parting of the way, " at the head of the two ways, to uſe divination; he made his " arrows bright*, (or, according to the verſion of the Vulgate, " which ſeems preferable in this place, he mixed together, or " ſhook the arrows) he conſulted with images, &c. The com- " mentary of St. Jerom on this paſſage wonderfully agrees with " what we are told of the aforeſaid cuſtom of the old Arabs. He " ſhall ſtand, ſaith he, in the highway, and conſult the oracle " after the manner of his nation, that he may caſt arrows into a " quiver, and mix them together, being written upon, or marked " with the names of each people, that he may ſee whoſe arrow " will come forth, and which city he ought firſt to attack" (14).

(14) See the prelim. Diſc. to the ſame, p. 126, 127.

whereupon he broke up from before the city, and marched to give the Egyptian battle [p], and attack him before he could be poſſibly joined by any of the diſcontented nations mentioned above; but before he left Jeruſalem, he took care to ſend all the captive Jews in his camp, amounting to 832 perſons, under a good guard to Babylon [q]. He then moved againſt the Egyptians, who, not daring to abide the onſet, as ſhould ſeem by the prophet [r], retreated in proportion as Nebuchadnezzar advanced; though others [s] tell us, they ventured on a battle, which ended in their overthrow.

HAVING thus driven the Egyptians back again into their own country, he had leiſure once more to proſecute the vengeance he had reſolved to take on the king at Jeruſalem, which city he beſieged once more, raiſing works about the place from whence he ſo annoyed the inhabitants, that they did not ſo much as dare to ſhew their heads on the walls [t]. And yet this ſiege continued ſo long, and was in a way of continuing ſo much longer, that Nebuchadnezzar ſeems to have loſt all patience, and to have retired to recreate himſelf at Riblah [u]; if it was not buſineſs rather than pleaſure that drew him thither. While he was at Riblah, his generals, Nebuzaradan, Nebuſhaſban, Rabſaris, Nergal-ſharezer, and Rabmag, (I), ſtuck cloſe by Jeruſalem; and at length perceiving the inhabitants to be quite exhauſted of their ſtrength and courage, they aſſaulted the city in the middle of the night [w], and took it after a twelvemonth's ſiege. At firſt they miſſed Zedekiah and his family, but they took him the next morning, as he was attempting to eſcape. Nebuchadnezzar no ſooner ſaw Zedekiah brought before him at Riblah, than, ſeverely upbraiding him for his perfidy and ingratitude, he cauſed his children and all his friends that had been taken with him, to be put to death before his face, and then, depriving him of his eye-ſight, ordered him to be bound with chains of braſs, and in that deplorable condition to be carried away captive to Babylon [x].

Year of the Flood, 2411. Year before Chriſt, 588.

[p] Jerem. xxxvi. 5. [q] Idem lii. 29. [r] Idem xxxvii. 7. [s] Joſeph. Antiq. Jud. ubi ſup. c. 10. [t] Idem, ibid. [u] 2 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 6. [w] Ibid. ver. 4. [x] See before, p. 179.

(I) Joſephus (15) call them Nergelear, Aremantus, Emegar, Nabaſaris, and Echarampſaris.

(15) Antiq. Jud. l. 10. c. 11.

He then diſpatched Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guard, with orders quite to diſmantle the city of Jeruſalem, to burn the temple there, and the royal palace, and in ſhort the whole place. This was executed with the utmoſt rigor, and to complete the tragedy, every ſoul in the land was led away into captivity, except ſome few of the moſt miſerable of the people, who were left to take care of the ſoil and the fruits as yet ungathered. Thus did the Chaldæans, under Nebuchadnezzar, deal with the Jews; they ſtripped the temple of all its furniture, and deſtroyed the brazen ſea, and the two brazen pillars [y].

Among the priſoners, Nebuzaradan brought with him to Riblah, were Seraiah the high-prieſt, Nephaniah the ſecond prieſt, the three governors of the temple, Zedekiah's chief general, and five of his favourites or counſellors, together with his muſter-maſter, who was alſo his ſecretary; Nebuchadnezzar ordered all theſe to be beheaded. In the midſt of his fury, however, he concluded it was adviſeable not to leave the land without ſomebody to look to the miſerable remnant that was in it, and to this office he appointed one Gedaliah [z]: Nor did he fail to extend his mercy and favour towards the prophet Jeremiah, giving Nebuzaradan a favourable charge with regard to that holy perſon, to leave him to his choice of remaining behind in his own country, under his particular protection, or of going forward with him to Babylon, there to enjoy himſelf in peace and plenty in his palace. And now Nebuchadnezzar returned once more in triumph to the city of his reſidence, adding great ſtrength and glory to it, by an immenſe booty he brought with him, and a numerous acceſſion of new inhabitants.

With the gold he amaſſed in this expedition, it is thought, he erected [a] the monſtrous coloſſus of that metal in honour of his god Bel, in the plain of Dura in the province of Babylon. It was ſixty cubits in height, and ſix cubits in breadth, and all of gold; and having ſummoned together all his princes, governors, captains, judges, treaſurers, counſellors, and all the rulers of provinces, to the dedication of this idol, proclamation was made, That all people, nations, and languages, ſhould no ſooner hear the ſound of various muſical inſtruments, than they ſhould fall down and worſhip the golden image Nebuchadnezzar the king had ſet up; under the fearful

[y] Ibid. [z] Ibid. [a] Prideaux, ubi ſup. l. 2. p. 87.

fearful penalty of being thrown into the midſt of a burning fiery furnace [b]. They failed not to obey at the ſignal given, all but the Jews, and particularly Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego (K), who being brought before the king, and accuſed of the neglect and contempt, and perſiſting in a refuſal to do as was commanded, he became quite furious againſt them, and ordered, that the furnace ſhould be heated ſeven times more than ever it had been, and that they ſhould be thrown into it [c]. They were then bound with all their apparel about them, and thrown in, but the heat or the fire of the furnace was ſo violent, that it killed the men who had charge of the execution [d]. This was no ſooner over, than Nebuchadnezzar became all aſtoniſhed, and haſtily inquiring, if they had not thrown three men bound into the furnace, and being anſwered accordingly, he cried out, *I ſee four men looſe walking in the midſt of the fire, and they have no hurt, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God* [e]. He then drew near to the mouth of the furnace, and conjured the three men, as ſervants of the moſt high God, to come out to him. They did ſo, and all were aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw, when they perceived, they had not received the leaſt hurt or alteration, even in their garments [f]. Nebuchadnezzar bleſſed the God of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, and decreed, that whoſoever of any people, nation, or language, ſhould preſume to ſpeak any thing amiſs of the God of Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego, the criminal ſhould be cut in pieces, and his houſe turned into a dunghil [g].

[b] Dan. iii. [c] Ibid. ver. 20. [d] Ibid. ver. 22. [e] Ibid. ver. 25. [f] Ibid. ver. 27. [g] Ibid. ver. 29.

(K) It may be thought ſtrange, that Daniel was not accuſed as well as his friends, it being impoſſible to ſuppoſe, he fell down and worſhipped the image. To this it is anſwered (16), that he muſt have been either abſent, or, if preſent, muſt have been too great a man to be accuſed: It is obſerved (17) to be moſt probable, that he was preſent, it being impoſſible well to conceive, how ſo important an officer could have been abſent upon ſo general a ſummons, and upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion; but that his enemies might think it dangerous to begin with him, and choſe to pave the way to his deſtruction by that of his three friends, who being miraculouſly delivered, Daniel eſcaped all danger of courſe.

(16) See Prid. ubi ſup. p. 87. (17) Idem ibid.

THIS mighty prince, thus reformed, was obliged once more to croſs the Euphrates, to make war on the nations on this ſide, whoſe turbulence of ſpirit could not reſt. It had been propheſied, that he ſhould ſubdue Egypt (L), and

ſerve

(L) The prophet's words are (18), *Son of man, take up a lamentation for* Pharaoh *king of* Egypt, *and ſay unto him, Thou art like a young lion of the nations, and thou art as a whale in the ſeas; and thou cameſt forth with thy rivers, and troubledſt the waters with thy feet, and fouledſt the rivers. Thus ſaith the Lord* God, *I will therefore ſpread out my net over thee, with a company of many people, and they ſhall bring thee up in my net . . . . For thus ſaith the Lord* God, *The ſword of the King of* Babylon *ſhall come upon thee . . . . There be the princes of the north all of them, and all of the* Zidonians, *which are gone down with the ſlain, with their terror they are all aſhamed of their might, and they lie uncircumciſed with them that be ſlain by the ſword . . . .* Pharaoh *ſhall ſee them* (that is, Pharaoh ſhall ſee the Zidonians, or Tyrians deſtroyed before him; for Nebuchadnezzar ſubdued Phœnicia before he invaded Egypt), *and ſhall be comforted over all his multitude, even* Pharaoh *and all his army ſlain by the ſword, ſaith the* LORD GOD. That this prophecy immediately relates to Nebuchadnezzar, appears by the recapitulation, made in this ſame chapter, of the conqueſts of this monarch, as Aſhur, or Aſſyria, Elam, &c. Jeruſalem may not have been mentioned, as not being yet deſtroyed. The ſame prophet dilates much upon this fearful deſtruction and captivation of Egypt in other places (19). Jeremiah is quite explicit upon this occaſion, and mentions (20) this king by name, *Thus ſaith the Lord of hoſts, the God of* Iſrael, *Behold, I will ſend and take* Nebuchadnezzar *my ſervant . . . . And when he cometh, he ſhall ſmite the land of* Egypt, and deliver *ſuch* as are *for death, to death; and ſuch as are for captivity, to captivity; and ſuch as are for the ſword, to the ſword. And I will kindle a fire in the houſes of the gods of* Egypt, *and he ſhall burn them, and carry them away captives, and he ſhall array himſelf with the land of* Egypt, *as a ſhepherd putteth on his garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in peace. He ſhall alſo break the images of* Bethſhemeſh, *that is in the land of* Egypt, *and the houſes of the gods of the* Egyptians *ſhall he burn with fire.* Much more to the ſame purpoſe is to be found in this ſame prophet (21).

(18) Ezek. xxxii. 2.—31. (19) xxix, xxx, xxxi. (20) xliii. 10.——13. (21 xlii. xliv. xlvi. &c.

ſerve her as Judah had been ſerved, and that the ſame fate ſhould alſo befal the city of Tyre (M).

In completion of theſe predictions he ſat down with his army before Tyre, and underwent there a moſt tedious ſiege of 13 years, and at laſt had nothing but an empty town for his pains [h]. For the Tyrians, perceiving his obſtinacy againſt them, and ſenſible they muſt ſooner or later fall into his hands, bethought them of removing to the iſland oppoſite to them, and not above half a mile or ſo from the ſhore, where they built them a new city, whither they conveyed all their effects, and left Nebuchadnezzar to vent his rage upon the empty walls of the old town, which he failed

Year of the Flood, 2414. Year before Chriſt, 585.

[h] See vol. ii. p. 383.

(M) Theſe are the words of the prophet (22), *Son of man, becauſe that* Tyrus *hath ſaid againſt* Jeruſalem, *Aha, ſhe is broken*, that was *the gates of the people . . . . Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold* I am *againſt thee*, O Tyrus . . . . *Behold I will bring upon* Tyrus, Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon, *a king of kings, from the north . . . . ſhall ſlay with the ſword thy daughters in the field, and he ſhall make a fort againſt thee, and caſt a mount againſt thee, and lift up the buckler againſt thee. And he ſhall ſend engines of war againſt thy walls, and with his axes he ſhall break down thy towers. By reaſon of the abundance of his horſes their duſt ſhall cover thee, thy walls ſhall ſhake at the noiſe of the horſemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots, when he ſhall enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach. With the hoofs of his horſes ſhall he tread down all thy ſtreets; he ſhall ſlay thy people by the ſword, and thy ſtrong gariſons ſhall go down to the ground. And they ſhall make a ſpoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandiſe*; [This ſeems to contradict what is ſaid of the removal to the iſland, and the emptineſs of the place when Nebuchadnezzar got poſſeſſion of it, but may be meant only to exaggerate the deſtruction of the old town.] *and they ſhall break down thy walls, and deſtroy thy pleaſant houſes; and they ſhall lay thy ſtones, and thy timber, and thy duſt in the midſt of the water . . . And I will make thee like the top of a rock; thou ſhalt be* a place *to ſpread nets upon: thou ſhalt be built no more . . . . Then all the princes of the ſea ſhall come down from their thrones, and lay away their robes, and put off their bordered garments; they ſhall cloath themſelves with trembling, they ſhall ſit upon the ground . . . and be aſtoniſhed at thee*; and ſo on in this place, and in others (23) of this ſame prophet, to the ſame purpoſe.

22) Ezek. xxvi. 2——16. (23) xxvii. xxviii.

not to do [i]. However, during this siege, he from time to time, by detached parties, seems completely to have subjugated all the countries about; and this he certainly did, in pursuance of the several prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Thus, during this siege, he sent Nabuzaradan with a party into Judæa, to take vengeance on them for the murder of their late governor Gedaliah: In consequence of which he brought off with him all the inhabitants he could meet with, and which amounted to no more than 745 persons, and thereby completed the desolation of the land.

Year of the Flood, 2427. Year before Christ, 572.

WHAT Nebuchadnezzar may probably have done at Tyre, before he departed thence, we have declared already [k]. But to make amends for this disappointment, it was promised by the prophet, that Egypt should pay him for what he had suffered before Tyre [l]. Egypt was at this time as weak as Tyre was apparently strong; for the country was at this time in great distraction, caused by a civil war then raging between Apries and Amasis [m]. But concerning this his expedition against Egypt we have no manner of account, except what we find relating thereto in the prophecies of Ezekiel and Jeremiah; whereby we understand, that Egypt suffered as much by him as any nation had till then done (N). And now it must have been also, that

[i] Ibid. [k] See before, ibid. [l] Ibid. p. 67. [m] Ibid. p. 67.

(N) This, besides what we have cited from the prophets to prove it, is directly said by Jeremiah (24), addressing himself to such of the remnants of the captivity as thought to have found a sure place of refuge in Egypt; *Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of* Israel, *If you wholly set your faces to enter into* Egypt, *and go to sojourn there, then it shall come to pass, that the sword, which ye feared, shall overtake you there in the land of* Egypt, *and the famine, whereof ye were afraid, shall follow close after you, there in* Egypt, *and there ye shall die. So shall it be with all the men that set their faces to go into* Egypt, *to sojourn there, they shall die by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence: and none of them shall remain, or escape from the evil that I will bring upon them. For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of* Israel, *As mine anger and my fury hath been poured forth upon the inhabitants of* Jerusalem, *so shall my fury be poured forth upon you, when ye shall enter into* Egypt: *and ye shall be an execration, and an astonishment, and a curse, and a reproach, and ye shall see this place no more (25).*

(24) xlii. (25) Ibid. 15.——18.

that he conquered the Lybians, and Ethiopians, and other adjacent nations, according to the prophecies concerning him (O). As for Egypt, it is quite uncertain in what ſtate, or upon what conditions, he left that country, or whether or no he did not appoint Amaſis, ſo famed among the Egyptians, his lieutenant or viceroy there [n]. The glory and proſperity of the reign of this Egyptian king, as repreſented by the Egyptians themſelves [o], need not prevent us from concluding, he was no better than a ſubſtitute and tributary to the king of Babylon, and the rather, as the prophet foretels of them, that they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for 40 years afterwards [p], which is a ſpace of time nearly equal to the reign of Amaſis [q]; and his defection in the end may have been as good a reaſon as any formerly given for the rage, as it is repreſented, of Cambyſes againſt him [r], when the Perſians had deſtroyed the empire of Babylon.

BUT to deſiſt from uncertainties of ſo very dubious a nature, Nebuchadnezzar is ſaid to have carried his arms into the very heart of Lybia and Iberia, and to have far exceeded

[n] See before, ibid. [o] Ibid. p. 70. [p] Ibid. p. 65. [q] Ibid. p. 76. [r] Ibid. p. 73.

(O) *Son of man* * *propheſy and ſay, Thus ſaith the Lord* God, *Howl ye, woe worth the day. For the day is near, even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day, it ſhall be the time of the heathen* .... *Great pain ſhall be in* Ethiopia, *when the ſlain ſhall fall in* Egypt, *and they ſhall take away her multitude, and her foundations ſhall be broken down.* Ethiopia, *and* Libya, *and* Lydia, *and all the mingled people, and* Chub, *and the men of the land that is in league, ſhall fall with them by the ſword. Thus ſaith the Lord, They alſo that uphold* Egypt, *ſhall fall, and the pride of her power ſhall come down: from the tower of* Syene *ſhall they fall in it by the ſword, ſaith the Lord God. And they ſhall be deſolate in the midſt of the countries that are deſolate, and her cities ſhall be in the midſt of the cities that are waſted. And they ſhall know, that I* am *the* LORD, *when I have ſet a fire in* Egypt, *and* when *all her helpers ſhall be deſtroyed. In that day ſhall meſſengers go forth from me in ſhips, to make the careleſs* Ethiopians *afraid, and great pain ſhall come upon them, ... for lo it cometh* (26).

* Ezek. xxx. (26) Ibid. 2.——9.

exceeded even Hercules himself *. Thus far we have seen him a warrior beyond all that had gone before him; we have now done with his martial deeds, and must retire with him to Babylon, and take a view of what he did there, and seeing the magnificence of that city is wholly attributed to him, we cannot do it better, than by a description thereof, which we have particularly reserved for this place; for it was this prince that enlarged and adorned it, and enriched the temples of it with the spoils he had taken, and, in fine, did most of what is attributed to Semiramis, except the immediate foundation; and, indeed, as it is evidently under him, and almost under him only, as monarch of Babylon, that the country flourished, and lorded it over the nations, and divided the empire with the Medes, who upon his death seem to have been upon no very good terms with the Babylonians; so nothing is more natural than to conclude, that the city attained its splendor under him, and that what was done to it after him, was rather to preserve it from assaults of the enemy, than to set it off as the queen of the east.

Babylon described.

TOWARDS the description of Babylon, and what Nebuchadnezzar did there, we have little or nothing to add to what has already been said for us; and therefore we shall have no more to do than to transcribe it, and particularly in the method of a late learned author [s].

Semiramis, as we have seen, by some [t], and Belus [u] by others, is said to have founded this city; but, whether it was originally founded by Belus or Pul, or his son Nabonassar, the first Babylonian king in Ptolemy's canon, it was Nebuchadnezzar that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works in and about it were the walls of the city itself; the temple of Belus; Nebuchadnezzar's palace, and the hanging gardens belonging to it; the banks of the river; and the artificial lake and canals made for the draining of the river; works, which, for magnificence and expence, were exceeded by no one attempt of human labour, excepting the wall of China.

The walls.

The walls that surrounded the city were every way prodigious; for they were in thickness 87 foot, in height 350 foot, and in compass 480 furlongs, or 60 of our miles [w]. These

* Abyden. ex Megasth. apud Euseb. de præpar. evang. l. 9. p. 456. & Beros. apud Joseph. [s] Prideaux in his Connect. [t] See before, p. 239. [u] Abyden. ex Megasth. apud Euseb. de præp. evang. l. 9. p. 457. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. [w] Herodot. l. 1. c. 178.

Theſe are the meaſures according to Herodotus, who was himſelf at Babylon; and though there are thoſe who differ from him in theſe dimenſions, yet moſt, who agree in any meaſures of theſe walls, gives us [x] the ſame, or nearly the ſame he does (P). Theſe walls formed an exact ſquare [y], each ſide of which was 120 ſtades, or 15 miles, in length, and were all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen [z], a particular product of the neighbourhood of this city [a], and much more durable and ſtrong than lime. On the outſide of theſe walls was a large ditch full of water, and the earth dug out of it ſerved to make the bricks which built the walls [b], ſo that from the great dimenſions of the walls, thoſe of this ditch or moat may be readily conceived. In each ſide of this ſquare were 25 gates, 100 in all, and all of ſolid braſs: Between every two of theſe gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great ſquare, and three between thoſe corners and the gates next on each ſide, and each of theſe towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe parts of the walls where towers were needful for defence [c]. For ſome parts of them being upon a moraſs, and inacceſſible by an enemy, there the labour and coſt was ſpared, which, though it muſt have ſpoiled the ſymmetry of the whole, muſt be allowed

[x] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. 6. c. 26. Philoſt. l. 1. c. 18. [y] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [z] Idem ibid. c. 179. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. Strab. l. 16. p. 743. Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 69. Arrian, de expedit. Alex. l. 7. [a] See vol. i. in the notes, p. 416. [b] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [c] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 68.

(P) Diodorus Siculus, as we have ſeen before (27), diminiſhes the circumference of theſe walls very conſiderably, and takes ſomewhat from the height of them, as in Herodotus, though he ſeems to add to the breadth of them, by ſaying, That ſix chariots might drive abreaſt thereon; while the former writes, That one chariot only might turn upon them; but then he places buildings on each ſide of the top of theſe walls, which according to him, were but one ſtory high (28); which may pretty well reconcile them together in this reſpect. It is obſerved (29). that thoſe, who give the height of theſe walls but at 50 cubits, ſpeak of them only as they were after the time of Darius Hyſtaſpis, who had cauſed them to be beaten down to that level. To dwell particularly on the varieties in authors that have ſpoken of this city, would be both endleſs and fruitleſs.

(27) P. 239. (28) L. 1. c. 179. (29) Vid. Prid. ubi ſup. p. 95.

lowed to have ſavoured of good œconomy; though that is what one would not have expected from a prince who had been ſo determined, as Nebuchadnezzar muſt have been, to make the city complete both for ſtrength and beauty; and hence it ſhould ſeem, that we ſee a woman in after-ages completing the walls of Babylon; which may have been no more than ſupplying the deficiency of towers in the parts ſo deſtitute of them, which may be better conſidered, when we come to ſpeak of her in particular. The whole number then of theſe towers amounted to no more than 250, whereas a much greater number would have been neceſſary to have made the uniformity complete all round. From the 25 gates in each ſide of this ſquare there was a ſtrait ſtreet, extending to the correſponding gate in the oppoſite wall, whence the whole number of the ſtreets muſt have been but 50; but then they were each about 15 miles long, 25 of them croſſing the other 25 exactly at right angles [d]. Beſides theſe whole ſtreets, we muſt reckon four half ſtreets, which were but rows of houſes facing the four inner ſides of the walls. Theſe four half ſtreets were properly the four ſides of the city within the walls, and were each of them 200 foot broad [e], the whole ſtreets being about 150 of the ſame. By this interſection of the 50 ſtreets, the city was divided into 676 ſquares, each of four furlongs and an half on each ſide, or two miles and a quarter in compaſs. Round theſe ſquares on every ſide towards the ſtreets ſtood the houſes, all of three or four ſtories in height and beautified [f] with all manner of ornaments; and the ſpace within each of theſe ſquares was all void, and taken up by yards, and gardens, and the like, either for pleaſure or convenience.

A branch of the Euphrates divided the city into two, running through the midſt of it, from north to ſouth (Q), over which, in the very middle of the city, was a bridge, a furlong in length [g], or rather more, and indeed much more if we hearken to others, who ſay, it was no leſs than five

[d] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 180. [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 67.
[f] Herodot. ubi ſupr. Philoſtr. l. 1. [g] Strab. ubi ſupr. p. 738.

(Q) It ſeems rather to have been a branch of the Euphrates (30), than the main ſtream itſelf, that thus divided this city. In Ptolemy's maps it is ſeated upon the Naharmalcha, or royal river.

(30) Vide eund. ibid.

five ſtades or furlongs in length, though but 30 foot broad[h], a difference we ſhall never be able to decide (R); this bridge, however, is ſaid to have been built with wonderful art[i], to ſupply a defect in the bottom of the river, which was all ſandy. At each end of this bridge were two palaces[k]; the old palace on the eaſt ſide, the new one on the weſt ſide of the river; the former of which took up[l] four of the ſquares above-mentioned, and the latter[m] nine of them. The temple of Belus, which ſtood next to the old palace, took up another of the ſame ſquares.

THE whole city ſtood in a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep ſoil[n]; that part or half of it on the eaſt ſide of the river was the old city[o], and the other on the weſt was added by Nebuchadnezzar[p], both being included within the vaſt ſquare bounded by the walls aforeſaid. The form of the whole was ſeemingly borrowed from Niniveh, which was alſo 480 furlongs; but though it was equal in dimenſions to this city, it was leſs with reſpect to its form, which was a parallelogram[q], whereas that of Babylon was an exact ſquare: It is ſuppoſed, that Nebuchadnezzar, who had deſtroyed that old ſeat of the Aſſyrian empire, propoſed, that this new one ſhould rather exceed it than not[r], and that it was to fill this great intended city with inhabitants,

[h] See before, p. 239, 240. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 68. Herodot. l. 1. c. 186. Quint. Curt. l. 5. c. 1. Philoſtr. l. 1. c. 18. [k] Beros. apud Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 10. c. 11. Herodot. ubi ſupr. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. Quint. Curt. ubi ſupr. Philoſt. ubi ſupr. See before, ubi ſupr. [l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 193. [o] Beros. ubi ſupr. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupr. p. 65. [r] Vid. Prideaux's Connect. of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſt. vol. 1. l. 2. p. 97. in 8vo.

(R) By the former of the dimenſions of this bridge, it is plain, the city was not immediately upon the great river of Euphrates, but rather upon ſome artificial canal, or inferior branch of the main ſtream. By the latter indeed it may ſeem, that it ſtood upon the main ſtream itſelf; however, as they both agree ſo well in the breadth of the bridge, we may be inclined to think the former was the trueſt length thereof, the latter being quite diſproportionate thereto; and hence we may be brought to conclude, that the city of Babylon was not immediately upon the great river Euphrates. Other arguments, this way tending, may be alledged; but, as it is a point of ſuch obſcurity, we wave them.

habitants, that he tranſported ſuch numbers of the captives from countries hither [s]; though that is what may be diſputed, ſeeing he therein only followed the conſtant practice of the kings of Aſſyria, who muſt have recurred thereto, as the moſt certain means of aſſuring their conqueſts either to themſelves or their poſterity.

THUS far, however, appears; this city was never near inhabited, and, with reſpect to the very meridian of its glory, may be compared with the flower of the field, which flouriſhes to-day, and to morrow is no more; for, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work, it never had the time to grow up to what Nebuchadnezzar viſibly intended to have made it; for Cyrus removing the ſeat of the empire ſoon after to Shuſhan, Babylon fell to decay, and never flouriſhed to the degree of any thing like what Nebuchadnezzar had certainly propoſed to himſelf. Thus far is allowed, no country could have been better able to ſupport ſo vaſt and populous a city as this was intended to have been, had it been the will of fate that it ſhould have been completed up to the firſt deſign (S). But neither did Ne-

[s] Vid. eund. ibid.

(S) This it is thought never to have been; for "when Alexander (31) came to Babylon, Curtius tells us, no more than "90 furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwiſe be "underſtood than of ſo much in length, and if we allow the "breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmoſt that "can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than 8100 ſquare "furlongs were then built upon, but the whole ſpace within the "walls contained 14400 ſquare furlongs, and therefore there "muſt have been 6300 ſquare furlongs that were unbuilt, which, "Curtius tells us, were plowed and ſown. And beſides this, the "houſes were not contiguous, but all built with a void ſpace, on "each ſide, between houſe and houſe. And the ſame hiſtorian "tells us this was done, becauſe this way of building ſeemed to "them ſafeſt. His words are, Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis "occupaverunt, per 90 ſtadia habitatur, nec omnia continua ſunt; "credo, quia tutius eſt pluribus locis ſpargi. i. e. Neither was "the whole city built upon; for the ſpace of 90 furlongs it was "inhabited, but the houſes were not contiguous, becauſe they "thought it ſafeſt to be diſperſed in many places diſtant from "each other. Which words [they thought it ſafeſt] are to be "underſtood, not as if they did this for the better ſecuring their "houſes from fire, as ſome interpret them, but chiefly for the "bet-

(31) Vid. eund. ibid.

Nebuchadnezzar live long enough, or the empire itſelf ſubſiſt a time ſufficient to bring this to paſs.

THE

" better preſerving of health ; for hereby, in cities ſituated in ſuch " hot countries, thoſe ſuffocations and other inconveniences are " avoided, which muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch as there dwell in " houſes cloſely built together. For which reaſon Delhi, the " capital of India, and ſeveral other cities in thoſe warmer parts " of the world, are thus built ; the uſage in thoſe places being, " that ſuch a ſtated ſpace of ground be left void between every " houſe and houſe that is built in them ; and old Rome was built " after the ſame manner. So that, putting all this together, it " will appear, that Babylon was ſo large a city in ſcheme ra- " ther than reality : for, according to this account, it muſt be by " much the larger part that was never built, and therefore, in " this reſpect, it muſt give place to Niniveh, which was as ma- " ny furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void " ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its in- " fants, at the ſame time, which could not diſcern between their " right hand and their left, which the ſcripture tells us, were " 120,000 in the time of Jonah, doth ſufficiently prove it was " fully inhabited."

Upon this we have to remark, that nothing can be concluded from what is cited by Curtius, at a time when the city muſt have ſuffered a very great decay, and when the houſes and private buildings in particular muſt have been deſerted and gone to ruin, and leveled with the ground, the ground that became void, a- mounting to a conſiderable ſpace, may have been converted to the uſe of tillage and paſture. For when Alexander came to Babylon, it muſt have been little better than the ſkeleton of the old city ; ſo that let what Curtius reports concerning it be ever ſo true, it proves no more, than that ſuch was the ſtate of Babylon when Alexander came there, not what it had been, and doubtleſs was, when the ſeat of the Babylonian, or latter Aſſyrian, empire. Again, as to what is alledged in the citation above, to confirm what is aſſerted by Curtius, as to the diſtance left between houſe and houſe, and the example produced in Delhi, and other cities in hot countries, which are built in that ſtraggling manner, it may be needleſs to animadvert thereon, when at the ſame time it is granted, that in the length or breadth of 15 miles there was no more than 25 ſtreets, or 26, including the two half ſtreets, or rows, at the ends and at the ſides. A city built in this propor- tion muſt have been full airy enough, and by the proportions it muſt appear, that there were ſuch void ſpaces behind all the houſes, as muſt have anſwered all the purpoſes of preventing ſuf- focations, and other inconveniencies the inhabitants may have been in

Temple of Belus.

THE next work in Babylon, attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, is the temple of Belus [t]. This temple or tower, as

[t] Beros, ubi sup.

in danger of. And besides, if Delhi and other cities in the east are built in the extensive and incoherent manner above suggested; other cities there are, in climates to the full as warm, and under much better regulation, which are not only built without this discontinuity, but as close as possible, and with streets so narrow, that there would not be much more than room for one of our coaches to pass through them; as Canton in China (32), and other cities in the same country, and others.

Lastly, it is almost certain, that Niniveh was never so big as Babylon, notwithstanding what is inferred from the 120,000 souls there, who could not distinguish their right hand from their left; which, as we have suggested formerly (33), may be as justly understood of a religious blindness, as a natural incapacity; and is a figurative expression, which may be very aptly used on the occasion, when Jonah was to open their eyes, that they might see the dangers their sins were like to bring upon them. Niniveh was in the time of Jonah in its infancy (34); there was as yet no king of Assyria, distinguished as such (35), and therefore to suppose that city, in the days of Jonah, to have been more considerable than Babylon was, at the height of her meridian, is a little out of the way. Nor will it be much more just to imagine it to have exceeded this city, even when it was at the greatest; for it is plain, by the history of all the Assyrian kings at Niniveh, that they never established a settled dominion over the parts of their empire, as it is called, but were for ever diverted by foreign wars; so that they lived rather upon the spoil, from time to time, as they made their incursions upon this kingdom or that, than upon any regular or continued revenue or tribute from the several people they over-ran, who never rested quietly, for any space of time, under their yoke. Esar-hadon was the most powerful of them all, and extended his dominion even over Egypt, which none of his predecessors ever did, and was in a fair way of effecting the monarchy his fore-fathers had in vain aspired at; but he dying soon after he had thus established himself, and being, as it seems, succeeded by a prince of no active genius, the empire mouldered away by degrees till it became no more. Nebuchadnezzar, of all the Assyrian race, seems to have raised the family to the utmost it ever was. His great successes, and the length of his reign, in comparison of what was enjoyed by any As-

(32) See the Dutch Embassy. (33) See before in the notes, p. 263. (34) Ibid. (35) Ibid.

as to its form and dimensions, we have sufficiently described already [u], where we have also declared our thoughts concerning the first foundation and completion of it [w]; but some particulars we must, however, add, to give a more distinct idea of what it was. The ascent to it was by steps on the outside, by the slope lines which formed the eight retractions or benchings in, which shaped it, as it were, into eight distinct towers, as may be observed in the representation we have copied of it. What the uppermost of these towers was set apart for, we have seen already; but on the top of this there was, it seems, an observatory [x], by the means of which the Babylonians are pretended to have advanced themselves to their great pretended knowledge in the sidereal sciences. Till the times of Nebuchadnezzar, it is thought this tower was all the temple of Belus, but as he did by the other antient buildings of the city [y], so he did by this [z], making great additions thereto, by vast edifices erected round it [a], in a square of two furlongs on every side, and just a mile in circumference, which exceeded the square at the temple of Jerusalem by 1800 foot [b]. On the outside of these buildings was a wall, which inclosed the whole, and, in consideration of the regularity wherewith this city was to all appearance marked out, it is supposed [c], that this wall was equal to the square of the city wherein it stood, and is so concluded to have been two miles and an half in circumference. In this wall were several gates leading into the temple, and all of solid brass [d], which, it is thought [e], may have been made out of the brazen sea, and brazen pillars, and other vessels and ornaments of the kind which Nebuchadnezzar had transf-

[u] See vol. i. in the notes, p. 416,& seq. [w] Ibid. [x] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 98. [y] Beros. apud Joseph. ubi sup. [z] Idem apud eund. ibid. [a] Herodot. ubi sup. [b] Vid. Prid. Connect. vol. i. part 1. l. 2. p. 100. in 8vo. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Herodot. ubi sup. [e] Vid. Prid. ubi sup.

Assyrian king before him, may abundantly convince us, that he raised Babylon to a pitch of magnificence and grandeur, which had never been seen at Niniveh; and if thereto we add his passion to aggrandise and imbellish this city, which plainly eclipsed her sister in Assyria, we cannot so much as doubt of it; though, after all, we are very ready to think, Babylon never was so very enormous as represented.

transported from Jerusalem; for in this temple he is said to have dedicated his spoils brought from that of Jerusalem [f].

In this temple were several images or idols of massy gold, and one of them, as we have seen [g], 40 foot in height, the same, as supposed [h], with that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura [i]. This last is said to have been 60 cubits, or 90 foot high, which, though it vastly exceeds the dimensions of the former of 40, yet this last is thought to have been so extraordinary for size, that it has been attempted to reconcile them into one [k], by supposing, that in the 90 foot the height of the pedestal is concluded, and that the 40 foot are for the height of the statue without the pedestal (T); and being said to have weighed 1000 talents of Babylon [l], it is thence

[f] Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. [g] See before, p. 241. [h] Vid. Prid. ubi sup. [i] See before, p. 400. [k] Vid. Prid. ubi sup. [l] See before, ubi sup. 241.

(T) With the pedestal or without, this golden colossus must be allowed to be a wonder, and especially if it was all of gold. We will forbear to talk of the proportions of this statue, as a late learned author (36) has done; they may have been just, for ought we know, though that is what we are apt to suspect; as well as that Diodorus, by the statue he mentions (37), means that which Nebuchadnezzar raised in the plain of Dura. It shall suffice, that we take notice, that the same late learned author (38) imagines this statue, vast as it was, weighed but 1000 talents of Babylon, and consequently, that, according to the value of the Babylonish talent in Pollux's Onomasticon, it amounted to three millions and a half of our money. The golden statue in Diodorus is placed in the temple of Belus (39), where Herodotus has also seemingly two golden statues of solid gold, the one, which he represents as large, of Jupiter or Belus (40), in a sitting posture, on a throne of gold, and with a table of the same metal before it, the whole together weighing 800 talents of Babylon; and another of 12 cubits high, all of solid gold, which if it weighed so much as 800 talents, must have been much larger than the former; which, with its throne and all its furniture, weighed no

(36) See Prid. ubi sup. p. 101. (37) See before, p. 241. (38) Prid. ubi sup. (39) See before, ubi sup. (40) See before, p. 324.

thence computed, that it is worth three millions and an half of our money [m]. In a word, the whole weight of the ſtatues and decorations in Diodorus Siculus amounting to 5000 and odd talents in gold, the whole is eſtimated at above [n] one and twenty millions of our money; and a ſum about equal to the ſame in treaſure, utenſils, and ornaments, not mentioned [o], is allowed for; which we leave to the reader, with this one obſervation, that our author ſuppoſes this immenſe treaſure to have been about 2000 years in collecting, and that, as he is moſt apparently miſtaken in that, he may as likely be out in his computation, which, if it was curtailed conſiderably, might have been, together with other plunder of the ſort, a ſufficient indemnity to Xerxes for his Grecian expedition.

[m] Vid. Prid. ubi ſup. p. 101. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid.

no more; and that to Herodotus (41) ſeems ſo much, that he cautiouſly reports it on the credit of the Chaldæans themſelves. Whatever was the difference in weight between theſe two ſtatues, it may thence appear, that Diodorus, in allowing but 1000 talents for his ſtatue of forty foot high, is egregiouſly miſtaken, and conſequently, that our author (42) was a little inattentive to this ſeeming abſurdity, except he concluded his ſtatue to have been hollow, or plated over with a thick ſheet of gold; that indeed might alter the caſe, and he would have done well to have made this diſtinction; but he plainly concludes it to have been of maſſy gold (43).

We formerly declared (44), we were not ſure, that Herodotus, by the height he gives of the one and the weight of the other, does not mean the ſame ſtatue; our reaſon for this, among others, is his omitting to name whom the laſt ſtatue repreſented, which being ſo remarkable a piece of furniture in this Babylonian temple, we wonder how ſo exact a writer ſhould have been guilty of the omiſſion; and this inclines us to think they were both Jupiters, and conſequently the ſame god, and perhaps the ſame image. If ſo, he may have thought it needleſs to repeat the name, which would have been quite neceſſary if they had been diſtinct deities; but as we formerly made it a doubt (45), ſo now we are far from pretending to decide the matter.

(41) l. 1. c. 183. (42) Prid. ubi ſup. (43) Ibid. p. 100.
(44) See before, p. 324. (45) Ibid.

The two palaces.

NEXT to this temple [p], on the ſame eaſt ſide of the river, ſtood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, being four miles in circumference. Exactly oppoſite to it, on the other ſide of the river [q], was the new palace built by Nebuchadnezzar; it was eight miles in circumference, and conſequently four times as big as the old one. Both theſe palaces we have already deſcribed according to ſuch accounts as we have remaining of them [r], but muſt add, that as vaſt as this palace muſt have been, it was the work of no more than 15 days [f].

The hanging gardens.

BUT nothing in the city of Babylon has obtained a greater degree of admiration, than what we call the penſile or hanging-gardens, built by Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify his wife Amyite [t], who was a Mede [u], and deſirous to have ſomething of a proſpect that might look like her own country, which was as woody and mountainous as Babylonia was otherwiſe. They are ſaid to have contained a ſquare of four plethra [w] on each ſide, and deſcribed to have conſiſted of terraſſes one above another, and carried up to the height of the wall of the city, the aſcent from terraſs to terraſs being by ſteps ten foot wide. The whole pile conſiſted of ſubſtantial arches upon arches, and was ſtrengthened by a wall ſurrounding it on every ſide of 22 foot thick, and the floors on each of them were laid in this order: Firſt, on the tops of the arches was laid a bed or pavement of ſtones, 16 foot long and four foot broad; over this was a layer of bitumen, and over this two courſes of brick, cloſely cemented together with plaſter; and over all theſe were thick ſheets of lead, and on theſe the earth or mould of the garden. This ſtorage was deſigned to retain the moiſture of the mould. which was ſo deep as to give root to the greateſt trees which were planted upon every terraſs, together with great variety of other vegetables pleaſing to the eye. Upon the uppermoſt of theſe terraſſes was a reſervoir, ſupplied by a certain engine with water from the river, from whence the gardens on the other terraſſes were ſupplied.

THE

[p] Strab. l. 16. p. 731. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſup. Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. [r] See before, p 240. [f] Beros. apud Joſeph. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] See before, p. 294. [w] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſup. p. 70.

THE other works attributed to Nebuchadnezzar by Beroſus [x] and Megaſthenes, or Abydenus [y], were the banks of the river, the artificial canals, and the great artificial lake, ſaid to have been ſunk by Semiramis [z]. The chief of theſe canals was the Naharmalcha, or Baſilicos Potamos of the Greeks [a]; the lake was to abate the inundations of the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, juſt as the lake Mœris in Egypt was deſigned to correct the irregularities of the Nile [b]; their uſes were exactly alike, viz. to fecundate the country in times of drought, and to reſcue it from the dangers of inundation [c]. This lake, however, if we are to credit our hiſtorians, was vaſtly more in circumference than that in Egypt, it being on the one hand [d] ſaid to have been 210 miles in circuit, and on the other [e], which is much leſs, 160, either of which gave it a ſquare, for that was the form of it, far exceeding that of the Egyptian lake, which has been thought a work too ſtupendous to have been effected by the labour of men; but indeed what this wanted in length and breadth, it ſeems to have more than made good in depth, which was in ſome places no leſs than 50 fathom [f], whereas the depth of this Babylonian lake is given but at 35 foot [g], or 75 at the utmoſt [h]; a difference which is attempted to be reconciled by a ſuppoſition, that the one meaſures only the ſurface of the ſides, while the other includes the banks thrown up upon them [i].

The banks, artificial canals, and lake.

THIS lake is ſaid to have been dug to receive the river, which was diverted while Nebuchadnezzar built the banks to each ſide of the city of Babylon [k], and to have been to the weſtward of that place. Theſe banks were built for the ſecurity, convenience, and decoration of the city particularly, and were made all of brick and bitumen [l], and extended on each ſide throughout the whole length of the city [m], and even farther according to ſome [n], who

[x] Apud Joſeph. ubi ſup. [y] Apud Euſeb. præp. evang. ubi ſup. [z] See before, p. 240. [a] See vol. i. p. 191. [b] Ibid. p. 195. [c] See Prid. ubi ſup. p. 103. & vol. i. p. 531. [d] Herodot. ubi ſupr. c. 185. [e] Megaſt. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupr. [f] See vol. i. p. 531. [g] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [h] Megaſt. ubi ſupr. [i] Vid. Prid. ubi ſupr. p. 104. [k] Vid. Abyden. ubi ſupr. Herodot. ubi ſupr. Diod. ubi ſupr. [l] Abyden. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupr. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [n] Beros. ubi ſupr.

reckon they extended 160 furlongs, or 20 miles; whence it is concluded °, they muſt have begun two miles and a half above the city, and have been continued an equal diſtance below it, the length of the city being no more than 15 miles. Theſe banks were built from the bottom, and were rather walls of the ſame thickneſs with thoſe that ſurrounded the city; and oppoſite to each ſtreet on each ſide he had a brazen gate in the ſaid wall [p], with ſtairs leading down from it to the river; theſe gates were open by day, and ſhut by night. Beroſus, Megaſthenes, and Abydenus, attribute all theſe works to Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus tells us, the bridge, the banks, and the lake, were the work of a queen after him, called Nitocris, who may have finiſhed what Nebuchadnezzar left imperfect, and thence have had the honour this hiſtorian gives her of the whole [q]. If theſe works fell even much ſhort of what we have here ſeen them to have been, it muſt be granted, we have not ſaid too much of the Babylonians where we have repreſented them to have been ingenious, induſtrious, and laborious [r], and if Nebuchadnezzar did but attempt them, it muſt be allowed, that he deſerves the firſt place among thoſe who have endeavoured to ſignalize themſelves by ſuch ſtupendous monuments of art and labour; but if he did really conduct them towards a ſtate of perfection, nothing can be ſaid too much of him conſidered in this view.

WE have now ſeen this firſt Babylonian monarch, properly ſo called, in all his majeſty, both at home and abroad; what we have remaining to ſay of him will be of a different nature: for we ſhall ſee him under great trouble and anxiety of mind, and even, as the text is commonly underſtood, degraded beneath the meaneſt of the race of mankind, and ſeemingly exhibited as an example of terror to princes, who, ſwoln with vanity, and drunk with power, would arrogate to themſelves what they ought not.

Year of the Flood, 2429. Year before Chriſt 570.

HE had ſcarce returned from his late war of 16 or 17 years continuance, and fluſhed with the conqueſt of Egypt, Ethiopia,

° Vid. Prid. ubi ſupr. [p] Compare Beros. ubi ſupr. with Herodot. ubi ſupr. [q] Vid. Prid. ubi ſupr. p. 105. [r] See before, p. 357.

THE CITY OF BABYLON

Ethiopia, and Lybia, and the reduction of all Syria, but, repoſing himſelf in his palace, he had a dream, which may be beſt delivered in his own words [s]; "I ſaw, and be- Nebuchad-
"hold, a tree in the midſt of the earth, and the height nezzar's
"thereof was great. The tree grew and was ſtrong, and dream of the
"the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the ſight tree.
"thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof
"were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was
"meat for all: The beaſts of the field had ſhadow under
"it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs
"thereof, and all fleſh was fed of it. I ſaw in the viſions
"of my head upon my bed, and behold, a watcher and an holy
"One came down from heaven. He cried aloud, and ſaid
"thus, Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, ſhake
"off his leaves, and ſcatter his fruit; let the beaſts get
"away from under him, and the fowls from his branches.
"Nevertheleſs leave the ſtump of his roots in the earth,
"even with a band of iron and braſs, in the tender
"graſs of the field, and let it be wet with the dew of
"heaven, and let his portion be with the beaſts in the
"graſs of the earth. Let his heart be changed from man's,
"and let a beaſt's heart be given unto him, and let ſeven
"times paſs over him. This matter is by the decree of
"the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy
"ones: to the intent, that the living may know, that
"the moſt High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth
"it to whomſoever he will, and ſetteth up over it the
"baſeſt of men [t]."

HAVING declared this to have been his dream to his wife The inter-
men, aſtrologers, Chaldæans, and the like, and all to no pretation of
purpoſe, he at length revealed it to Daniel, or Belteſhaz- it.
zar [u], which, how he ſhould have neglected to do at firſt, after the proofs he had had of his ſuperiority and the omnipotence of his God, may be hard to account for, if we do not ſuppoſe him to have laboured under ſome ſort of diſtraction. To wave this, he is repreſented as revealing his dream to Daniel, in words to the effect above; and Daniel no ſooner heard it, than he *was aſtoniſhed for one hour, and his thoughts troubled him* [w]. At length, after he had recovered

[s] Dan. iv. [t] Dan. iv. [u] Ibid. ver. 9. [w] Ibid. ver. 19.

vered himſelf, and deprecated the evil omen, and excuſed himſelf to the king, who was very ſollicitous with him to tell him the truth without fear or diſguiſe, he told him, the tree he ſaw was meant of himſelf; that by the order of the watcher and the holy One concerning the tree it was ſignified, that he ſhould be driven out from the ſociety of men, and become as a beaſt, and that, in fine, he ſhould ſo continue to be, till he had been brought to a due ſenſe of the ſupremacy and omnipotence of God; that the ſtump of the tree which was to be left ſignified, that the kingdom ſhould nevertheleſs revert to him once more [x]. Such was Daniel's interpretation, which he cloſed with an exhortation to him to abſtain from ſin, and to ſhew mercy to the poor, that ſo he might procure to himſelf a prolongation of peace and tranquillity [y].

THIS extraordinary ſentence thus pronounced on him, and by the lips of a man whom he muſt entirely have relied on, ſeems to have made no laſting impreſſion upon him; for not being immediately executed upon him, he might have worn off the terrors of it, before the time was quite come. So that about twelve months afterwards, as he was walking in his palace, or, as ſome think [z] the fact may have been, on the uppermoſt of the terraſſes of his hanging-garden, and contemplating the glories of the city he had adorned; unable to contain the pride of his heart, he cried out, "Is "not this great Babylon, that I have built for the houſe of "the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the "honour of my majeſty [a]?" He had no ſooner vented himſelf in this inſolent manner, than there fell a voice from heaven, ſaying, "O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is "ſpoken, The kingdom is departed from thee [b]." And ſtraight he was driven from the ſociety of men, and dwelt with the beaſts of the field, and he ate graſs as an ox, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws [c]. Thus runs the letter of the text, which is ſometimes taken in all the ſtrictneſs of it; it being ſuppoſed, that loſing his ſenſes, he wandered about in the fields, and there

His pride and metamorphoſis.

[x] Ibid. ver. 26. [y] Ibid. ver. 27. [z] Prid. ubi ſupr. p. 105. [a] Dan. ubi ſupr. ver. 30. [b] Ibid. ver. 31. [c] Ibid. ver. 33.

there took up his abode with the cattle, till ſeven times, or ſeven years, had paſſed over his head [d]; but concerning this metamorphoſis, and the duration (U) of it, there is a great variety of opinion.

During

[d] See Prid ubi ſupr.

(U) Concerning the nature and degree of this change, "Origen "(46) believed the thing to be impoſſible, and turned it into alle- "gory. Bodin (47) thought he was really changed into a bull, "and that he loſt even the ſoul of a man; while others (48) "maintain, he was changed as to the body only, retaining his rea- "ſon as Apuleius did while an aſs, and like the Italians, men- "tioned by St. Auſtin (49), who having taſted of cheeſe, pre- "ſented to them by certain magicians of the country, were im- "diately turned into beaſts of burthen, but at laſt recovered their "firſt form and condition of life. Some Rabbins have pretended, "that the ſoul of Nebuchadnezzar deſerted his body, and, "for a time, gave place to the ſoul of an ox, which degraded "him into all the inclinations and ſenſations of that animal; while "others (50) admit no more to have been the caſe than a vitiated "imagination in the prince, and a kind of faſcination in the eyes "of his ſubjects, which made them fancy, as well as himſelf, "that he was for certain become an ox, though there was no "ſuch thing. The moſt received opinion is, that, by the power "of God, Nebuchadnezzar fell into a black melancholy, and, "under this oppreſſion of mind, fancied himſelf an ox; as in a "lycanthropy a man perſuades himſelf he is a wolf, a dog, a cat; "a change which exiſts no where but in the diſtempered brain, "nor to be diſcovered but by his motions and behaviour, which "tend to the imitation of a wolf in his rapacity, howling, and "deſire to range the country, and fly from men. That after "ſome ſuch manner it muſt have been, that this king became an "ox, and was agitated by all the affections and deſires of one.

"That

(46) Apud Hieron. in Dan. iv. (47) Dæmonol. l. 2. c. 6. (48) Maldon. in Dan. ubi ſup. & Tertull. de Pœnit. c. 12, 13. (49) De Civit. Dei. l. 18. c. 18. (50) Medin. de rect. in Deum fide, c. 7. Vier. de præſtig. Demon. l. 1. c. 24.

His death. DURING this his disorder, it is said, his son Evil-merodach administered the government for him [e], and that he did it so ill, as to draw his father's most heavy displeasure on him, when he came to understand what he had done; for when his seven years were expired, he threw him into the prison where Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah, had lain 37 years. Having thus satisfied his injured subjects by this exemplary justice on his son, and given the honour and praise due to God, and acknowledged him to be above all, and all this by a public decree, he continued in the possession of his kingdom about a twelve-month afterwards, and then departed this life, after a reign of 43 years.

Year of the Flood, 2437. Year before Christ, 562

THE circumstances of his death are omitted in scripture, but may be fabulously supplied from those [f] who tell us, that, after all the great things they report him to have done, he ascended to the top of his palace, and that, being there suddenly seized by a spirit from heaven, he prophesied to this effect

[e] Hieron. in Esai. xiv. 19. [f] Megasth. ex Abyd. apud Euseb. præp. evang. l. 9. c. 41. p. 456.

" That his people, astonished at such an alteration (51), bound " him as a madman, but that, escaping from them, he fled into " the fields, and lived after the manner of an ox."

Our Author (52), whence we have extracted this, thinks nothing more than this last supposition is required to account for what in scripture is said of this extraordinary event; that there was nothing miraculous in it, except the prophets prediction of its approach and duration.

As there are doubts about the manner of this accident, so there are varieties as to the continuance of it. " Some with Theodoret " (53), maintain, that, as the Persians divided their year into two " seasons, winter and summer, the seven years of Nebuchadnezzar " must

(51) Hieron. Theodoret. Maldon. Peireri. Cornel. Sanct. in Dan. Vales. de Sacr. Philosoph. c. 80. Bartholin, de Morb. Bib. &c.

(52) Calmet. Dict. of the Bible, Art. Nebuchadnez. III.

(53) Ubi sup.

effect, and in these words; "Behold, O Babylonians, I foretel you a calamity at hand, which nor the fates, nor our forefather Belus, nor our queen Beltis, may possibly avert. A Persian mule shall come, and by the assistance of your own gods shall load your necks with a most galling yoke; and this destruction shall befal you by the means of a Mede, in whom the Assyrians were wont greatly to glory themselves. O would that he, ere thus he betrays my people, were swallowed up by some whirlpool, or overwhelmed in the depths of the sea; or that hurried away into some lonely desart he might there remain a wanderer, never to behold again the footsteps of mankind, and never to see ought but birds and beasts of prey. O grant unto me, before he is agitated by this rage of mind, to share a happier end;" thus saying, he was suddenly snatched from the sight of men; the same exit Semiramis is said to have made [g]. His prophecy.

[g] See before, p. 249.

HE

"must be reduced to three and a half. Dorotheus (54) and the "spurious Epiphanius (55) affirm, that God had actually condemned him to a seven years punishment, but was prevailed on "by Daniel to shorten it into seven months: the pseudo-Epiphanius "adding, that as Daniel ceased not to foretel the restoration of "king, and the great men continually disbelieved him, and derided what he said, he obtained of God that his time might be "shortened for the sake of convincing them. Others maintain, "he was changed but for 21 months, explaining these words of the "Daniel, *Donec septem tempora mutentur super eum*, as intended "for seven times the space of three months; tempus, according to "them, being a quarter of a year. Peter Comestor allows but "seven months, which he proportions out in this manner; For "the first 40 days he allows him to have been in a phrenzy, or "mad; the 40 days following he bewailed his offences; and "the next 40 days, he gradually recovered from his infirmity. "But that nevertheless, in compliance with what he had been exhorted

(54) In Synop. (55) De vit. & Mort. Prophet.

Year of the Flood, 2437. Year before Chriſt, 562.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Evil-merodach [h], Ilvoradam [i], Ebidan-merodach [k], Evil-maluruch [l], and, as is moſt likely, Belſhazzar. That he was this ſeemingly laſt king of Babylon, according to Daniel, we ſhall endeavour to make out before we cloſe up his reign. In the mean time, we muſt look back to what he ſeems to have done while regent for his father, when under diſtraction of mind, which, among other falſe ſteps he may have committed, may particularly have drawn on him his father's moſt heavy diſpleaſure, and which, if ſtrictly true, muſt have laid the foundation of that animoſity in the Medes and Perſians, which hurried on the diſſolution of the Babylonian empire. While his father was deprived of his ſenſes, this prince his ſon, who was upon the point of marrying the Nitocris [m] ſo celebrated by Herodotus, took it into his head to divert himſelf with a hunting-match, upon the borders of Media, where he underſtood there was great plenty of game by reaſon of the pacific ſtate the Aſſyrians and Medes had been in for ſome years. He went attended by a ſmall force, light armed, conſiſting both of horſe and foot, and ſeemingly equipt for the chaſe only. Being arrived on the frontiers, he halted near ſome gariſon'd places, where he ſtaid all night, intending to enter upon his diverſion the next morning: But it happening, that certain troops appeared for the the relief of thoſe in gariſon in theſe parts, he took a fancy that theſe men, added to thoſe he had brought with him, might form ſuch a body as might be able to make ſome notable impreſſion upon the Medes, which he judged would redound more to his

[h] Jerem. lii. 31. [i] See before in the canon, p. 361. [k] Ibid. in the eccleſiaſtical account. [l] Megaſth. ubi ſupr. [m] Vid. Uſſer. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. 3421.

" horted by Daniel, he remained ſeven years in the exerciſe of " repentance, abſtaining from ought but herbs and pulſe, to atone " for his pride and folly." But our author (56) concludes, with the bulk of commentators, that we need no interpreter but Daniel himſelf, who plainly means whole years.

(56) Calmet. ubi ſup.

his honour, than the diverſion he at firſt propoſed. He obeyed this irregular impulſe, and the next morning, by by break of day he moved towards the neareſt places that belonged to the Medes, leaving his foot behind him to guard his own frontiers, while he proceeded with the horſe. Being advanced as far as he thought convenient, he made halt,-and encamped with the beſt of his troops about him, that ſo he might the better keep the gariſons of the Medes in awe, and prevent their ſallies; the reſt he ſent out in detached parties to pillage the country. The king of the Medes, underſtanding the violences Evil-merodach, the ſon of the Aſſyrian, was committing in his country, marched towards him with ſuch troops as he had uſually attending him, and ſuch as his ſon could raiſe upon ſo ſudden an emergency; but on his march he was joined by others who came in to his aſſiſtance, and among theſe was Cyrus, now about 16 years of age, and who now firſt ſignalized himſelf in battle. The parties Evil-merodach had ſent out were firſt attacked by the Medes, who, at length falling upon his main body, routed and purſued him with a great ſlaughter, quite home to his own borders [n]. Such was the event of this raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, enterpriſe *(W)*; and this action may not only have exaſperated his father in a particular manner againſt him, but may alſo have been the firſt cauſe of that enmity of the Medes and Perſians, which ended in the ruin of Babylon, as we have already obſerved. And this ſpirit thus rouſed in the Medes may have been ſo dreaded, and the conſequences of it ſo naturally foreſeen by his father, the great Nebuchadnezzar, as to have cauſed him to impriſon this his ſon, and to utter the predictive exclamation we have ſeen above.

THIS prince, who, if this action be founded upon truth, was juſtly called, as his name is interpreted, Fooliſh Merodach, Evil-merodach.

[n] Xenoph. Κυρε Παιδεία.

(W) If it was really Nitocris this prince was now about to marry, and if ſhe was really a Mede, as is moſt generally underſtood, it is impoſſible to account for theſe his hoſtilities upon that nation, and eſpecially at the time our author here ſeems to mean; but this is what may be conſidered hereafter.

rodach, having adminiſtered very ill during his father's diſorder, was thrown into priſon upon his recovery: And in this confinement he contracted ſuch a kindneſs for the captive king of Judah, that, ſucceding to the throne upon the death of his father, he took Jehoiachin out of priſon, and entertained him like a king ever afterwards *. Far-
Year of the Flood, 2439. Year before Chriſt, 560.
ther concerning him is uncertain, except that, indulging himſelf in ſloth and wickedneſs, he became intolerable to his ſubjects, and that, after a ſhort reign, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſiſter's huſband Nerigliſſar; who that he was a Mede, and particularly Darius the Mede, we ſhall endeavour to make out in his reign; and if ſo, his murder of Evil-merodach his brother-in-law may be accounted for by the averſion he may have contracted in common with his countrymen againſt this unwiſe prince, who had ſo behaved to them as we have ſeen.

Evil-merodach moſt likely to have been Belſhazzar.

WHAT we have material to add concerning this king is, that, by all circumſtances, he is more likely to have been the Belſhazzar of Daniel, than any other king in Ptolemy's canon. This we gather from the concurrence of ſcripture with profane hiſtory. Beroſus [o] repreſents Evil-merodach as a lewd and wicked prince; Belſhazzar is in ſcripture [p] repreſented as the ſame. Beroſus [q] relates, that Evil-merodach was killed at a banquet by ſome of his lords; the ſcripture [r] ſays Belſhazzar was murdered at a great feaſt he gave to a 1000 of his lords, but mentions not by whom. They both ſay he was the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar, by the name of Evil-merodach [s], and ſcripture ſays the ſame of Belſhazzar, which is not ſaid of any other of the Babyloniſh kings. If to this it ſhould be objected, that both Evil-merodach and Belſhazzar are mentioned in ſcripture [t], as ſons of Nebuchadnezzar, and that therefore they cannot be the ſame perſon; we anſwer that they are not mentioned anywhere in ſcripture, either together, or in a courſe of ſucceſſion, but in different books, and not at all in reference to each other. That in ſcripture it is not unuſual to call the ſame prince by different names in different places. Thus Nebuchadnezzar himſelf is in ſome places, and particularly

* 2 Kings xx. 27. Jerem. lii. 31. Joſephus, &c. [o] Ubi ſupr. [p] Dan. v. [q] Ubi ſupr. [r] Ubi ſupr. [s] Jerem. lii. 31. [t] Ibid. & Dan. ubi ſupr.

ly in the Prophets, called Nebuchadrezzar. Thus the king, who in one place is called Ahaſuerus [u], is in another called Artaxerxes [w]: and in one and the ſame chapter [x] is Eſarhaddon, the great Aſſyrian, called Aſnappar; and this authority is ſo much the more valid, as it occurs in a part of ſcripture indiſputably genuine. If again it be objected, that in ſcripture mention is made of the third year of Belſhazzar's reign [y], whereas Evil-merodach is allowed on all hands to have reigned but two years [z]; we anſwer again, that parts of years are never reckoned as whole years by chronologers; ſo that though he was in the beginning of his third year, they reckoned but two to his reign; an inſtance of which we have in Ptolemy's canon, where Laboroſoarchod, the ſucceſſor of Nerigliſſar, is left out, becauſe he did not reign a complete year, though he reigned nine months of a year. This ſhall ſuffice for this ſubject for the preſent; we may reſume it hereafter ſtill farther to the reader's ſatisfaction.

Neriglissar. Year of the Flood, 3439. Year before Chriſt, 560.

NERIGLISSAR, Nirigliſſoroor, Niricaſſolaſſurus [a], or, as we think, Darius the Mede, who is repreſented as the chief of the conſpirators againſt Evil-merodach [b], uſurped the throne. Of him it is ſeemingly recorded, for he is not mentioned by name, that, dreading the Medes who began to threaten Babylon, he endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf by foreign alliances. The ſtory, as it is told [c], repreſents this king as a great conqueror, and one who had made himſelf maſter of all Syria, Hyrcania, and Arabia, and to have been buſied in a war with the Bactrians, when Aſtyages the Mede departed this life, and thereby to have given a violent alarm to the Medes and the Perſians, who began to fear it would be their turn next. This king then concluding, that if he could but reduce the Medes, the reſt would bow to him of courſe, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Crœſus king of Lydia, to Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, Paphlagonia, the Indies, and Cilicia, to inſtil jealouſies into the ſeveral princes of theſe countries, and to ſtir them up againſt the Medes and Perſians, as if they were about to make themſelves maſters of all, particularly

[u] Ezr. iv. 6. [w] Ibid. ver. 7. [x] Ibid. ver. 10. [y] Dan. viii. [z] See before in the canon, ubi ſupr. [a] See before, ibid. [b] Beros. ubi ſupr. [c] Κυρ. Παιδ. β.

ly insisting on the strict union between them by the mutual ties of marriage. The success of these several embassies was, that some yielded to his reasons, and others [d] to his present largesses and future promises. Now, by what our author here says of this king, and particularly of his conquests, one would be rather apt to imagine he meant Nabocolassar, or Nebuchadnezzar, than any king of Babylon that succeeded him, and particularly as he makes him contemporary with Astyages the Mede. As for the pretence of union between the Persians and the Medes, the same was as strongly cemented between the Babylonians and the Medes; for Nebuchadnezzar was married to a Mede [e], and it is very likely, that Neriglissar was a Mede, by his being husband to a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar's [f]. In short, the Medes and the Babylonians seem to have been as closely united by marriages as any other nations of the time.

But we must allow our author [g] to be a little inaccurate, and especially as it is made a doubt, whether it was a history he meant to write, or a romance. However, that it is built upon some sort of truth, may be gathered from what he is here supposed to write concerning our Neriglissar; for as an usurper it is but natural he should have made such strong and earnest applications to the nations round about, as he is said to have done; a method of procedure which can never be reconciled with a conqueror in the full stream of his good fortune, as this prince is by our author [h], at the same time, represented to have been. We must therefore tax him with a little inattentiveness to what he was writing. Neriglissar, though he may have been of the royal blood of the Medes, may have been dubious, whether or no they and the Persians would suffer him to sit in quiet possession of the Babylonian empire, and may have had sufficient reasons to dread they would not; and that in such case he should so bestir himself in his own defence is no wonder.

Let this have been as it will, it is apparently certain, that when this king seized on the sovereignty, the empire was in its decline, and in great danger from both the Medes and Persians, and it is not unlikely, but he may have actually stood in need of foreign aid. Thus when Nabuchadonosor

[d] Ibid. [e] See before, p. 416. [f] See before, p. 426. [g] Xenoph. [h] Idem ibid.

buchadonoſor was threatened with an invaſion by the Medes, he iſſued out his commands to all nations to come in to his aſſiſtance [i], a conduct Cteſias [k] has aſcribed to his Sardanapalus; and which may ſerve to illuſtrate what we advance concerning the diſtreſs Nerigliſſar muſt have been in upon his uſurpation; but he does not command as he did, he claims no obedience, but petitions rather, and begs and bribes for aid.

To have done with this obſcurity, the army, which ranged itſelf under the Babylonian ſtandard, is ſaid to have conſiſted of a mixed multitude as follows. Crœſus, king of Lydia, came with 10,000 horſe, and upwards of 40,000 light-armed foot; Artamas, king of the greater Phrygia, brought 40,000 foot, moſtly pike men, and 8000 horſe; Aribæus, king of Cappadocia, led with him 6000 horſe, and 30,000 foot, moſtly armed with miſſive weapons; Maragdas, the Arabian, conducted 10,000 horſe, 100 chariots, and a great number of ſlingers *. Theſe were the confederates of Nerigliſſar, and ſuch the quotas they reſpectively furniſhed; but we are not quite to depend upon the exactneſs of them, they being given as upon hear-ſay only, and in a converſation between Cyaxares and Cyrus. The confederate army under him.

As for Nerigliſſar himſelf, this potent Babylonian and fortunate conqueror, as our author has repreſented him, the numbers he himſelf brought into the field ſeem to be very ſhort, conſidering him in that view; for as much as he may have been a principal in this war, he headed no more than 20,000 horſe, 200 chariots, and foot proportionable [l]. Whether or no this confederate army received any farther addition, is not certain; but the Carians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and ſome others, ſeem to have receded from their firſt engagements. So that the caſe is pretty much alike between Chyniladan [m], the Aſſyrian, and this Babylonian, in regard of the many nations they called in, and the many that diſappointed them, and left them to their fate. The army of the Medes and the Perſians did not amount to above a third of that under the Babylonian king, till they were joined by a conſiderable re-inforcement under Tigranes the Armenian. In the midſt of theſe great and induſtrious preparations for war, ambaſſadors arrived from India to inquire into the grounds and cauſes of it, with

[i] See before, p. 284. [k] Ibid. p. 257. * Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi ſupr. [l] Ibid. [m] See before, p. 284.

with an offer of mediation, if it might be accepted, and with a threat, in case it was rejected, of joining with those who should appear to have the most justice on their side [n].

War between him and the Medes and Persians.

How this embassy concluded is uncertain, but the war begins very much to the disadvantage of Nerigliſſar; for Cyrus subdued the Chaldeans in the mountainous country, from whence they were wont to make their inroads upon the country of Armenia [o]. These Chaldeans, as they are called, can have been no other than the proper Assyrians, who, for ought we know, may have been formerly so called; but the proper Chaldeans, and their mountains, were far away from any part of Armenia [p]. Whether or no our author is here guilty of an error in geography, we cannot positively say; but to us it seems that he is. These Chaldeans, however, according to our author's description, were the most valiant race of men in all these parts, and carried no other arms than a wicker-shield and two javelins, and entered willingly into foreign pay, as being naturally addicted to war, and very poor; but they were subdued by Cyrus, and obliged to make a peace with their next neighbours the Armenians, and, in a manner, to become the same people with them [q].

Chaldeans next to Armenia.

Battle between the Babylonians and the Medes.

THE two armies now appeared in sight of each other, and the Assyrians, or Babylonians, under Nerigliſſar, incamped and fortified themselves with strong retrenchments, while the Medes and the Persians covered themselves only with the villages and hills in the neighbourhood. In this posture they continued for some days, till at length the Assyrians, leaving their retrenchments, and drawing themselves up in battle-array, and being exhorted by Nerigliſſar to behave as became them in the approaching conflict, and particularly as their all was at stake; were attacked by the enemy, who shamefully routed them in the field, and pursued them with a prodigious slaughter close to their retrenchments, where those within did not dare to shoot an arrow against the insulting Medes and Persians, under the conduct of Cyrus; and no sooner understood, that he intended to force their camp, than they betook them to the most precipitate flight, and left their wives and children to lament their loss, in the most woeful and sensible manner. This

[n] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi supr.
[o] Ibid.
[p] See before, p. 302.
[q] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi supr.

This when the confederate kings perceived, they haſtened, with the choiceſt of their men that were left them, to repulſe the Perſians, and they ſucceeded in their endeavours, and Cyrus retreated and encamped at ſome diſtance. But Nerigliſſar lived to ſee no more of the war now kindled. He was ſlain in battle, his ſubjects were in the utmoſt conſternation, and Crœſus and his allies, quite at a loſs, and amazed at the intrepidity of the enemy, reſolved to ſave themſelves as they could, and left their camp a prey to Cyrus and his Perſians [r].

Nerigliſſar ſlain.

SUCH was the unfortunate end of Nerigliſſar, who that he was Darius the Mede, appears by theſe arguments. If, as king of Babylon, he is in the canon of Ptolemy, Darius the Mede can have been no other than Nerigliſſar. Secondly, Darius the Mede is ſaid to have commenced king of Babylon at the age of 62 years; which, if we do not ſuppoſe him to have been ſlain by Cyrus as above, may be thought to ſuit better with Nerigliſſar's ſhort reign of four years, than Nabonad's longer reign of 17 years, which would make him 79 years old at his death; and, by the way, as Nabonad did not end his days with his reign, Darius the Mede muſt, in this caſe, have been ſtill much older, which is not very likely. Thirdly, Nerigliſſar is repreſented as a wiſe, a worthy, and a brave prince, which neither of his ſucceſſors were, and juſt ſuch an one does Darius the Mede ſeem to have been. Fourthly, Though Nerigliſſar is not ſaid to have been a Mede, yet he very probably may have been ſo, and nothing is ſaid to the contrary. He is allowed not to have been of the line of Babylon, though he married the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and ſiſter of Evil-merodach; and theſe marriages, as we have ſuggeſted above, may have been frequent between the two kings of the Medes and Babylonians, till Evil-merodach behaved ſo impoliticly as he is repreſented to have done, in breach of the faith and good intelligence between the two kingdoms. Fifthly, Nerigliſſar is on all hands allowed to have ſucceeded Evil-merodach, whom he ſlew, and ſo Darius the Mede is ſaid to have ſlain Belſhazzar, and to have aſſumed his kingdom. And though the ſcripture expreſſion in this caſe, does not always imply an immediate ſucceſſion, it may be fairly enough admitted in ſuch a ſenſe, in the circumſtance before us, till ſomething to deſtroy it be exhibited againſt it. Sixthly, That Ne-

Year of the Flood, 2443. Year before Chriſt, 556. Nerigliſſar moſt likely to have been Darius the Mede.

[r] Κυρ. Παιδ. ubi ſup.

rigliſſar was a Mede, may be gathered from the inveteracy he ſeems to have born againſt Evil-merodach, whom we take to have been Belſhazzar; and it may be very naturally accounted for, if what we have related from Xenophon has any truth in it. Seventhly, The ſcripture does not ſay, that Darius was king of the Medes, but only that he governed by their laws, which he may have introduced with the good liking of the Babylonians, who may thereby have had a limited monarch for an unlimited one. And laſtly, He may have been a Mede, and yet Cyrus may have made war upon him, and ſlain him in battle; for Cyrus, it is ſaid, made no ſcruple to dethrone even his own grandfather; whence Darius may not only have been a Mede, but may alſo have been very nearly related to Cyrus, and yet have periſhed in battle againſt him; for nothing is to ſtand in the way of thoſe who are fired by the waſteful ambition of conqueſt and univerſal monarchy. This is what we have thought neceſſary to ſay in this place.

Laboroſoarchod.

THIS laſt king was ſucceeded by his ſon Laboroſoarchod [s], Labaſſoaraſc ‡, or Chabaeſſoarach [t]: ſome ſuppoſe him to have been the ſame with Nabonadius, or Belſhazzar, and to have been the laſt king of Babylon. But they contradict an hiſtorical fact very explicitly related; whereby we underſtand, that he came very young to the throne, and that, betraying a moſt vicious and abominable turn of mind, he was murthered, as not even worthy to live, much leſs to reign, which he did no longer than nine months [u]; ſo that not having completed a year, it is thence he is omitted in the canon.

SOME of this king's evil doings are ſuppoſed * to have been recorded by Xenophon †, according to whom it may have been, that he committed ſuch cruelties on Gadatas and Gobryas, two great Babylonians, as provoked them to the ſhare they are ſaid to have had in the ſubverſion of this empire. The ſon of the former of theſe he is ſaid to have ſlain for no better reaſon than hitting a beaſt, at a hunting he had invited him to, which he himſelf had miſſed; and the latter he is ſaid to have caſtrated, only becauſe one of his concubines had commended him for an handſome perſonage §. By theſe moſt violent acts of tyranny it is ſuppoſed ‖, that he drove them, and the provinces they commanded,

[s] Beroſus ubi ſup. ‡ Abyden. ubi ſup. [t] Idem apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. [u] Idem ibid. * Prid. ubi ſup. p. 113. † Ubi ſup. § Ibid. ‖ Prid. ubi ſup.

manded, over to the enemy. Such is this king ſuppoſed to have been, though there are other ſeeming reaſons why he ſhould have been particularly odious in the eyes of ſome of the Babylonians, and particularly of his ſucceſſor and his aſſociates.

NABONADIUS, who had the chief hand in the murder of Laboroſoarchod, is ſaid to have been a Babylonian [w], ſo that what is ſaid above of the unworthineſs of his ſhort-lived predeceſſor, may have very little of truth or juſtice in it. His greateſt fault may have been, that he was the ſon of a ſtranger and an uſurper; and being perhaps a child, or little able to defend himſelf, he may eaſily have been deſtroyed, and reaſons may as eaſily have been given for the deed. Nor can we wonder greatly at this barbarity, in a man who was confeſſedly the ſon of Evil-merodach, and grandſon to the great Nebuchadnezzar; one, who muſt have thought himſelf injured by an excluſion from the throne, and that it was even a duty on him not to ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of retrieving the luſtre of his family. Nor muſt we forget, that he muſt alſo have been the ſon of the famed Nitocris, who is ſaid even to have outſhone Semiramis herſelf; and who, if the thing were ſo, could not have reſted in a private ſtate, while the ſon of an uſurper poſſeſſed the throne in prejudice of her ſon; and thus was it the ſcepter came again into the hands of a prince of the old Aſſyrian, or Babylonian, race of the male branch, which in him was to ceaſe from empire.

Nabonadius. Year of the Flood, 2444. Year before Chriſt, 555.

THIS king is alſo called Nabonduis [x], Labynetus, Labynitus [y], Nabannidochus [z], Naboandel [b], Belſhazzar, and Darius the Mede [b], and by other names, and rather ſtruggled for the empire than poſſeſſed it; for Cyrus was now in the career of his victories, and a profeſſed enemy to the kingdom of Babylon, and had ſome battles with this king, as ſhould ſeem, and his allies, in the beginning of his reign; but the particulars being no where to be met with, we muſt content ourſelves with the little we know of the matter, and which we ſhall relate hereafter. Nabonadius appears

[w] Abyd. ex Megaſth. apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. & Beroſ. apud Joſeph. ubi ſup. & Id. ubi ſup. [x] See before in the canon, ubi ſup. [y] Herodot. [z] Megaſth. ubi ſup. [a] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. [b] See before in the eccleſiaſtical account, ubi ſup.

pears, however, to have been the moſt powerful prince of his time, and the kingdom of Babylon to have been ſuch, that Cyrus thought it prudent to ſtrengthen himſelf, the moſt he could, by the conqueſt of all the neighbouring kingdoms, before he undertook to deſtroy this.

WHAT ſort of a man Nabonadius was, is hard to ſay; but his mother, according to ſome [c], has all the glory of his reign; all the honour of preparing for the defence of the falling kingdom is aſcribed to her. Her name was Nitrocis [d], and is ſuppoſed to have been a Mede by birth [e], and to have been wife to Evil-merodach, and being a woman of great ſagacity and reſolution, ſhe not only foreſaw the ſtorm that was gathering, but prepared for ſhelter againſt it, and particularly by fortifying the city itſelf of Babylon, ſo that it ſhould be proof againſt any enemy that might aſſault it. Accordingly it was in this reign, and conſequently by her, that Babylon is ſaid to have been firſt ſurrounded with walls [f] next to the river; and it is pretty plain, as we have obſerved before, that ſhe completed what Nebuchadnezzar had begun. Thus Herodotus repreſents her to have not only fortified the ſides of the river with walls, to prevent the enemy from landing on either ſide of the city, but to have ſunk the lake, and done other works aſcribed to Nebuchadnezzar, and particularly to have built the bridge, which till then had been wanting at Babylon [g]. This heroine, having done all that could be done to ſecure the city from all danger of the enemy, while her ſon Nabonadius wallowed, as ſhould ſeem, in ſloth and luxury, neglectful and careleſs of what threatened him, was commemorated by an extraordinary inſcription on a monument which had been prepared by herſelf, to the following effect, IF ANY KING OF BABYLON AFTER ME SHALL BE IN DISTRESS FOR MONEY, HE MAY OPEN THIS SEPULCHER, AND TAKE OUT AS MUCH AS MAY SERVE HIM; BUT IF HE BE IN NO REAL NECESSITY, LET HIM FORBEAR, OR HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT HIM. This monument and inſcription, ſaid to have been over one of the moſt remarkable

Nitocris.

[c] Herodot. and his followers. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 185. [e] Vid. Uſſer. Annal. ad Ann. Mund. ubi ſup. [f] Beroſus apud Euſeb. & Joſeph. ubi ſup. Herodot. ubi ſup. [g] Herodot. ibid. c. 186.

able gates of the city, is alſo ſaid to have remained untouched till the reign of Darius, who, conſidering the gate was uſeleſs, no man caring to go under a dead body, and being invited by the hopes of an immenſe treaſure, broke it open; but, inſtead of what he ſought, is ſaid to have found nothing but a dead body, and another inſcription, to the following effect, HADST THOU NOT BEEN MOST INSATIABLY AVARITIOUS AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU HADST NEVER VIOLATED THE ABODE OF THE DEAD (X). Thus much for Nitrocris *; we muſt now return to her ſon, and ſee how the Babylonian empire ended under him.

As the circumſtances of the fall of Niniveh are involved in great obſcurity, thoſe of the fall of Babylon, are in many reſpects no leſs ſo; for all we ſeem poſitively to know concerning it is, that it was deſtroyed by Cyrus; and all we can do is, firſt, to relate what profane authors write concerning this laſt king; and, ſecondly, to inquire whether or no he was the Belſhazzar of Daniel.

Herodotus's account of the fall of Babylon.

IF we adhere to Herodotus [h], who calls him Labynitus, we muſt conclude him to have been ſtill a great king, who, as yet, had not been attempted by the Medes and the Perſians;

* Idem, ibid. c. 187. [h] Ibid. c. 188.

(X) Plutarch (57) mentions this monument and inſcription as belonging to Semiramis. Thus the ſepulcher of Bel himſelf is ſaid to have been opened by Xerxes, who found nothing there but a glaſs veſſel almoſt full of oil, with a dead body floating in it, and an inſcription on a ſmall pillar hard by, That the man who ſhould open it ſhould dearly repent him of what he had done, if he did not fill up the veſſel with oil; which Xerxes in vain attempting, he went away heavy and ſad, and experienced the efficacy of the threat in his Grecian expedition. So Darius by others being ſaid to have opened the tomb of Semiramis, a peſtilence is reported to have iſſued thence, and to have deſtroyed one third part of the race of men (58): Strange figments!

(57) In Αποφθεγματα p. 173. (58) Vid. Purch. Pilgr. part. i. c. 12. p. 65.

sians; but to have been, on the contrary, in such high esteem with the former, as to have beeg chosen their mediator with the Lydians; which apparently destroys what Xenophon represents of the war, which subsisted without any intervention of settled peace, from the reign of Nerigliſſar to the last day of the Babylonian monarchy; and this circumstance being considered, it has been thought, that however Herodotus may seem to give this king, who thus reconciled the Medes and Lydians, for the last of the race, he could certainly mean no other than the great Nebuchadnezzar, who alone, of all the kings at Babylon, seems to have had weight and authority enough to be invested with this mediatory office.

HERODOTUS has a Labynetus, whom in two places he calls the king of the Babylonians, and a Labynitus whom he calls emperor of Assyria, and reports to have derived his name from his father. Under this Labynitus, according to him, it was that Babylon was taken by Cyrus; so that, after all, it may have been some former Labynetus, king of Babylon, that reconciled the Medes and the Lydians; but having thus suggested all we know concerning this matter, we leave it to the reader's decision.

THIS Labynitus, understanding that Cyrus was on his march to besiege the city of Babylon, went out with a great army to meet him; but being vanquished, the Babylonians betook them to their city, which being furnished with great stores of provision to hold out a very long siege, they made a jest of it, and lived within the walls as if no enemy had been near them; but being one day in the midst of a riotous festival, the Persians, who had drained the river by diverting it into the great lake we have described, scaled the works which defended the banks of the city, and the Babylonians were surprised in the midst of all their mirth and jollity, and an end was put to their empire[i].

The fall of Babylon, according to Berosus and Megasthene.

BY other authors[k] we understand, that this last king did not retire in person to Babylon, but chose rather to go to Borsippa, where, being besieged by Cyrus, he surrendered himself to that conqueror, who behaved very kindly to him, and sent him as his lieutenant, as should seem into Carmania, where he spent the remainder of his days. And thus was Babylon taken, and such was the fate of her last king, after a reign of 17 years, according to profane historians; nor is the same inconsistent with scripture so very much as to oblige us quite to reject it.

BUT

[i] Idem ibid. c. 191. [k] Berosi. Megasth. Abyd. ubi sup.

The fall of Babylon according to Xenophon.

But as much weight as theſe authors may have, Xenophon varies from them, and tells us †, that this king loſt all the conſiderable places in his country by a continued warfare waged on him by Cyrus, notwithſtanding all the leagues he could make, and all the foreign aid he could procure of Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of the Leſſer Aſia, over whom he conſtituted Crœſus his general, and ſent him even to invade Media. But Crœſus being utterly routed, and the country afterwards as good as all reduced, Babylon was left as it were to herſelf. The city and the little territory about it was all of the eaſt that now held out againſt Cyrus, who, at length drew near to beſiege the Babylonian citizens. The laſt king then marched out to give him battle, but, being overthrown in the field, he was driven back to his city, and blocked up by a cloſe ſiege. The place was thought impregnable, on account of its walls and the great number of people to defend them; not to mention a ſtore of all neceſſaries to laſt them for 20 years. The ſiege continued two years; at the end of which the river was diverted into the lake as above, and a ſtrong party was poſted where the river ran into the city, and another where it ran out. Theſe parties were commanded by the Babylonians, Gobryas and Gadatas, who, about midnight, obſerving the river to be drained, marched into the bed of the river, and finding all the water gates open, which upon ordinary nights, for it was now a feſtival, were uſed to be ſhut, they proceeded to the palace, and ſurprized, and ſlew the guard. The palace being opened to know the cauſe of this confuſion, they ruſhed in and ſlew the king, as he was valiantly fighting with his ſword in his hand *.

The fall of Babylon, as ſeemingly in Daniel.

If he was really Belſhazzar, he certainly came to this unfortunate end; for having made a feaſt for 1000 of his lords, and having profaned the veſſels his fore-father had brought from the temple of Jeruſalem, the fingers of a hand came out, and wrote upon the wall in a character unknown to any perſon then preſent; the king ſaw this, and was quite terrified; he trembled, and his knees ſmote one againſt the other [m]. He cried out for the aſtrologers, Chaldeans, and the reſt, and promiſed, that the man among them who ſhould decypher the writing, and inform him

† Κυρ. Παιδ. 5. ξ. * Ibid. [m] Dan. v. 1.—6.

him of what it meant, ſhould be cloathed in ſcarlet, and have a chain of gold, and be third ruler of his kingdom [n]. He addreſſed them in vain (Y), till the queen, who is ſuppoſed to have been Nitocris [o], underſtanding the trouble the king was in, came in and informed him of Daniel, who had been ſo eſteemed by his father; but that he ſhould have been unknown to Belſhazzar, is what it may be to no purpoſe to inquire into. Daniel came, and having reminded him of what his father had been, and what had befallen him, and rebuked him for his inſolent pride, and for profaning the holy veſſels which had ſtood in the houſe of the Lord, he read the words, which were, MENE MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN [p]. "This is the interpretation of the thing; MENE, God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finiſhed it; TEKEL, thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting; PERES, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Perſians [q]." Notwithſtanding the ſeverity of this doom, Belſhazzar performed to Daniel all the promiſe he had made to the man who ſhould thus ſatisfy him; and in that night was Belſhazzar the king of the Chaldeans ſlain: And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about 62 years old [r].

Year of the Flood, 2461. Year before Chriſt, 538.

In the firſt year of the reign of Belſhazzar it was, that Daniel [s] had the viſion of the four beaſts, which we may reſume hereafter, and in the third of the ſame Belſhazzar it was, that he had the viſion of the ram and the he-goat [t]. In the reign of Darius the Mede it was, that the ſame Daniel was thrown into the lion's den [u]; but the particulars of theſe ſeveral occurrences we reſerve for another time

[n] Dan. v. 7. [o] Prid. ubi ſup. p. 122. [p] Dan. v. 25.
[q] Ibid. ver. 28. [r] Ibid. ver. 31. [s] Dan. vii. [t] Ibid. viii.
[u] Ibid. vi.

(Y) It is ſuppoſed the writing was in what we call now the Samaritan character, which being unknown to the Chaldeans, they could not read it (59).

(59) See Prid. ubi. ſup. p. 122.

time, ſeeing we are at a loſs for the proper place of theſe two reigns.

Nabonad unlikely to have been Belſhazzar, or Darius the Mede.

We are now to conſider, whether or no this Nabonadius was either Belſhazzar or Darius the Mede; in which we ſhall rather propoſe our own doubts, than pretend to decide upon ſo palpable an obſcurity as is the whole hiſtory of Babylon, from the time that Nebuchadnezzar died, to the day that Cyrus made himſelf maſter of this city. Sir Iſaac Newton and Doctor Prideaux are quite clear, that he was Belſhazzar, and ſupport themſelves by many conſiderable arguments, but not ſo very powerful as to admit of no contradiction. To enter into the ſeveral opinions and varieties concerning this ſucceſſion of princes, would lead us into an inextricable labyrinth, and confound rather than inform us; we ſhall therefore chiefly refer to what we have before offered in proof, that Evil-merodach muſt have been the Belſhazzar of Daniel, and Nerigliſſar the Darius the Mede of the ſame, if they be any kings exhibited in Ptolemy's aſtronomical canon; and to ſuppoſe they are not would be a ſeeming reflection on the accuracy of that valuable piece.

It is to be obſerved, that, if any credit is to be given to profane hiſtorians, Nabonadius cannot have been Belſhazzar; for the former muſt have died in a ſtrange land, while the latter was ſlain in his own palace. Again, Belſhazzar's ignorance of Daniel can never be reconciled with ſo long a reign as that of Nabonadius. The utmoſt we can gather that Belſhazzar reigned at Babylon was not above three years; Nabonadius reigned ſeventeen.

This Nabonadius was certainly the laſt king of Babylon, and by Ptolemy's canon, and by the concurrence of the bulk of profane authors, there was no king there between him and Cyrus; nor does the ſcripture itſelf, which makes Darius the Mede, to have preceded Cyrus, ſay, that he reigned after the laſt king of the Babylonian race, or that there was no king of Babylon between Darius the Mede and Cyrus.

Now that this laſt Babylonian cannot have been Darius the Mede, as is ſometimes ſaid [w], may be proved by profane

[w] Du Pin Biblioth. Univerſ. des Hiſtor. 296.

fane authors [x], who agree, that he was a Babylonian, nay, and of the royal race *; and this shall suffice for the present, together with what has been said before, to evince, that he was not Darius the Mede.

NABONADIUS was certainly of the royal race †; there is all the reason in the world to believe he was a descendant, and even a grandson, of Nebuchadnezzar, and especially if the celebrated Nitocris was married to Evil-merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, as the common opinion is. It is said, that all nations should serve him and his son's [y] son; Nabonadius may then have been this son's son. It is said, that God would cut off from Babylon the son and the grandson [z], and therefore it is concluded, that this last king must have been killed as well as Evil-merodach; but there is no occasion to suppose this, if profane evidence may be received; and that so it ought to be, when it agrees with the text of scripture, can be no manner of doubt. Now we understand, that this prophecy was amply fulfilled; for we are told, that Evil-merodach, the undoubted son of Nebuchadnezzar, was murdered [a], and that his grandson, by his daughter who was married to Nerigliſſar and whose name was Laborosoarchod, was murdered likewise [b]. Supposing then Nabonadius to have been the grandson likewise of Nebuchadnezzar by Evil-merodach, there is no necessity to suppose he was murdered or slain. The predictions then, that *all nations should serve Nebuchadnezzar's son and his son's son*, and that God *would cut off his son and his grandson*, were apparently different, and apparently fulfilled. In a word, Belshazzar, who, to all appearance, was no other than Evil-merodach, seems rather to have been butchered by the hands of assassins, than to have fallen by the sword of the enemy; nor can it be consistent with the character we have of Nitocris to imagine, she could have been so negligent as to suffer the enemy to surprise the city in the manner they did; she then must have been dead, and not alive, as Prideaux would have it. Though it is prophesied, that the enemy should possess the city at the

[x] Megasth. Beros. Abyd. ubi sup. * Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 12. † Idem ibid. [y] See before, p. 397. [z] Isai. xiv. 22. [a] See before, p. 426. [b] Ibid. 432.

the time of a feaſt, while her great, and wiſe, and mighty men were in liquor, it does not follow immediately thence, that the king himſelf was ſlain at the ſame time. That it was taken at the time of a great feſtival, we have confirmed to us by an hiſtorian of the firſt credit, and neareſt to the times [c], and that is ſufficient for the honour of the prophecy.

As we are not wholly to reject profane authorities, but on the contrary, very much to rely on them, we would obſerve, that from the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar [d], which he is ſupppoſed [e] to have owed to no leſs a man than Daniel himſelf, it may be gathered, that what we have here and elſewhere above ſuggeſted, concerning Belſhazzar and Darius the Mede, is not very much out of the way. For he ſpeaks of the deſtruction to befal to Babylon as juſt at hand, and, though he muſt have been then very old, what he might poſſibly be a witneſs to; and thus Belſhazzar, who is in ſcripture expreſly called his ſon, was murdered two or three years after his death. This deſtruction was to be brought on by the means of a Mede, in whom the Aſſyrians, or Babylonians, were wont greatly to pride themſelves; and what Mede can this have been ſo likely as Nerigliſſar, who ſeems by his name to have been even naturalized an Aſſyrian, and who had married Nebuchadnezzar's own daughter [f]? The Perſian mule is plainly Cyrus, who, by warring upon Nerigliſſar to dethrone him, firſt ſtruck at the root of the Babylonian empire, and, by continuing the war, brought it at length to the ground.

Arguments deduced from Nebuchadnezzar's prophecy.

Upon the whole, it may appear rather more evidently than not, that if Darius the Mede and Belſhazzar are any of the kings of Babylon in the canon, and that they are not, cannot well be ſo much as ſuppoſed, they can have been no other than Evil-merodach and Nerigliſſar. The *ſon and grandſon of Nebuchadnezzar*, againſt whom it was denounced that they ſhould be *cut off*, cannot well be allowed to have been any but Evil-merodach and Laboroſoarchod; and *his ſon and his ſon's ſon*, whom all nations, as it is hyperbolically expreſſed, *ſhould ſerve*, can have been no other than Evil-merodach and this Nabonadius, in whoſe days

[c] Herodot. ubi ſup. [d] See before, p. 423. [e] Vid. Prid. ubi ſup. p. 106. [f] See before, p. 431.

days the empire of Babylon came to an end, as had been foretold by the prophets · · · · · *The Burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see* · · · · *Howl ye, for the day of the Lord* is *at hand; it shall come as a destruction from the Almighty* · · · · *Behold I will stir up the Medes against them* · · · · *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their fold there. But wild beasts of the desart shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in* their *pleasant palaces*[g] · · · *How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, thou son of the morning! How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!* · · · · *I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon, the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew* [*or*, as it should be, *the grandson*[h]] · · · · *I will also make it a possession for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction*[i] · · · *Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground*[k] · · · · *Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth* · · · · *They stoop, they bow down together, they could not deliver the burden, but themselves are gone into captivity*[l] · · · · *The word that the Lord spake against Babylon,* and *against the land of the Chaldeans, by Jeremiah the prophet* · · · · *Say Babylon is taken, Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces*[m] · · · · *Hear ye the counsel of the Lord, that he hath taken against Babylon, and his purposes, that he hath purposed against the land of the Chaldeans*[n] · · · · *Behold I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind. And I will send unto Babylon fanners, that shall fan her, and empty her land* · · · · *Flee out of the midst of Babylon, and deliver every man his soul:*

[g] Isai. xiii. [h] See Prid. ubi sup. [i] Isai. xiv. 12.—23. [k] Ibid. xxi. 9. [l] Ibid. xlvi. 1, 2. [m] Jerem. l. 2. [n] Ibid. ver. 45.

ſoul: be not cut off in her iniquity • • • • Babylon is ſuddenly fallen and deſtroyed: howl for her, take balm for her pain, if ſo be ſhe may be healed. We would have healed Babylon, but ſhe is not healed: forſake her, and let us go every one into his own country: for her judgment reacheth unto heaven, and is lifted even unto the ſkies • • • • Make bright the arrows: gather the ſhields: the Lord hath raiſed up the ſpirit of the king of the Medes: for his device is againſt Babylon to deſtroy it • • • • Set ye up a ſtandard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations againſt her, call together againſt her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Aſhchenaz, appoint a captain againſt her, cauſe the horſes to come up as the rough caterpillars. Prepare againſt her the nations with the king of the Medes • • • • The land ſhall tremble and ſorrow: for every purpoſe of the Lord ſhall be performed againſt Babylon, to make the land of Babylon a deſolation without an inhabitant • • • One poſt ſhall run to meet another, and one meſſenger to meet another, to ſhew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one *end* (Y) *• • • • Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Iſrael, The daughter of Babylon* is *like a threſhing-floor,* it is *time to threſh her: yet a little while and the time of her harveſt ſhall come • • • • • And Babylon ſhall become heaps, a dwelling place for dragons, an aſtoniſhment, and an hiſſing without an inhabitant • • • • The ſea is come up againſt Babylon: ſhe is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a deſolation, a dry land, and a wilderneſs, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth* any *ſon of man paſs thereby • • • • The heaven and the earth, and all that* is *therein, ſhall ſing for Babylon • • • • And I will make drunk her princes, and her wiſe* men, *her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men: and they ſhall ſleep a perpetual ſleep, and not wake, ſaith the king, whoſe name is the Lord of hoſts • • • • The broad walls of Babylon ſhall be utterly broken, and her high gates ſhall be burnt with fire, and the people ſhall labour in vain, and the folk in the fire, and they ſhall be weary* °.

SUCH

° Idem. li. 2.—58.

(Y) Whether from hence it may be gathered, that this laſt king was within the city or without it, at the time it was taken, we leave to the reader; and conſequently, whether or no the Belſhazzar of Daniel was this laſt king or not.

SUCH was Babylon, and such her end. Upon the whole it appears, that the Assyrian monarchy, whether the first at Niniveh, or the second at Babylon, was never thoroughly settled in a dominion over the nations for any length of time, and that it rather contended for empire than enjoyed it in any settled form, and that, if we except Nebuchadnezzar, no one of these monarchs, from Pul to Nabonadius, could ever boast any thing like the conquests attributed to Semiramis. Esar-haddon may claim the next place after him for conquests and dominion, but his life ended by the time he had exalted himself over the west. The rest of these princes were all unfortunate, one way or other: Some of them, with infinite labour and hazard, attempted to subjugate the nations; but the flame still broke out somewhere or other against them; others of them, by a supine neglect, saw themselves in danger, from those their warlike predecessors had awed, and were some of them, in the end, subdued, and captivated, and destroyed by them. In fine, we see both the Assyrian and the Babylonian submitted to that fate, which must sooner or later dissolve all universal monarchies, which must have almost as many enemies as subjects.

CHAP.

A MAP of ASSYRIA & BABYLONIA according to this History

PART OF ASIA MINOR

PART of MEDIA

PART OF PERSIA

proper SYRIA

PART OF THE DESART ARABIA

PART OF SUSIANA

PART OF PERSIA

ARMENIA

MESOPOTAMIA

Calachene

Adiabene

Apolloniatis

Sittacene

Chalonitis

BABYLONIA proper

BABYLONICA

Gauzanitis

R. Aras

R. Euphrates

M. of Noah

R. Kor

M. Niphates

R. Morad Shai

R. Tigris

R. Sert

Lake of Van

Lak of Khalii

Orontes M.

M. Choatrus

Hierapolis

Bir

Orfa or Edeſsa

Nineveh hereabouts

R. Lycus or little Zab

R. Capros or great Zab

Gorgos or Golden River

M. Zagros

Rasalain

R. Saocoras

Birtha

Carræ or Haran

M. of Sengar

Sengar

R. Khabur

Haran according to others

Circesium

Thapsacus

Birtha or Rehoboth

Khabur

Ruins of Palmyra

Rahabat Malek

R. of Said

R. of Zena

River paved with White Stone

Hit

R. of Hit

Sipphara or Felugia

Almalek or Nahar malcha

Medain

Babylon

R. Euphrates

R. Tigris

R. Cutha

R. Karha

Araccа

R. Kaser

Lake of Babylonia

Land under water

Teredon

Oboll

G. OF PERSIA

J. W. Sculpt

CHAP. X.

The Hiſtory of the Medes.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of Media.

THE country before us, once the ſeat of a potent empire, derives its name from Madai the third ſon of Japhet, as is plain from ſcripture, where the Medes are conſtantly called Madai [a] (A). It was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by part of the Caſpian ſea; on the ſouth by Perſis, Suſiana, and Aſſyria; on the eaſt by Parthia and Hyrcania; and on the weſt by Armenia Major. It was in antient times divided into ſeveral provinces, namely Tropatene, Charomithrene, Darites, Marciane, Amariace, and Syro-Media: All theſe were by a later diviſion reduced to two only, the one called Media Magna, the other Media Atropatia, or ſimply Atropatene [b]. Name, ſituation, &c.

ATROPATENE was that part which lay between mount Taurus and the Caſpian ſea, and is ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from one Atropatus, who, being governor of this province in the time of Darius, the laſt Perſian monarch, withſtood Alexander the Great, and, upon the downfal of the Perſian monarchy, ſeized on this part of Media, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who held it as ſovereigns to Strabo's time [c]. This was a cold, barren, and unhoſpitable country,

[a] Dan. v. 28. ibid. vi. 8. 12. 15. ibid. viii. 20. Eſth. i. 3. 14. 18, 19, ibid. x. 2.
[b] Strab. l. 11. p. 360. & p. 363.
[c] Strab. l. 11. p. 523.

(A) Among profane authors, ſome derive the name of Media from one Medus, the ſon of Medea and Jaſon; others from a city here called Media, whence, ſay they, the whole country borrowed

country, and on that very account allotted by Shalmaneſer for the abode of many captive Iſraelites after the conqueſt of that kingdom.

Cities of note in this part of Media were Gaza or Gazæ, the metropolis of the province, and ſituated, according to Pliny, in a ſpecious plain between Ecbatan and Artaxata, and equally diſtant from both. Sanina, ſeated between the Araxes and the Cambyſes; Fazina, between the Cambyſes and the Cyrus; and Cyropolis, between the Cyrus and the Amardus. This tract was inhabited by the Caduſians and Caſpians, a barbarous and inhuman race, originally ſprung from the Scythians.

Media Magna was bounded by Perſia, Parthia, Hyrcania, the Hyrcanian ſea, and Atropatene. The moſt remarkable cities in this part of Media were Ecbatan, Laodicea, Apamea, Rageia, Arſacia, &c. Ecbatan, the metropolis of all Media and the ſeat both of the Median and Perſian monarchs, was built by Dejoces, the firſt that reigned in Media, after the inhabitants had ſhaken off the Aſſyrian yoke [d]. The walls of this city are much celebrated by the antients, and minutely deſcribed by Herodotus [e]: they were ſeven in number, all of a circular from, and gradually riſeing above each other by the height of the battlements of each wall. The ſituation of the ground, riſing by an eaſy aſcent, was very favourable to the deſign of building theſe walls, and perhaps firſt ſuggeſted it. The royal palace and treaſury were within the innermoſt circle of the ſeven. The firſt of theſe walls was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, and had white battlements, the ſecond black, the third of a purple colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep orange; but the two innermoſt, as ſerving more immediately for a fence to the royal perſon of the king, were embelliſhed above the others, the one being done over with

[d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 98.

[e] Herodot. ubi ſup.

rowed its name (1). Sextus Rufus tells us, that in his time it was known by the name of Medena (2), and from others we learn (3), that it was alſo called Aria; but to enquire into the origin of theſe various appellations, would prove both a laborious and fruitleſs taſk.

(1) Strab. l. 11. p. 526. (2) Ortel. Theſ. Geor. ad vocem Media. (3) Ortel. ibid.

with silver, and the other with gold [f]. This description of Herodotus savours, we must own, somewhat of romance; but, nevertheless, that Ecbatan was a great and powerful city, and perhaps no-ways inferior either to Niniveh or Babylon, is confirmed by far better authorities. In the book of Judith [g] we read, that the walls of this stately metropolis were seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad; that the towers on the gates were a hundred cubits in height, the breadth in the foundation sixty cubits, and the walls built of hewn and polished stone, each stone being six cubits in length and three in breadth. This city is by the antients constantly called Ecbatan of Media, to distinguish it from another in Syria bearing the same name [h], where the unfortunate Cambyses died, as we read in Herodotus [i] (B).

Laodicea, of which appellation there were many towns, so called either from the mother of Nicator, or the wife of Antiochus, is counted by Strabo [k] among the cities of Media, and placed by Pliny * near the confines of Persia. Apamea is by Strabo sometimes adjudged to Media, and sometimes to Parthia [l]. Raga, Rageia, or Ragea is called by Isidorus [m] the greatest city of Media; it was repaired by Nicator, who called it Europus, and by that name it was known to Ptolemy; but in the book of Tobit it retains the former. In process of time it became the seat of the Parthian kings, who gave it the name of Arsacia or Arsace, as we shall see in the history of that people. Other cities of

[f] Herodot. ibid. [g] Judith. c. i. 2, 4. [h] Herodot. l. 3. c. 64. Diodor. l. 14. c. 23. Plin. l. 6. c. 27. Plutarch in Alex. p. 704. Tacit. l. 15. c. 31. &c. [i] Herodot. l. 3. [k] Strab. l. xi. p. 361. *l. 6. c. 26. [l] Strab. l. xi. p. 354, & 361. [m] Isidor. p. 361.

(B) Pliny (4) tells us, that Ecbatan was built by Seleucus; an unaccountable oversight, since he must have read an account of it not only in Herodotus, but likewise in Demosthenes (5), who calls it the ordinary residence of the Persian monarchs. On the other hand, Diodorus (6) carries the building of this town back to the fabulous times of Semiramis, and speaks of mountains levelled, vallies raised, waters conveyed through rocky mountains, and

(4) Plin. l. 6. c. 14. (5) Demosth. Philip. 4. p. 100. (6) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 12.

of Media are mentioned by Pliny, Stephanus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Isidorus, viz. Zombis, Patigran, Gazaca, Margasis, &c. but these were all built in after-ages by the Macedonians, and are therefore called by Strabo [n] Greek cities. This part of Media was inhabited by the Carduchians, Marandæans, Gelians, Syro-Medians, Margasians, &c.

Mountains and rivers.

The mountains of this country, such as may be proper to take notice of, are, according to Ptolemy and Strabo [o], Choatra, parting Media from Assyria, and branching out from the Gordyean mountains on the confines of Assyria and Armenia; Zagrus, dividing it from the same Assyria

[n] Strab. l. xi. p. 361. [o] Strab. l. xi. p. 363.

and other astonishing works performed by his heroine, for the embellishment of the city and convenience of the inhabitants. This great city was situate on a rising ground, according to Ptolemy and Diodorus, about twelve stades distance from mount Orontes, and not at the foot of mount Jasanius on the southern confines of Media and Persia, where Ammianus Marcellinus is pleased to place it (7). Here Daniel is said by Josephus to have built a stately palace, which afterwards served as a mausoleum of the kings of Media; some of the beams, says this author, were of silver, and the rest of cedar, but plated with gold. There are now no monuments remaining, either of this magnificent building, or of the proud palace, where the monarchs of Asia were wont to pass their summer; nay, there is a great disagreement among our modern travellers about the place where that stately metropolis stood. The opinion of Molet, who translated and wrote a commentary upon Ptolemy, seems to Sir John Chardin the most probable, viz. that Tauris is the antient and famous Ecbatan (8); and this opinion is confirmed by Ortelius, Golnits, Teixera, Andrea della valle, &c. Josephus assures us (9), that the palace built by Daniel was entire in his time; but at present not even the ruins of any magnificent building are to be seen either at Tauris or in that neighbourhood; for in all the ruins there the materials, as our traveller judiciously observes (10), are only earth, brick, and pebbles, which in antient times were never used in Media for the building of palaces. Some writers confound Ecbatan with Batana, which is evidently Ptolemy's Batina, and placed by him to the north of mount Orontes near the river Straton.

(7) Ammian. Marcell. l. 23. c. 23. (8) Chardin. voy. en Pers. vol i. p. 181. (9) Joseph. Antiquitat. l. 10. (10) Chardin. ubi supra.

Aſſyria on the eaſt, a mountain, if Polybius [p] is to be credited, one hundred ſtades high. Parachoatra, placed by Ptolemy on the borders towards Perſia, and by Strabo [q] on the confines of Media, Hyrcania, and Parthia. Theſe are the boundaries betwen Media and the adjacent regions, and therefore may be ſaid as properly to belong to the latter as to the former; but the Orontes, the Jaſanius, and the Coronus are in the ſtricteſt ſenſe mountains of Media, as ariſing in the very heart of the country. The rivers of note are, according to Ptolemy, the Straton, the Amardus, the Cyrus, and the Cambyſes. But theſe rivers, as they are repreſented to diſembogue themſelves into the moſt ſouthern parts of the Caſpian, muſt by their poſition have belonged to the provinces of Ghilan and Mazandaran, as they are now called, and conſequently could not belong to Media Proper, as it is deſcribed to us by the antients.

We cannot help taking notice here of a conſiderable miſtake, which many of the antients have been guilty of, with reſpect to the ſituation of the Caſpian Straits, called by the Latins Portæ Caſpiæ, Clauſtra Caſpia, and Pylæ Caſpiæ. Ptolemy, Strabo, Arrian, Iſidorus, Characenus, and Dionyſius Periegeta [r] place them on the confines of Media and Parthia, or on the eaſtern borders of Media. But Pliny, not liking this ſituation, carries them quite croſs the country, and after having been ſome time at a loſs how to diſpoſe of ſo heavy a load, drops it at laſt on the confines of Media and Armenia, that is, on the moſt weſtern borders of Media [s]. Suetonius [t] and Tacitus [u] confound them with the Iberian ſtraits, which are a narrow paſſage through the mountains dividing Iberia from Sarmatia. Some of our modern geographers place them in Media Atropatia, between the Caſpian mountains and the Caſpian ſea, confounding them with what the preſent inhabitants call Demir-can, or Iron-gate, which is a narrow paſſage out of Tartary into Perſia.

Soil. The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caſpian mountains and the ſea, are very cold and barren; the preſent inhabitants make their bread of dried almonds, and

[p] Polyb. l. v. c. 44. [q] Strab. ubi ſupra. [r] Strabo. l. vi. p. 362. Arrian. l. 3. Iſidor. Characenus. p. 6. Dionyſ. Perieget. verſu. 1039. [s] Plin. l. 6. c. 15. [t] Sueton. c. 19. [u] Tacit. l. 1. Hiſt. c. 6.

and their drink of the juice of certain herbs. Here the ſnow lies on the mountains for nine months in the year [w]. But the ſouthern parts are productive of all ſorts of grain and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that the country adjoining to Tauris, probably the antient Ecbatan, is called the garden of Perſia. There are here large plains, among which that of Nyſa is famous for the numerous ſtuds of horſes that were kept in it for the uſe of the Perſian monarchs, and are often mentioned and celebrated by the antients. Where this plain of Nyſa was ſituated, is no eaſy matter to determine (C).

Climate. The climate is very unequal: that part which lies between the mountains and the ſea is exceeding cold, and the earth ſwampy, and full of marſhes, where innumerable

[w] Chardin, voy. en Perſ. vol. i. p. 524.

(C) The antients place the Nyſean plain in the eaſtermoſt parts of what they call Media, and far beyond the limits of what is now ſuppoſed to have been properly this country. We have a traveller, who thinks he has ſeen this fertile paſture; but if he did, we muſt place it quite differently from what the antients ſeem to inſinuate it ought to be, and ſeveral degrees nearer us. His words are, "We continued our way (from "Tauris towards Perſia) upon the moſt beautiful and fertile "plains covered with villages. Theſe plains afforded the moſt "excellent paſture of all Media, and, I dare ſay, of the whole "world, and the beſt horſes of the country were there at graſs. "—I aſked a young nobleman in company with us, If there were "any other plains in Media ſo fine and ſo extenſive? He told "me, He had ſeen ſome as fine about Derbent, but none "more extenſive; ſo that 'tis reaſonable enough to believe, "that theſe plains are the Hippobaton of the antients, and where "they ſay the kings of Media had a ſtud of fifty thouſand "horſes, and that here it is alſo, we muſt look for the Nyſean "plain ſo famous for the horſes of that name. Stephanus the "geographer ſays, that Nyſa was in the country of the Medes. "I told this ſame nobleman ſome particulars which hiſtorians "relate concerning theſe horſes, namely Phavorinus, who ſays, "all the Nyſean horſes were light duns; he anſwered, that he "had never read or heard any thing of the kind. I afterwards "enquired of ſeveral gentlemen of learning, but could never "underſtand, that there was any place, either in Perſia or Me"dia, that produced horſes of that colour (11)".

(11) Chardin. ubi ſupra. p. 185.

ble ſwarms of venemous inſects are bred (D), which, together with the vapours riſing from the Caſpian ſea, render that part very unhoſpitable. The provinces that are more remote from the ſea enjoy a very wholeſome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent ſtorms, eſpecially in the ſpring and autumn [x]. Beſides the cattle and game of all ſorts, which the Mediterranean provinces abound with, ſome of them have been for many ages remarkable on account of the various ſorts of excellent wines they produce, eſpecially the neighbourhood of Tauris, where no fewer than ſixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquiſite flavour, are to be taſted at this day [y]. From its productions in the preſent ſtate we may judge, what it muſt have been in better times.

The Caſpian ſea.

WE cannot diſmiſs this ſubject without ſome obſervations on the Caſpian ſea, which is the northern boundary of Media. This large body of waters was by the antients called indifferently the Caſpian and the Hyrcanian ſea, from the Caſpians and Hyrcanians whoſe ſhores it waſhed [z]. However, Pliny [a] makes ſome difference between thoſe two appellations, telling us, that on the Caſpian coaſts it bears the former denomination, and on thoſe of Hyrcania the latter. The antient, and likewiſe the modern, geographers, had but a very imperfect knowledge of the true ſituation, extent, coaſts, and bays of this ſea, before the diſcoveries made lately by a very able navigator and geographer (E); and therefore what has been ſaid by others

[x] Chardin. ubi ſupra. [y] Chardin vol. i. p. 185. [z] Strabo. l. xi. p. 83. Diodor. l. 7. c. 75. [a] Plin. l. 6. c. 13, & 16.

(D) Ælian tells us (12), that theſe parts of Media were greatly infeſted by ſcorpions, and that, while the king of Perſia was on his progreſs into Media, the inhabitants were employed for three days, before his arrival on the confines, in clearing the country of thoſe venemous inſects.

(E) M. Vanverden, who, by orders of the late Czar, formed a very exact chart of the Caſpian from obſervations made by him on the ſpot in 1720, 1721, 1722. Theſe obſervations, together with M. Vanverden's new chart, were by the Czar's orders communicated to the royal academy of ſciences at Paris.

(12) Ælian de Animal. 15. c. 26.

is only to be relied on, so far as it agrees with the accounts he has given us. Ptolemy, and even Herodotus, knew, that the Caspian was surrounded on all sides by land, without any communication with other seas or visible efflux; whence some thought, that it ought to be called a lake rather than a sea. However, Strabo [b], Pliny [c], Pomponius Mela [d], and Arrian [e] wrote, that it was joined either to the Indian or northern ocean; but we are well assured by experience, that they were mistaken. They were perhaps led into this error by such as had made their observations when the Wolga had overflowed its banks, at which time it appears more like a sea than a river, covering with its waters, as a modern traveller informs us [f], the whole country to the extent of sixty miles: This they might easily have mistaken for a strait joining the Caspian to the ocean. Ptolemy, though here in the right, was greatly mistaken as to his extent from east to west, for which he allows twenty three degrees and a half; whereas it does not exceed, where widest, three degrees forty-two minutes, and, where narrowest, one degree twenty-two minues. He likewise places it three degrees more to the north than it really is. These mistakes were observed, and in some degree redressed, by Abu'lfeda, an Arabian prince and able geographer, who in 1320, discovered the situation of the Caspian, and abridged its extent by a third of what Ptolemy had allowed it. By this alteration its length was no more in longitude, as Ptolemy had placed it, but in latitude, as it truly is. Abu'lfeda's observations were greatly improved by Bourrous, Olearius, and Jenkinson; but the true dimensions of this sea were not ascertained till the late observations, by which we are assured, that it lies between the thirty-seventh and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and does not exceed three degrees forty-two minutes in its greatest longitude, which gives it a quite different figure from what it is represented to have in the maps of Ptolemy, and in the writings of other antient geographers.

THE Persians called this sea Kulsum, or the sea of Astracan; the Russians the sea of Gaulenskoi; the Georgians Sowa; the Armenians Soof. It receives the river Wolga,

[b] Strabo l. x. p. 83. [c] Plin. l. 6. c. 13. [d] Pompon. Mel. l. 3. p. 5. [e] Arrian. l. 7. p. 477.
[f] Le Bruyn voy. par. la. Moscoy. tom. 3. p. 465.

ga, which itſelf is like a ſea, and near two hundred others into its boſom, and yet is never increaſed or diminiſhed, nor obſerved to ebb or flow. This conſtant plentitude has given riſe to many ſpeculations, and ſome have imagined, that it muſt neceſſarily have ſome ſubterraneous communication either with the Black ſea, though a hundred leagues diſtant, or with the Perſian gulph, which is near two hundred leagues diſtance from it. Father Avril, a modern traveller, ſeems to favour the latter opinion, and alledges this proof to confirm it, viz. that over-againſt the province of Xilan in Perſia there are two immenſe whirlpools, which with an incredible rapidity and frightful noiſe ſuck in and ſwallow whatever comes near them, and conſequently a cavity in the earth. He adds, that every year, about the latter end of the autumn, a great quantity of willow leaves are obſerved floating on the water by thoſe who inhabit the coaſts of the Perſian gulf. As this tree is no where to be found near the Perſian gulf, and on the other hand the coaſts of the Caſpian towards the province of Xilan are covered with them, there muſt be ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe between theſe two ſeas. This obſervation, if true, is a ſtrong proof of ſome ſecret communication between theſe two bodies of water, the leaves being conveyed through ſubterraneous fiſſures from the one to the other. But ſince the opinion, aſſerting a communication between the Caſpian and other ſeas, has been taken up chiefly on this conſideration, that as ſo many and ſo large rivers diſembogue themſelves into it, and are conſtantly pouring in their waters, in proceſs of time the channel would be filled, and run over, unleſs there were ſubterraneous fiſſures and meatuſes, through which it might evacuate its ſuperfluous waters into the ocean; as the opinion, I ſay, of the Caſpian's being joined, either immediately, or by means of ſome other ſea, to the ocean, is chiefly founded on this, it will be worth while to conſider how the Caſpian or any other ſea comes to loſe ſo much water as it receives, either from rain or rivers flowing into it (F). The water of this

ſea

(F) There are two hypotheſes among philoſophers, one is, that the waters of the ſea are conveyed by ſubterraneous conduits to the ſprings of rivers, and that in draining through the fiſſures they loſe their ſaltneſs: the other is, that it happens by the vapours that are drawn up from its ſurface. The former is

now

ſea is ſalt as the waters of other ſeas, notwithſtanding the opinion

now rejected by moſt, it being next to impoſſible to explain how the water of the ocean, being more depreſſed than the very mouths of the rivers, can come up to their ſprings, which are moſtly on high mountains. But in the latter hypotheſis we have no occaſion to explain this, nor to prevent the increaſe of the ſeas, by ſupplying the ſprings with their waters.

The quantity of vapours drawn up from the ſea was tried by Dr. Halley, who made the following computation (13). By an experiment made with great care he found, that water, ſalted to the ſame degree as common ſea-water, and heated to the ſame degree of the air in our hotteſt ſummers, exhales the thickneſs of a ſixtieth part of an inch in two hours. Whence it appears, that a bulk of water a tenth part of an inch high will be exhaled into vapours in twelve hours. So that if the ſuperficies of the whole ocean, or part of it, be known, it may alſo be known, how much water ariſes from it in vapours every day, ſuppoſing the water to be equally hot with the air in ſummer. According to what has been laid down, a ſuperficies of ten ſquare inches emits daily a cubic inch of water; one ſquare foot, half a pint; a ſquare, whoſe ſides are four feet, one gallon; a ſquare mile 6914 tuns; and one degree ſquare (conſiſting, as we may ſuppoſe, of 69 Engliſh miles) 33 millions of tuns. The ſame author ſuppoſes the Mediterranean to be about forty degrees long and four broad, allowances being made for the places where it is broader by thoſe where it is narrower, ſo that its whole ſuperficies may be accounted 160 ſquare degrees; and conſequently the whole Mediterranean muſt loſe in vapours, according to the foreſtated proportion, in a ſummer's day, at leaſt 5280 millions of tuns. What quantity of water is dried off the ſurface by the winds cannot poſſibly be reduced to any rule; but we may venture to ſay, that it ſometimes exceeds even what is evaporated by the heat of the ſun.

Now to compare this quantity of water with that which is carried daily into the ſea, the above-mentioned writer obſerves, that the Mediterranean, for inſtance, receives theſe nine conſiderable rivers, the Iberus, the Rhone, the Tiber, the Po, the Danube, the Neiſter, the Boryſthenes, the Tanais, and the Nile, all the reſt being of no great note. Each of theſe rivers he ſuppoſes to be ten times greater than the Thames, not that any of them is near ſo great, but to comprehend with them all the ſmall rivulets that fall into the ſame ſea.

He likewiſe ſuppoſes the river Thames at Kingſton-bridge, where the tide ſeldom reaches, to be in breadth about a hundred yards,

(13) Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 189. p. 366.

opinion of the antients to the contrary; its freſhneſs in ſome parts near the ſhore is owing to the rivers that diſcharge themſelves into it. It is neither of a different colour from other ſeas, nor without various ſorts of fiſh, as Olearius, an eye-witneſs, aſſures us, and thereby diſproves the opinion of the antients, who believed it to be of a blackiſh colour, and to have but one kind of fiſh and that of a monſtrous form. We ſhall conclude this ſection with obſerving, that the ignorance of the antients with relation to this ſea, or lake, as ſome are pleaſed to call it, may be urged as an argument of the imperfect knowledge they had of theſe northern parts of the Perſian empire, and at the ſame time warn us not to depend on their accounts, unleſs vouched by the teſtimonies of modern travellers, who have, with far greater care and better ſucceſs ſurveyed thoſe remote regions.

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yards, and in depth three; and the water to run two miles an hour. If therefore the breadth of the water, a hundred yards be multiplied by three, the depth, and the product three hundred ſquare yards by forty eight miles, 84480 yards, which the water runs every day, the product will be 25344000 cubic yards of water, or 20300000 tuns, that are carried every day into the ſea.

Now, if each of the aforeſaid rivers yield ten times as much water as the Thames, it will follow, that each of them carries every day into the ſea 303 millions of tuns, and the whole nine 1827 millions of tuns in a day.

However, this is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raiſed in vapours out of the Mediterranean, in twelve hours time. Hence it appears that the Mediterranean, the Caſpian, or any other ſea, is ſo far from increaſing or overflowing by the rivers it receives, that in a ſhort time it would rather be evaporated and drained, unleſs the vapours that it exhales returned upon it in dew or rain.

Scaliger and others were of opinion, that the Caſpian is joined by ſome ſubterraneous intercourſe with the Euxine, but he alledges no reaſon to prove his opinion; however, this may be urged for it, that the Euxine ſea, as Mr. Dugdale obſerves (14), is continually diſgorging a large quantity of water through the Boſphorus, and ſome think, that it is more than the rivers pour into it; wherefore it may, for ought we know, be ſupplied from the Caſpian.

(14) Dugdale's complete ſyſtem of Gen. Geography, p. 290.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the Medes.

WE have already derived the Medes [g] from Madai, the third ſon of Japhet, and thereby put them upon the level with the moſt antient nations (G). In proceſs of time ſeveral

[g] Vide ſupra, p. 445.

(G) Some will have Madai to have been the progenitor of the Macedonians, and not of the Medes, grounding their opinion upon the two following reaſons: 1. That the Madai, or Medes, are not mentioned in ſcripture till the latter ages. 2. That this ſituation removes Madai too far from the reſt of his brethren, and takes him out of his general lot, which was the iſles of the Gentiles, to put him into that of Shem. But to the firſt it may be anſwered, that the Jews always retained the name, and it is plain they made uſe of it as ſoon as they had occaſion: to the ſecond, that, according to our hypotheſis, the plantations of the ſons of Japhet were contiguous; for the weſtern Media was bounded on the north by the river Ros or Aras, to which, as we have elſewhere obſerved (15), the dominion of Magog extended; and perhaps thoſe words, *by theſe were the iſles of the Gentiles divided* (16), relate only to Javan and his ſons, and not to Gomer and his poſterity, the paſſages in ſcripture where theſe laſt are mentioned requiring a ſenſe which places them on the continent. A modern writer (17) produces ſeveral authorities to ſhew, that there were a people in Macedonia called Medi, or Mœdi, and a tract called the Medic regions in the borders of Pæonia; but this can only prove the Macedonians to be a later colony of Madai. To ſay, that the Macedonians are the offspring of Madai, becauſe the word Macedonia is compounded of Madai and

(15) Vol. i. p. 471. (16) Gen. x. 5. (17) See Mede's works.

ſeveral colonies from the adjacent countries ſettled among them, being invited thither by the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, which gave riſe to the various tribes into which the people was antiently divided. The Greek writers will have them to be originally Perſians [h], and Herodotus tells us, that they were called Arians till the time of Medus the ſon of Medea, from whom they took the name of Medians. But our etymology is far more natural, and confirmed by the authority of all the antient interpreters, who by Madai in ſcripture conſtantly underſtand the Medes [i].

THEIR government was originally monarchical, like that of the other primitive nations, and they ſeem to have had kings of their own in the earlieſt times. Some are of opinion, that one of the four kings, who in the days of Abraham invaded the ſouthern coaſts of Canaan, reigned in Media. Lactantius mentions one Hydaſpes, who, according to him, reigned long before the Medes were conquered by the Aſſyrians; and Diodorus tells us, that Pharnus king of the Medes was with his ſeven ſons defeated and taken priſoner by Ninus, in the very beginning of the Aſſyrian empire [k]. But his accounts of thoſe early times are no-ways to be relied on, it being plain, both from ſcripture and from the authority of the moſt judicious among the ancient and modern chronologers, that the Aſſyrian empire did not begin till the days of Pul; whereas Cteſias and his copiſt Diodorus have made this empire as old as the flood, and given us the names of all the Aſſyrian kings from Belus and his feigned ſon Ninus to Sardanapalus. According to the ſucceſſion of Aſſyrian kings, as ſtated by them, that empire continued about 1360 years, whereas Herodotus tells us, that it laſted only five hundred years, and even his numbers are all too long. They were firſt brought under the

Government

[h] Cedren. p. 18. & in quæſtion. Hebraic.

[i] Vide Hieronym. in cap. 13. Eſaiæ,

[k] Diodor. Sic. l. 5. c. 5.

and Cettim, is relying too much, as every one muſt allow, on the authoriry of a forced etymology; and we may as well adopt the etymology of thoſe who derive the Tartars from an ancient tribe among the Medes called Tapuri, which they change into Taturi, and that into Tartari (18).

(18) Vide Reinecc. hiſt. jul. par ſecund. p. 2.

the Assyrian yoke by Pul, according to us the founder of that monarchy, or by his immediate successor Tiglath-Pilaser. Till that time they were probably governed by their own kings, as were, according to holy writ, the neighbouring nations (H). In the reign of Sennacherib they shook off the Assyrian yoke, and fell into an anarchy, which lasted till the reign of Dejoces, as we shall see in the following section. Their kings, after the revolt, were quite absolute, and controuled by no law; nay, they claimed an equal respect with the gods themselves, the custom of adoring kings, which afterwards prevailed in Persia, having first taken rise among the Medes [l].

Manners and customs.

The Medes were once a very warlike race, as will appear from their history; but in process of time became one of the most effeminate nations of Asia, especially after they were reduced by Cyrus. In war they used the same armour as the Persians, whom they are said to have taught the art of war, especially to handle with dexterity the bow, and likewise to have been the first that introduced luxury into Persia, which at last occasioned the downfal of that empire, as it had before been the ruin of the Medes [m]. Polygamy was so far from being disreputable among them, that they were bound by law to maintain at least seven wives, and whose women were looked upon with contempt, who had fewer than five husbands [n]. In war they poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called Naphta, whereof there was plenty in Media, Persia, and Assyria. The arrow being steeped

[l] Ælian. var. histor. l. x. p. 525. [m] Strabo l. xi. Xenoph. cyropæd. l. i. p. 7. [n] Strabo l. xi. p. 526.

(H) In the time of the judges of Israel, Mesopotamia was under its own king (19); the king of Zobah reigned on both sides the Euphrates till he was conquered by David (20). The kingdoms of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Philistia, Zidon, Damascus, and Hamath the great, were governed by their own princes and so were those of Haran, or Carrhæ, and Sepharvaim in Mesopotamia, and Calneh near Bagdad. As these petty kingdoms were ruled by their own princes, so was Media till the time of Pul, who subdued most of the above-mentiond nations. Media may have been subdued by Nimrod, who was a great warrior; but his empire, if he founded any, was of short continuance, it being the custom in those early times for every father to divide his territories amongst his sons.

(19) Jud. iii. 8. (20) 2 Samuel viii. and x. in cap. prim. Daniel.

ſteeped in it, and ſhot from a ſlack bow (for a ſwift and violent motion took off from its virtue), burnt the fleſh with ſuch violence, that water rather encreaſed than extinguiſhed the malignant flame; duſt alone could put a ſtop to it, and in ſome degree allay the unſpeakable pain it occaſioned. They are likewiſe ſaid to have bred a number of large dogs, to whom they uſed to throw the bodies of their friends, parents, and relations, when at the point of death, looking upon it as diſhonourable to die in their beds, or be laid in the ground [o].

SOME writers charge the Medes with being the firſt authors of making eunuchs [p]; but others impute this execrable practice to the Perſians, and even name the place where it firſt took riſe [q] (I). The cuſtom of confirming alliances with

[o] Bardeſan. apud Euſeb. præpar. evan. l. 6. c. 8. [p] Athenæus, l. 12. [q] Stephan. de urbib.

(I) Stephanus tells us, that this cuſtom was firſt introduced in a city of Perſia call Spada, whence he derives the Latin word Spado, ſignifying an eunuch, But both he and thoſe who charge the Medes with introducing ſuch an unnatural practice are certainly miſtaken, ſince we find eunuchs in vogue among the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, long before ſuch a piece of wanton luxury can be ſuppoſed to have been known either to the Medes or Perſians. Joſephus (21) acquaints us, that Nebuchadonoſor commanded the moſt comely youths among the captive Jews to be made eunuchs; and Hierom is of opinion, that the prophet Daniel and his three companions were eunuchs (22). Ammianus Marcellinus will have Simeramis to be the firſt contriver of eunuchiſm (23). What prompted them thus to maim and deform nature, Petronius Arbiter will tell us:

> Perſarum ritu male pubeſcentibus annis
> Subripuere viros; exſectaque viſcera ferro
> In venerem fregere: atque ut fuga mobilis ævi,
> Circumſcripta mora, properantes differat annos (24).

And Claudian,

> Seu Perſica ferro
> Luxuries vetuit naſci lanuginis umbram (25).

Eunuchs have always been in great repute among the eaſtern princes, and were anciently employed in the moſt momentous affairs;

(21) Joſeph. antiquit l. x. c. 16: (22) Hieronym. in cap. prim. Daniel. (23) Ammian. Marcellin. l. 14. (24) Petron. Arb. ſatyr. (25) Claudian. in Eutrop. l. 1.

with the blood of the contracting parties, which obtained among all the eastern nations, even in the Roman times, was originally peculiar to the Medes [r]. When they were to strike alliances they used to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, starting to the extremities, was by a slight cut discharged. This they mutually sucked, and a league thus confirmed was esteemed most awful, as mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties [s].

Laws, religion, &c.

THE laws and religion of the Medes were much the same with those of the Persians: wherefore, we shall defer what may be said of them, till we come to the history of the Persians from the oriental writers. We shall only observe here, that when a law was once enacted, it was not in the kings power to repeal it, or to reverse a decree he had once made; whence the laws of the Medes are in holy writ called unchangeable [t]. A modern writer tells us, that those only were admitted to the crown who were remarkable above others for their strength or stature [u]. But that there was no such law is plain from the regular succession of father and son, without regard to any personal quality whatsoever. Some law of this nature may perhaps have obtained among them before they were conquered by the Assyrians; but we are quite in the dark as to the state of Media in those early times.

THEY paid their kings the greatest respect imaginable, putting them upon the level even with their gods. They thought it an high offence either to spit or laugh in their presence [w]. They honoured their sovereign with the haughty title of great king, or king of kings, which stile was afterwards adopted by the Persian monarchs and their proud succeſſors the Parthians, whose king, even in the time of the emperor Constantius, retained that title, writing himself in a letter to

[r] Herodot. l. 1. c. 74. [s] Tacit. annal. 12. [t] Dan. vi. 8.
[u] Alexand. ab Alex. l. 4. c. 23. [w] Herodot. l. c. 99.

affairs; all the places of the greatest trust being filled by men, if men we may call them, of their species. To them the Persian kings commited, not only the guard of their own persons (26), but likewise the education of their children, it being a custom among them to put the heir apparent of the crown, so soon as he was born, into the hands of eunuchs, under whose tuition he remained till he attained the seventh year of his age (27).

(26) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 7. (27) Plato in Alcibiad. 1.

to that prince, Sapor king of kings, allied to the ſtars, brother to the ſun and moon, &c. [x]. When they appeared in public, which ſeldom happened, they were always attended by muſic, and numerous guards conſiſting of the prime nobility, their wives, children, and concubines being part of their retinue, even when they headed their armies in the field.

As to their arts, learning, and trade, we are quite in the dark; their country abounded with many excellent productions, as well for the uſe of the inhabitants themſelves, as for foreign exportation; but whether they ever applied themſelves to trade, is what we find no-where recorded: neither do we find any mention made by the antients of their arts or ſciences. During the ſhort time of their monarchy, they ſeem to have applied their thoughts only to warlike exerciſes, namely to the arts of managing a horſe and handling the bow, in which they ſurpaſſed all other nations, the Median horſe being no leſs celebrated by the antients, than were in after ages the Perſian foot [y]. Thus much have we thought neceſſary to ſay apart of the Medes and their country: what elſe may be added thereto we defer to the ſections of the following chapter, which will be no more than a continuation of this.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the Medes to the tranſlation of their empire to the Perſians.

CTESIAS and his followers have darkened the chronology of the Aſſyrians, Babylonians, and Medes with ſuch enormous anachroniſms, that 'tis no eaſy matter to aſcertain the riſe or fall of thoſe potent monarchies. To proceed with all the clearneſs and perſpicuity ſo perplexed a ſubject will allow, we ſhall diſtinguiſh in the chronology of the Medes three remarkable occurrences, which will give birth to as many different æras, namely, the recovery of their liberty after they had been ſubdued by the Aſſyrians, the riſe of their kingdom after ſome years of anarchy, and the

[x] Ammian. Marcellin. l. 17.

[y] Xenoph. cyropæd. l. 1. c. 7.

the beginning of their empire, which, as it is agreed on all hands, roſe on the ruins of the Aſſyrian monarchy. The firſt king of the Aſſyrians, who brought the Medes under ſubjection, was either Pul, according to us the founder of the Aſſyrian empire [z], or his immediate ſucceſſor Tiglath-pileſer. For this prince having, at the prayers of Ahaz king of Judah, made war upon Rezin king of Damaſcus, and reduced that city, tranſplanted the inhabitants to Kir in Media [a]. Whence it is plain, that the Medes were then ſubject to the Aſſyrians; and conſequently, that they muſt have been ſubdued either in the reign of Pul, or ſoon after the acceſſion of Tiglath-pileſer to the crown; for the empire of the Aſſyrians was already grown great, and the God of Iſrael ſtirred up the ſpirit of Pul king of Aſſyria, and the ſpirit of Tiglath-pileſer king of Aſſyria [b] to make war. Pul makes his firſt appearance in ſcripture during the reign of Menahem king of Iſrael, in the year of the flood 2228, before Chriſt 771. Tiglath-pileſer, who is ſuppoſed to have been his ſon, ſucceeded him in the year of the flood 2259, before Chriſt 740. That there was no Aſſyrian empire before the days of Pul, is plain, both from ſcripture (K) and from

[z] See before p. 261.
[a] 2 Kings xv. 37. and xvi. 5. 9.
[b] 2 Chron. xxviii.

(K) None of the prophets, who preceeded Pul, and foretold the calamities which the people of Iſrael afterwards ſuffered from the Aſſyrians, ever name that nation, but only ſpeak of a people that is to be raiſed up againſt Iſrael. Thus Jonah, who propheſied about ſixty years before the reign of Pul, mentions indeed the king of Niniveh, but no where that of Aſſyria. The city of Niniveh had ſome time before ſhaken off the Egyptian yoke, and was governed by a king of its own; but his territories were of (28) no great extent, as is plain from the ſaid prophecies; neither was he called king of Aſſyria, but only of Niniveh. Amos propheſied about ten or twenty years before Pul began his conqueſts, and foretold, that God would raiſe up a nation that ſhould humble the houſe of Iſrael, at that time elated with their ſucceſs againſt Damaſcus and Hamath; but what nation he names not. In the prophecies of Iſaiah, Ezekiel, Hoſea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Zachariah, which were written after the Aſſyrian monarchy was grown powerful, it is openly

(28) Jonah iii. 6. 7.

from the particular hiſtories of each kingdom, ſo that the Medes could not be ſubdued by them before the time we have mentioned. From the time of Pul or Tiglath-pileſer they continued in ſubjection to the Aſſyrians till the reign of Sennacherib, which began about the year of the flood 2286, before Chriſt 713, while Hezekiah was king of Judah (L). They took advantage, it is likely, of his long and diſtant abſence, or of the ſudden ſlaughter of his army near Egypt, and ſhaking off the yoke, defended their liberty by dint of arms againſt the power of the Aſſyrians, which was now in its decline. Theſe are the troubles which prevented

openly named on all occaſions. Therefore, as Jonah and Amos, who propheſied before the reign of Pul, never mention the Aſſyrians, and thoſe who flouriſhed after his reign, frequently do; it is pretty plain, that in the days of the former the Aſſyrians made no great figure in the world, but were to be raiſed up againſt Iſrael; and by conſequence roſe in the days of Pul, who is the firſt upon record that fulfilled the prophecy of Amos, threatening Syria and Iſrael with captivity. Beſides, we know from ſcripture, that till Pul made his appearance on this ſide of the Euphrates, not only Syria and Egypt, but many other neighbouring nations were governed by their own kings. Seſac and Memnon were great conquerors, and ſubdued Chaldea, Aſſyria, Media, Perſia, Bactria, &c. but in their hiſtories no mention is made of any oppoſition made to them by an Aſſyrian empire then ſtanding. Homer mentions Bacchus and Memnon kings of Egypt and Perſia, but knew nothing of an Aſſyrian empire (29). Whence it is manifeſt, that the Aſſyrian empire, which Cteſias makes as antient as the flood, did not begin till the reign of Pul, who reduced all the abovementioned nations.

(L) That in the time of Shalmaneſer they were ſubject to the Aſſyrians, is plain, from ſcripture, where that prince is ſaid to have tranſplanted the inhabitants of Samaria to Halah and Habor, and the other cities of the Medes (30). In this captivity Tobit was carried from his native country, the city of Thiſbe, in the tribe of Nepthali, with Anna his wife and Tobias his ſon, into Aſſyria; but the reſt of his brethren were carried into Media, and planted there, particularly Gabael in Rages, and Raguel in Ecbatan (31), which proves Media to have been in the time of Shalmaneſer ſubject to the king of Aſſyria.

(29) See Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronol. of ancient kingdoms, p. 365. & ſeq. (30) 2 Kings xvii. (31) Tobit, c. 1.

prevented Tobit from going into Media, according to his custom [c]; and they must have happened about the latter end of Sennacherib's reign, that is, about the year of the flood 2289, before Christ 710. The Medes, having thus rescued their country from the Assyrian bondage, fell into a kind of anarchy, as Herodotus informs us [d], which gave Esar-haddon or Assar-hadon, who succeeded Sennacherib, and was both a valorous and fortunate prince, an opportunity of bringing great part of Media, if not the whole country, anew under subjection. How long the anarchy may have lasted is hard to determine. Some include the years of the anarchy in the fifty-three which Dejoces, their first king, is said to have reigned. It cannot have lasted above twenty or thirty years; for Phraortes, who succeeded Dejoces, and reigned, according to Herodotus [e], twenty-two years, was slain by Chyniladan, or Nabuchodonosor, in the twelfth year of his reign. Nabuchodonosor came to the crown in the year of the flood 2351, before Christ 648; so that Phraortes was killed eighty-six years after the Medes had revolted from the Assyrians; from which number, if we subtract the fifty-three of Dejoces and twenty-two of Phraortes, eleven years will remain for the anarchy. But the reign of Dejoces, who, as we read in Herodotus [f], had some time exercised the office of judge before he was chosen king, is evidently too long, and we may safely abridge it of fifteen or twenty years, adding them to the anarchy. From the beginning of the reign of Dejoces to the destruction of Niniveh, which happened in the second year of the reign of Jehoiakim (M), that is in the year of the flood 2390, before

[c] Tobit. i. 15. [d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 71. [e] Herodot. ubi supra. [f] Ubi supra.

(M) In the reign of Josiah, when Zephaniah prophesied, Niniveh and the kingdom of Assyria were standing, for that prophet foretells their fall (32). Not long after Pharaoh Necho led his army to the Euphrates against the king of Assyria, and on his march slew Josiah (33); whence it is manifest, that the last king of Assyria was still alive. But in the third and fourth year of Jehoiakim, the successor of Josiah, we find Assuerus king of the Medes and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, leading their armies

(32) Zeph. i. 1. and ii. 13. (33) 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20.

before Chriſt 609, Media may be properly ſtiled a kingdom. From the deſtruction of Niniveh, we may date the riſe of the empire of the Medes; for the conquerors, that is, Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares, having ſhared the Aſſyrian empire, they both became very powerful, and reduced moſt of the neighbouring nations, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. Their empire laſted till the taking of Babylon; for Xenophon [g] tells us, that, after the reduction of that city, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatan, and ſucceeded him in the kingdom, which is entirely agreeable to ſcripture. Babylon was taken ſeventy-three years after the deſtruction of Niniveh, to which we may add the two years that Darius the Mede reigned over that city, ſo that the empire of the Medes laſted ſeventy-five years, at the period of which the Perſian empire took riſe in Cyrus. That Darius the Mede reigned over Babylon, is unqueſtionable; for he is ſaid in ſcripture [h], to have introduced there the immutable laws of the Medes and Perſians. In his reign the Medes are ever placed before the Perſians [i]; as the Perſians in the reign of Cyrus and his ſucceſſors are always ſet before the Medes [k].

BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of the Medes, we ſhall exhibit the ſeries of their kings according to ſeveral authors.

[g] Xenoph. cyrop. l. 8. ubi ſupra. & v. 28. viii. 20. Dan. x. 1, 20. & xi. 2.

[h] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15.

[i] Dan.

[k] Eſth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19.

armies againſt the king of Egypt, and taking from him what he had newly taken from the Aſſyrians. Whence we may conclude, that Niniveh was already reduced, and the conqueſt of Aſſyria completed. We cannot therefore err above a year or two, if we place the deſtruction of Niniveh and fall of the Aſſyrian empire, in the ſecond year of Jehoiakim.

A Table of the Kings of the Medes, according to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.

Acc. to Herodot.		Acc. to Diod.		Acc. to Euseb.		Acc. to Syncel.	
* * * * * * *		1 Arbaces	28	1 Arbaces	28	1 Arbaces	28
* * * * * * *		2 Mandauces	50	2 Sosarmus	30	2 Mandauces	20
* * * * * * *		3 Sosarmus	30	3 Medidus	40	3 Sosarmus	30
* * * * * * *		4 Articas	50	4 Cardiccas	13	4 Artycas	30
* * * * * * *		5 Arbacines	22	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
* * * * * * *		6 Artæus	40	* * * * * * *		* * * * * * *	
* * * * * * *		7 Artynes	22	5 Dejoces	54	5 Diæces	54
1 Dejoces	53	8 Antibarnes	40	6 Phraortes	24	6 Aphraartes	51
2 Phraortes	22	9 Astibares	**	7 Cyaxares	32	7 Cyaxares	32
3 Cyaxares	40	10 Apandas or Astyages		8 Astyages	38	8 Astyages or Darius	3
4 Astyages	35						
Total	150		282	Total	259		283

THE

THIS table contains what may be called two original catalogues, thoſe of Herodotus and Diodorus, as he has borrowed it from Cteſias. The other two are compounded of both, with an equal deference to each, as far as they go. By what we have laid down above, and confirmed with the authority of holy writ, it appears, that Herodotus is not greatly miſtaken in his numbers. Cteſias enumerates ten kings of Media, whoſe names are different from thoſe mentioned by Herodotus, except the laſt whom he calls Aſtyages, and Diodorus names Apandas. The reigns of the eight firſt amount to 282 years, and thoſe of the two laſt are omitted; but if they be ſupplied from Herodotus, they will come very near Juſtin's account, who ſuppoſes the kings of Media to have reigned 350 years. Euſebius and Syncellus differ as widely from Cteſias as from each other, except in the name and reign of the firſt king Arbaces, and beſides omit two of his ten. They pay a greater deference to Herodotus, whom they copy more exactly, at leaſt with regard to his names, tho' they vary ſometimes very materially from him in the lengths of the reigns. As for the variations between them, it would be a fruitleſs taſk to enquire into them, eſpecially, as it muſt appear, from what we have ſaid already, that they are both groſly miſtaken (N).

(N) Dionyſius Halicarnaſſæus and Appian have followed Herodotus, with regard to the duration of the empires of the Aſſyrians and Medes. The former acquaints us (34), that the empire of the Medes was ruined in the fourth generation; and the latter (35), that the three great empires of the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, to the time of Alexander, did not laſt 900 years. The Perſian empire continued 230 years, from the firſt year of the fifty-fifth Olympiad to the ſecond of the hundred and twelfth. To this number if we add 670 years, which the empires of the Aſſyrians and Medes laſted according to Herodotus, the ſum will be but 900 years. Theſe are the ſentiments of the moſt judicious among the profane hiſtorians, concerning the duration of the empires of the Aſſyrians and Medes. But on the other ſide, Cephaleon, Alexander Polyhiſtor, Diodorus Siculus, Caſtor, Trogus Pompeius, and his abbreviator Juſtin, with Velleius Paterculus, have followed Cteſias in his catalogue of the Aſſyrian kings. Among chriſtian chronologers Africanus, Euſebius, and Syncellus have inſerted in their catalogues the kings of the Aſſyrians and Medes mentioned by Cteſias; though, in order to adjuſt their chronologies,

(34) Dionyſ. Halicar. l. 1. Hiſt. Rom. (35) Appian. in præat.

SECT. IV.

The History of the Medes.

WE ſhall begin with what we may call the fabulous hiſtory of the Medes, being extracted from Cteſias, his

ogies, they have ſometimes abridged, and ſometimes encreaſed, heir number.

If the empire of the Medes continued 352 years, as it muſt have done according to Cteſias, if we ſupply the reigns of the two laſt kings in his catalogue from Euſebius or Syncellus, it muſt be ſuppoſed, that after the empire of the Aſſyrians was deſtroyed by Arbaces, there were no Aſſyrian kings either at Niniveh or Babylon, and that the Medes were ſole maſters of Aſia. But this ſuppoſition is evidently repugnant both to ſacred and profane hiſtory. If we conſult the ſcripture, we ſhall find that the Aſſyrian empire was never more potent than after this pretended deſtruction of Niniveh. The prophet Jonah, who flouriſhed in the reigns of Azariah king of Judah and Jeroboam king of Iſrael, was ſent to preach repentance to Niniveh, about eighty years after the ſuppoſed reign of Arbaces, and Niniveh was then a great city, three days journey long; it had a king of its own, and was ſo populous as to contain above 120,000 children, not yet come to the reaſon (36). Could a city, which had been reduced to a heap of rubbiſh but eighty years before, grow to ſuch a pitch of grandeur in ſo ſhort a time? For according to the prophet's account, it was then in the meridian of its ſplendor. Thoſe who follow Cteſias have been forced to own, that Niniveh was twice taken and deſtroyed, viz. in the time of king Jehoſaphat by Arbaces, and three hundred years after in the reign of Joſiah. But the ſcripture, Joſephus, and all profane writers, allow only one deſolation of that great city. The latter differ only in the time when it happened. Herodotus places it at the end of the reign of Cyaxares, and Polyhiſtor does not much differ from him. Cteſias and his followers refer it to the reign of Arbaces three hundred years earlier. That the latter are miſtaken is manifeſt from holy writ, as we have already ſhewn. We may add, that this powerful empire, which Arbaces founded, muſt ſoon have decayed, which is inconſiſtent with the ſyſtem of Cteſias and the authors that follow him. The Aſſyrian empire muſt have raiſed itſelf

(36) Jonah. iii. 3. & iv. 2.

his tranſcriber Diodorus, and their followers. According to theſe, the Medes were governed by kings of their own before the early days of Ninus, the pretended founder of the Aſſyrian monarchy. For when Ninus invaded this country, it was ruled by one Pharnus, who, being worſted by that mighty warrior, was taken priſoner, and crucified with his wife and ſeven childern [1]. Thus Media was reduced to a province of the Aſſyrian empire, and remained ſubject to the ſucceſſors of Ninus till the time of Sardanapalus. However, they made ſome attempts towards the recovery of their liberty, during the regency of Semiramis and minority of her ſon Ninyas; for ſhe is ſaid to have invaded Media with a mighty army, and encamping near a mountain called Bagiſtan, to have made a pleaſant garden twelve furlongs in compaſs. The mountain was dedicated to Jupiter, and had on one ſide craggy rocks ſeventeen furlongs high, which ſhe aſcended on the packs and loads carried by the beaſts of burthen that followed her army. In the lower part of this rock ſhe cauſed her ſtatue to be hewn out, and a hundred of her guards attending her. From hence ſhe marched to Chaon a city of Media, where, on the top of a very lofty rock, ſhe formed another pleaſant garden, with ſtately edifices, whence ſhe might behold the beauties of the ſpot, and her whole army encamped in the plain. From Chaon ſhe advanced towards Ecbatan, and on her march

[1] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1.

itſelf again, Niniveh muſt have been rebuilt, and have paſt from an heap of rubbiſh to an extraordinary pitch of grandeur, and all this in the ſpace of 70 or 80 years. For after this pretended deſtruction of Niniveh and the Aſſyrian empire, we find in ſcripture a ſeries of Aſſyrian kings and a potent empire not ſubject to the Medes. Beſides, if we compare the deſtruction of Niniveh deſcribed by Cteſias with that we read in ſcripture and Polyhiſtor, they will plainly appear to be the ſame. Cteſias ſays, that Sardanapalus burnt himſelf, his concubines, and treaſures; Polyhiſtor writes the ſame of Sarac. Cteſias tells us, that the Medes in conjunction with the Babylonians deſtroyed Niniveh; and the ſame is confirmed by Polyhiſtor and the ſacred penmen. Cteſias writes, that the city was laid in aſhes, and the citizens diſperſed; and this is what we read in the prophets. Such a conformity of facts, joined to the former evidences, amount to a full conviction, that there was but one deſtruction of the Aſſyrian empire, and one deſolation of Niniveh.

march levelled mount Zarcæum, which was many furlongs in extent, filled up vallies, and in ſpite of nature opened a plain and eaſy way to Ecbatan, which to our author's time was called Semiramis's road [m]. Theſe extraordinary works, as they were laſting monuments of her conqueſts, not only over the rebellious Medes, but nature itſelf, kept that nation in a ſervile ſubjection and dependency to the reign of Sardanapalus, that is, for the ſpace of near 1400 years (O), when Arbaces governor of Media and Beleſis governor of Babylon put an end to the Aſſyrian empire, in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of Aſſyria [n].

Arbaces. ARBACES, the firſt king of the Medes after their revolt, is repreſented as a prince of great generoſity and gratitude, as appears from his behaviour towards the mean-ſpirited Babylonian Beleſis, who by a pious fraud bereaved him of the immenſe treaures, that were concealed in the aſhes and ruins of the Aſſyrian palace, as we have elſewhere related at length [o]. He is ſaid to have ſubdued all Aſia, and to have reigned twenty-eight years.

Mandauces. HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Mandauces, who reigned fifty years, but did nothing worthy of notice, being himſelf, as he is repreſented, a prince of a peaceable diſpoſition, and his ſubjects deſirous of ſome reſpite, after the violent ſtruggles for liberty and empire in the laſt reign.

Soſarmus. SOSARMUS appears next, by ſome called Medidus; he reigned thirty years, and this is all we find of him upon record.

Artias. ARTIAS, by ſome called Artycas, by others Cardiccas, reigned next. From his name ſome, who indulge conjectures, argue him to have been a great and glorious prince, the word Arti or Arta in the compoſition of his name denoting greatneſs, as it does, according to the interpretation of

[m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 1. &ſeq.
[n] Vol. iv. p. 255.
[o] Vol. iv. p. 366.

(O) Theſe ſtories are of a piece with what the ſame author relates elſewhere, viz. that the army of Ninus conſiſted of two millions of men, at a time when the earth was not yet well peopled; that Semiramis employed two millions of workmen in the building of Babylon; that ſhe diſpoſed in the ſhape of elephants the hides of three hundred thouſand black oxen, and other fables of the like nature, forged by Cteſias, and gravely related by Diodorus.

of Herodotus, in that of the Persian Artaxerxes. All we can say is, that if he performed great things, his exploits have been long since buried in oblivion. There is a great disagreement among authors concerning the length of his reign, some allowing him fifty years, others thirty, and some only thirteen.

Arbianes. AFTER him came Arbianes, in whose reign a war broke out between the Medes and Cadusians, who, at the instigation of one Parsodes rising up in arms, shook off the yoke which they had for some time groaned under. Parsodes was by birth a Persian, but the chief favourite and prime minister of Arbianes king of the Medes, whom he served with great fidelity, till being highly provoked at a sentence pronounced against him by that prince, he fled with three thousand foot and a thousand horse to the Cadusians, where he not only withdrew his obedience to Arbianes, but stirred up the whole nation to a revolt. The Cadusians, being thus encouraged to stand up for their liberties, committed the whole management of the war to Parsodes, as the most proper person on all accounts to appear at the head of their army. But before he took the field Arbianes died after a reign of twenty years. If this Parsodes be the Persondas mentioned by Nicolas of Damascus, we have already related what induced him to revolt [p].

Artæus. ARTÆUS came to the crown, while the Cadusians were making vast preparations to invade his kingdom, and understanding, that Parsodes was advancing towards the frontiers at the head of 200,000 men, he thought it high time to curb the insolence of the rebels. And accordingly having raised an army of 800,000 men, marched out with this mighty host, and engaged the rebels; but was most shamefully routed and forced to save himself by flight, leaving 50,000 of his men dead in the field of battle. Upon this victory the Cadusians proclaimed Parsodes their king, who accepting the crown inspired his new subjects with that irreconcileable hatred which he had conceived against the Medes, and laid the foundations of a perpetual enmity between the two nations. He is said to have solemnly conjured the Cadusians, even on his death-bed, to wage an eternal war with the Medes, and never lay down their arms till that odious nation was utterly abolished, loading at the same time with curses and imprecations such of

[p] Vol. iv. p. 367. & seq.

of his ſucceſſors, as ever ſhould upon any terms whatſoever be reconciled with them. In purſuance of this, as we may call it, his laſt will, the Caduſians watched all opportunities of haraſſing the Medes with inroads, and doing them what miſchief they could, till the empire was tranſferred from them to the Perſians [q].

Artynes. Artibarnas.

After Artæus reigned Artynes twenty two years, but did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by Artibarnas or Artabanus, in whoſe reign the Parthians revolting put themſelves under the protection of the Sacæ, a people inhabiting mount Hæmodus, which ſeparates India from Scythia. This occaſioned a war of many years between the Medes and the Sacæ, who were then governed by queen Zanara, a heroin of great proweſs. That princeſs is no leſs celebrated by our author for her courage and conduct in war, than for her beauty. She had, according to him, reſcued her country from the tyranny of the neighbouring princes, civilized her ſubjects, and inured them to military diſcipline and the toils of war. After ſhe had for many years haraſſed the Medes, a peace was at laſt concluded between her and Artynes on the following conditions; that the Parthians ſhould ſubmit to the Medes, and the Sacæ and Medes quietly enjoy what they poſſeſſed at the beginning of the war [r] (P).

Hitherto we have dwelt on what we may ſafely call the fabulous hiſtory of the Medes, theſe kings, or moſt of them, being no where found but in the books, or rather in

[q] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

[r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

(P) This queen was, according to our author, another Semiramis. She excelled all of her own ſex in beauty, and was inferior to none of the other in courage and wiſdom; ſhe built many cities, made conſiderable conqueſts, and raiſed the obſcure nation of the Sacæ to a great pitch of glory. Whence her ſubjects, in gratitude for the many advantages they enjoyed by her means, erected her a monument after her death of vaſt dimenſions, being three furlongs in breadth, and on the top of which was built a pyramid of a furlong in height. Upon this pyramid ſhe was repreſented by a golden coloſſus, and adored by her ſubjects as a goddeſs (37).

(37) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. c. 3.

in the imagination, of Cteſias, which was very fertile in the production of monſters. We now come to the genuine hiſtory of Media, as it has been tranſmitted to us by authors of a quite different character.

The genuine hiſtory of the Medes.

THE Medes, having thrown off the Aſſyrian yoke in the reign of Sennacherib, lived ſome time without a king, but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their own country, whoſe name was Dejoces. He is repreſented as a ſubtle, crafty man, and aiming at abſolute power, and is ſaid to have compaſſed his deſign in the following manner. The Medes were at that time divided into ſeveral diſtricts, in one of which lived Dejoces, who, ſeeing all kind of licentiouſneſs prevail over the whole country, applied himſelf to the adminiſtration of juſtice with great zeal and diligence. The Medes of the ſame diſtrict, obſerving the equity of his conduct, choſe him for their judge; and he, aſpiring to the ſovereign power, performed that office with all poſſible regard to juſtice. By this means he not only acquired a great reputation in his own diſtrict, but among thoſe alſo of the other diviſions, who looked upon him as the only impartial judge in the whole nation. Whence ſuch as thought themſelves injured by unjuſt ſentences reſorted from all parts to him in order to obtain juſtice; till at laſt no one would commit the deciſion of a difference to any other perſon. At laſt the numbers of thoſe, who applied to him for redreſs, increaſing in proportion to the great fame of his equity, and the whole care of adminiſtering juſtice being devolved upon him, he unexpectedly abſented himſelf from the place where he uſed to determine differences, declaring, he would no longer perform that office, and ſubmitting it to the judgment of his countrymen, whether it was reaſonable, that he ſhould neglect his private affairs to attend thoſe of the public. Hereupon rapine and all manner of wickedneſs prevailing to ſuch a degree, that it was not ſafe to live in the country, the Medes called a general aſſembly of the whole nation, to deliberate on the means of reforming the abuſes that were daily becoming more frequent. Upon this occaſion thoſe who were in the intereſt of Dejoces obſerved, that if a ſtop was not put to the growth of the diſorders that had already overſpread the whole land, they ſhould ſoon be obliged to abandon their country to a foreign enemy. They adviſed therefore their countrymen to appoint a king of their own nation, as the only expedient that could reſcue

their

their country from impending ruin. Their discourse was received with general approbation, and a king was resolved on. Their next deliberation was concerning the person whom they should prefer to the crown, when Dejoces was named to the sovereignty, and with universal applause placed on the throne [s].

The Medes resolve to create a king.

Dejoces chosen.

Year of the flood 2300. Before Christ 699.

THUS was Dejoces created king; and being vested with supreme power he threw off the mask, and commenced tyrant; though the rigor he practised may perhaps have been absolutely necessary to bring the nation, after some years of anarchy, into any order or discipline.

THE first thing he did after his promotion was to command his new subjects to build him a palace suitable to his dignity, and to appoint him guards for the safety of his person. He was obeyed, and on the ground which he chose a strong and stately fabric was erected for his ordinary residence. At the same time he was allowed to chuse for his guard out of the whole nation such as he thought most proper for that trust. Thus settled on the throne, he united the several districts, into which the Medes had been divided during the anarchy, and turned his thoughts towards building a strong city, which might be the metropolis of his new kingdom. To this also his subjects submitted, and the famous city of Ecbatan was built, pursuant to his orders and directions, a city, which in process of time became very famous in those parts (Q).

DEJOCES,

[s] Herodot. l. 1. c. 95.

(Q) Ecbatan in scripture (38) is called Achmetha; by Ctesias and Stephanus Agbatan. In the book of Judith it is said to have been built by Arphaxad king of the Medes; but whether Arphaxad and Dejoces be but two names of one and the same person is what we shall examine hereafter. Dr. Prideaux (39) tells us, upon what ground we know not, that Ecbatan was only enlarged and beautified by Dejoces. He will perhaps have Arbaces, whom by an unaccountable inadvertency he confounds with Tiglath-pileser, to be the founder of it. Josephus (40) acquaints us, that the decree of Cyrus, about rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem, was found at Ecbatan, which plainly proves

(38) Ezra. vi. 2.

(39) Connect. of the old and new testament, p. 26.

(40) Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 4.

DEJOCES, thus lodged in a magnificent and well-defended city, enacted the following laws, to be observed by all his subjects of what rank soever. That no one should be admitted to his presence; but transact all things by his servants and ministers; that none should be allowed even to see him, that were not immediately of his household, and that for any, who attended him, to laugh or spit in his presence should be accounted a great indecency, and contrary to the respect which is due to a sovereign. These laws he enjoined, that the malecontents might have no opportunity of putting in execution any evil design against his person, not doubting, but those, who were debarred from seeing him, would be easily induced to think him of a superior nature to themselves. Though he kept himself thus concealed from the eyes of the people, yet he was informed of every thing that happened in his dominions, maintaining to that end many emissaries in the provinces of his government, who brought him a minute account of every transaction. By this means no crime escaped either the knowledge of the prince, or the rigor of the law; and the punishment, thus treading upon the heals of the offence, kept the wicked in awe, and stemmed the course of violence and injustice.

DEJOCES was so entirely taken up in civilizing his unpolished subjects, and making laws, that he never engaged in any enterprize against his neighbours, though his reign was very long, for he is said to have ruled over the whole nation of the Medes fifty three years [t].

HE was succeeded by his son Phraortes, who being of a warlike temper, and not satisfied with the kingdom of Media, which his father had left him, invaded Persia, and is said to have brought that nation under subjection to the Medes [u]. But we are inclined to disagree with our author in this particular, and ascribe the conquest of Persia; not to Phraortes, but to his son and successor Cyaxares (P). However,

Phraortes. Year of the Flood, 2358. Year before Christ, 646.

[t] Herodot. l. 1. c. 96. 201. [u] Herodot. l. 1. c. 102.

proves it to be the same with the Achmetha of scripture, where according to Ezra (41) the said decree was lodged.

(P) It seems plain from scripture, that the Persians were not subdued by the Medes, till after the taking of Niniveh, by the joint

(41) Ezra, ubi supra.

However, he ſubdued ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, attacking one after another, till he made himſelf maſter of almoſt all the upper Aſia, lying between mount Taurus and the river Halys. Elated with the good ſucceſs, that attended his army, at length he invaded Aſſyria, which was now in its decline, and greatly weakened by the revolt of many nations, who, following the example of the Medes, had withdrawn their obedience from the Aſſyrians. Nebuchadonoſor, or Chyniladan, at that time king of Aſſyria, raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe the conqueror, ſummoning the whole force of his wide-ſpreading dominions, and inviting other

joint forces of Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, which the Jews reckon to be the firſt of Nebuchadnezzar, God threatened by his prophet (42), that *he would take all the families of the north and Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, and bring them againſt Judea, and againſt the nations round about, and utterly deſtroy thoſe nations, and make them an aſtoniſhment and laſting deſolation, and cauſe them all to drink the wine-cup of his fury*; and in particular, he names the kings of Judah and Egypt, and thoſe of Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, and Tyre, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes, &c. Where it is to be obſerved, that, in numbering the nations which were to be ſubdued, he omits the Aſſyrians, who muſt conſequently have been already conquered, and names the kings of Elam or Perſia, as diſtinct from thoſe of the Medes, whence we may conclude, that the Perſians were not yet ſubdued by the Medes. In the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, that is in the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar, the ſame prophet foretold the approaching conqueſt of Perſia by the Medes and their confederates: *Behold, ſays he, I will break the bow of Elam——upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven——and there ſhall be no nation where the outcaſts of Elam ſhall not come——I will ſet my throne in Elam, and will deſtroy from thence the king and the princes, ſaith the Lord; but it ſhall come to paſs in the latter days* (that is in the reign of Cyrus) *that I will bring again the captivity of Elam ſaith the Lord* (43).

From theſe words of the prophet it is manifeſt, that in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, nay, after the deſtruction of Niniveh, the Perſians had kings of their own, and conſequently could not be ſubdued by Phraortes, who was killed before Nebuchadnezzar came to the crown of Babylon (44).

(42) Jerem. xxv. (43) Jerem. xlix. 55, &c. (44) See Sir Iſaac Newton Chron. of anc. kingd, amend. p. 313. & ſeq.

other nations of the east to his assistance. His embassadors were received every where with contempt, and no one people obeyed the summons. However, Nabuchadonosor took the field with what force he had, and he, joining battle with Phraortes in the great plain of Ragau, defeated his cavalry, overturned his chariots, and pursuing the king to the adjacent mountains, whither he had made his retreat, took him prisoner and put him to death. After this victory he entered Media, took many strong holds without opposition, and pushing on his conquests stormed the famous city of Ecbatan, and levelled it with the ground. Flushed beyond measure by this, perhaps more than expected, success, he returned to Niniveh, where he feasted and revelled with those who attended him in this expedition, for the space of 120 days [w]. Phraortes reigned twenty-two years, and was slain near the beginning of the reign of Josiah; for this war was made after Phœnice, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt had been conquered by Assarhadon, and when the Jews were newly returned from captivity, as is plain from the book of Judith * (Q) *.

UPON

[w] Judith. iv. 3. &c. Herodot. l. i. c. 102. * Judith. i. 7, 8, 9.

(Q) As Arphaxad is said, in the first book of Judith (45), to have been killed by Nabuchadonosor, and likewise to have built Ecbatan, most writers will have Dejoces, the founder of Ecbatan, and not Phraortes, to have carried on this unsuccessful war, and lost his life in the mountains of Ragau (46). The passage in Judith, *that Arphaxad built a very strong city, and called it Ecbatan,* has led them astray, and made them conclude, that Arphaxad must be Dejoces who was certainly the founder of that city. But the Greek text of Judith, which the vulgate translates ædificavit, built, says only, that Arphaxad added new buildings to Ecbatan, Επωκοδόμησε επὶ Εκβατάνοις. And what can be more natural, than that the son should finish so great a work, which the father had begun, but had not been able to perfect.

* The authors, in the history of Assyria, page 285, place the defeat and death of Phraortes twelve years earlier, viz. in the year of the Flood, 2363. before Christ, 636.

(45) Judith. i. 1. of the world 3347.

(46) See Usher's Annal. at the year

Upon the death of Phraortes his son Cyaxares was placed on the throne. He was a brave and enterprizing prince, and indeed such a man was, then more than ever, wanting to save the nation from impending slavery, most part of the kingdom being possessed by the Assyrians. Having settled himself well in his kingdom, and brought his troops under good discipline (R), he soon recovered what the Assyrians had taken after their victory in the plains of Ragau. What he had next at heart was to avenge the death of his father by the destruction of Niniveh. And accordingly, having assembled all his forces, he marched out with a design to treat that city, as Nabuchadonosor had treated the metropolis of Media. The Assyrians meeting him on the frontiers, with the remains only of that great army which had been destroyed before Bethulia, an engagement ensued, wherein the former were defeated and driven into Niniveh. Cyaxares, pursuing his victory, laid close siege to the city; but was soon obliged to give over the enterprize, and employ his troops in the defence of his own kingdom [y].

Cyaxares I. Year of the Flood, 2375 Year before Christ, 624.

A formidable army of Scythians, having driven the Cimmerians out of Europe, were in full march in pursuit of their flying enemies, and ready to enter Media. They were come from the neighbourhood of the Palus Mæotis, and commanded by king Madyes the son of Protothyas. This Madyes can be no other than Indathyrsus the Scythian, who invaded Asia, as Strabo informs us [z], and, having laid waste great part of that country, advanced to the confines

[y] Herodot. ubi supra. [z] Strab. l. 1. prope initium.

636. The cause of this variation seems to be this, in the history of the Assyrians they compute the reign of Dejoces from the revolt of the Medes, including the twelve years of anarchy, but here in the history of the Medes, they allow the fifty one years reign to Dejoces, exclusive of the anarchy.

(R) He was the first, according to Herodotus (47), that marshalled the people of Asia into distinct bodies of lances, cavalry, and archers; whereas, before his time, horse, and foot, and pikemen, and archers engaged promiscuously. But this we can hardly believe, when we consider, that the nations of this part of Asia were engaged in continual wars, and consequently must have been more experienced in the military art.

(47) Herodot. l. 1. c. 143.

confines of Egypt. Cyaxares no ſooner heard of their march, but, breaking up the ſiege of Niniveh, he advanced with all his forces againſt them. The two armies engaged, and the Medes, though encouraged by the example of their king, who on that occaſion gave proofs of an extraordinary valour, were utterly routed. The conquerors having no other enemy to contend with, over-ran not only all Media, but the greater part of upper Aſia(S). From thence they extended their conqueſts

(S) Euſebius tells us, that Cyaxares took the city of Niniveh before the Scythians invaded Media. But as Herodotus and all the profane hiſtorians, without exception, unanimouſly agree in this point, that the Scythians broke into Media while he was beſieging Niniveh, and obliged him to withdraw his troops from thence to the defence of his own kingdom, we have choſe to follow them, rather than Euſebius, whoſe authors we are unacquainted with. Touching the expedition of the Scythians Herodotus tells us, that the Cimmerians, being driven out by the Scythians, invaded and laid waſte part of Aſia, and that the Scythians, not ſatisfied with driving them from their habitations, followed them, we know not why, into far diſtant countries, and in this purſuit fell, as it were by chance, upon Media, while the Cimmerians were gone another way into Lydia. As the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians were all of the ſame race and nation, which Goropius Becanus learnedly proves in his Amazonica, we are inclined to think, this pretended expulſion of the Cimmerians was nothing elſe but the ſending of a colony into Aſia, with an army of Scythians to aſſiſt them in acquiring new ſettlements, and eſtabliſhing plantations, in a foreign country. For though the Cimmerians, Scythians, and Sarmatians were but one people, yet they were diſtinguiſhed in name according to their different tribes, profeſſions, and perhaps dialects. Such another expedition the ſame people undertook ſome ages after, when they were encountered by the Romans. For they came from the countries bordering on the lake Mæotis; they were then likewiſe aſſiſted, as Plutarch informs us (48), by their neighbours the Scythians, and had in their army above 300,000 men, beſides a great multitude of women and children. They wandered over many countries, bearing all down before them, and finally deſigning to ſettle in Italy, divided into ſeveral bodies to facilitate their paſſage thither; but were all cut off in three battles by the Roman conſuls. Mere neceſſity obliged theſe poor nations to infeſt their neighbours and expoſe themſelves to ſuch dangers.

(48) Plutarch. in Mario.

conquests into Syria as far as the confines of Egypt. But there Psammiticus king of that country, meeting them in person, prevailed upon the barbarians, what by entreaties, what by presents, to proceed no farther, and thereby saved his country from the heavy oppression which his neighbours groaned under [a]. In this expedition the Scythians possessed themselves

[a] Herodot. l. 1. c. 104. l. 2. c. 1. & l. 7. c. 20.

For their country abounding more in men than in substance, and shut up in the north by intolerable cold, they were compelled to discharge their overgrown numbers on the southern countries, and drive others, right or wrong, from their possessions, as being entitled to what others had, because they had nothing themselves. As they were a warlike race and inured to hardships, they generally prevailed, their next neighbours giving them a free passage, that they might the sooner get rid of them; others supplying them with provisions and guides to lead them to more wealthy countries.

The first body of these, mentioned by Herodotus, took the way of the Euxine sea, which they had on their left, as mount Caucasus on their right. They passed through Colchis and Pontus, and arriving in Paphlagonia fortified the promontory, whereon Sinope was afterwards built by the Greeks. Here they left under a strong guard such as were unfit for service and great part of their baggage, and then continued their march into Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, having now no mountains or deep rivers to stop their march; for the Iris and the Halys they had already passed. We shall give an account of their wars with the Lydians in the history of Lydia.

As the Cimmerians held their course westerly along the shore of the Euxine sea, so the Scythians took the other way, and having the Caspian on their left passed between that sea and the Caucasus, thro' Albania, Colthene, and other obscure nations, till they came into Media, where they engaged and routed Cyaxares, as we have said. To this overthrow of Cyaxares Tremellius and Junius refer that prophecy of Nahum; *He* (that is Cyaxares besieging Niniveh) *shall recount his worthies; they shall stumble in their walk* (that is in the walk or perambulation of the Scythians, whose coming at this time into Asia may well be so termed, since it was rather a passing thro' than any settlement; for in the short space of twenty eight years they over-ran, conquered, and lost Media, Assyria, and all upper Asia): *they shall make haste to the wall thereof, and the defence shall be prepared*, that is, they shall hasten to Niniveh, as if they intended to deliver it from the Medes besieging it (49).

(49) Nahum. ii. 5.

themſelves of the city of Bethſheam, in the territories of the tribe of Manaſſeh, on this ſide of the Jordan, and held it as long as they continued in Aſia; whence it was called Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians [b]. On their return from Egypt, as they paſſed through the land of the Philiſtines, ſome of the ſtragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Aſcalon, which was believed the moſt ancient in the world dedicated to that goddeſs. To avenge this attempt the goddeſs is ſaid to have inflicted on thoſe, that were concerned in the ſacrilege, and their poſterity, the hemorrhoids; which ſhews, that the Philiſtines ſtill preſerved the memory of what they had formerly ſuffered on account of the ark. For from that time they looked, it ſeems, on this diſtemper, as a puniſhment from heaven attending ſuch ſacrilegious attempts, and therefore, in charging the Scythians with this crime, took care not to omit in their hiſtories the puniſhment, which their anceſtors had ſuffered for one of the ſame nature [c].

THE Scythians were for the ſpace of twenty-eight years maſters of the upper Aſia, namely the two Armenians, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, Iberia, and great part of Lydia. Cyaxares finding it impracticable to get rid of his troubleſome gueſts by open force, reſolved to try what might be effected by ſtratagem. And accordingly invited the greateſt part of them to a general feaſt which was given in every family. Each landlord made his gueſts drink, and in that condition were the Scythians maſſacred, and the kingdom delivered from a long and cruel bondage (T). The Medes

[b] Syncell. p. 214.

[c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 105.

(T) We do not find, that the Scythians, who eſcaped this bloody feaſt, raiſed any commotions in Media, or that they ever afterwards, either in revenge of this treachery, or on any other pretence, troubled the Medes. Which ſeems the more ſtrange, as we know from Herodotus himſelf (50), that the army returning out of Media was very ſtrong and numerous, and met with greater oppoſition at home than they had found abroad. We are therefore apt to believe, that the ſtratagem of Cyaxares was attended with leſs bloodſhed than is commonly ſuppoſed. For by cutting off the chief men among them, he may have brought the others to reaſonable terms. It is not improbable, that, in

(50) Herodot. l. 3. c. 1.

Medes then repoſſeſſed themſelves of the provinces they had loſt, and once more extended their empire to the banks of the Halys, which was their antient boundary weſtward [c].

Cyaxares, having thus freed his country from the oppreſſion of the Scythians, found himſelf ſoon after engaged in a war with the Lydians. The occaſion of this war is thus related by Herodotus [d]. Upon a ſedition which happened among the Scythian Nomades, a party of them made their eſcape into Media, where they were not only entertained with great humanity by Cyaxares, but entruſted with the education of divers youths, whom they were to inſtruct in the uſe of the bow and the Scythian language. Theſe ſtrangers went frequently to hunt, and were ever accuſtomed to return with ſome game. But one day happening to come home with empty hands, Cyaxares, whom they uſed daily to preſent with ſome veniſon, treated them with moſt opprobrious language; this they reſented, and agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, dreſs his fleſh like veniſon, and ſerve it up to Cyaxares and his gueſts. They executed what they propoſed, and then flying to Sardis implored the protection of Halyattes king of Lydia. Cyaxares immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to demand the Scythians, but they not being able to prevail with the king of Lydia to deliver them up, a war of five years enſued between the two nations with various ſucceſs (U). The battle fought in the

[c] Herodot. l. 1. c. 106.

[d] Herodot. l. 1. c. 73, 74.

the ſpace of twenty-eight years, many had ſettled themſelves ſo well, that they were willing to live in ſubjection to Cyaxares, provided, they might peaceably enjoy what they poſſeſſed; many, who had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of Aſia, were willing to return home to their wives and families with the booty, and ſuch as were not pleaſed with either of thoſe two courſes might join their companions in Lydia and Parthia, or ſeek their fortunes in other countries. We read in ſcripture, that all the families of the north were with Nebuchadnezzar; which may well be underſtood of thoſe northern nations ſettling in his dominions, after they were driven out of Media and Lydia. 'Tis certain, that after this expulſion of the Scythians, the Babylonians, who never before had been a match for the Egyptians, in all engagements with them carried the day; which may be aſcribed to this new addition of forces.

(U) This Herodotus delivers as the occaſion of a war between the Medes and Lydians; the one king demanding the fugitives, and

the ſixth year of this war was very remarkable on account of a total eclipſe of the ſun, which happened during the engagement, and had been foretold by Thales the Mileſian (W). * The Medes and Lydians, who were then in the heat and the other refuſing to deliver up ſuch as had put themſelves under his protection. But to us, we muſt own, it does not at all ſeem probable, that the Scythians ſhould have ſheltered themſelves from their own countrymen in the dominions of either prince, conſidering how odious the Scythian name muſt at this time have been in both kingdoms. As to Cyaxares, they had particular reaſons to diſtruſt him for the treachery he had ſhewn towards their countrymen, as we have related above. Some writers are of opinion, that the Scythians, who retired into Lydia, where ſuch as had eſcaped the maſſacre in Media, and not a new colony, which ſeems moſt likely, for that univerſal ſlaughter being freſh in their memories, it is very unlikely, that other Scythians would have come to ſettle in the very country where it had been lately perpetrated.

(W) That this eclipſe fell out while Cyaxares the father of Aſtyages and Halyattes the father of Crœſus were engaged in a battle, is confirmed by Endemus in his aſtronomical hiſtory. Pliny likewiſe (51), in ſpeaking of eclipſes, acquaints us, that Thales the Mileſian was the firſt that foretold an eclipſe of the ſun; and adds, that the eclipſe foretold by him happened in the fourth year of the forty-eighth olympiad in the reign of Halyattes (and not of Aſtyages as we find in ſome modern copies) 170 years after the foundation of Rome. Clemens Alexandrinus (52) places this battle and the ecclipſe of the ſun in the 50th olympiad, wherein he differs widely from Endemus, whom he quotes and pretends to follow. The time aſſigned both by him and Pliny does not ſuit with the reign of Cyaxares, but with that of his ſucceſſor Aſtyages. The ſun and moon tables of Ptolemy, which are the ſame with thoſe of Hipparchus, place this eclipſe on the fourth year of the 44th olympiad, and on the 4th day of the Egyptian month Pacon (or the 20th day of September, according to the Julian calendar, on a ſunday) three hours, thirty-five minutes before noon. But according to Sir Iſaac Newton it fell upon the 28th of May, in the year of Nabonaſſar 163, forty-ſeven years before the taking of Babylon (53), and 585 before Chriſt.

* Sir Iſaac Newton and Dr. Prideaux place the Lydian peace after the deſtruction of Niniveh, and the former fixes the eclipſe of the ſun, that happened during the engagement on the 28th

(51) Plin. l. 1. c. 12. (52) Clem. Alexand. Stromat. l. 1.
(53) Sir Iſaac Newt. Chron. of Antient. kingd. amend. p. 216.

heat of the battle, equally terrified with this unforeseen event, which they looked upon as a sign of the anger of the gods, immediately retreated, and soon after concluded a peace by the mediation of Labynetus, that is, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and Syennesis, king of Cilicia. This peace was strengthened by a marriage between Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes, and Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares. Of which marriage was born the ensuing year Cyaxares, who in the book of Daniel is called Darius the Mede [e].

Cyaxares's first care, as soon as he was disengaged from the Lydian war, was to resume the siege of Niniveh, which the irruption of the Scythians had obliged him to raise. Having with this view entered into a strait alliance with Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and confirmed it by a marriage btweeen that prince and his daughter Amyite (X), he returned in conjunction with the Babylonians before Niniveh, took the

[e] Herodot. ubi supra.

of May, 585 years before Christ. Cyaxares, according to the computation of the authors in this volume, began his reign 624 years before Christ; allow him to have taken up his two first years in preparations of war and besieging of Niniveh; the Scythians held Asia 28 years; Niniveh was taken in the second or third year after the expulsion of the Scythians and in the sixth year after the destruction of Niniveh, and the 39 year of the reign of Cyaxares the battle was fought with the Lydians, the year in which Sir Isaac Newton places the eclipse. This being the most intricate part of chronology in this volume, it seemed proper to make these observations.

(X) Some will have Amyite to be the daughter of Astyages and grand-daughter of Cyaxares. But Astyages could not at that time have a daughter marriageable, and Nebuchadenezzar, had he married her, must have been at the time of his death at least eighty five years old, and Astyages much older. In the book of Tobit the destruction of Niniveh is ascribed to Ahasuerus king of Media and Nabuchadonosor king of Babylon. This Ahasuerus can be no other than Cyaxares, who, as Sir Isaac Newton shews, was called Achsuerus, Assuerus, Oxyares, Axeres, prince Axeres or Cy-Axeres, the word Cy signifying a prince in the Median language (54). By Nabuchadonosor is meant Nebuchadnezzar

(54) Sir Isaac Newt. ubi supra. p. 509.

the place, ſlew Sarac the king, and levelled that mighty city with the ground. Thus was the proud metropolis of the Aſſyrian empire laid in aſhes, purſuant to the prophecies uttered above a hundred years before. * *Wo to the bloody, it is all full of lies and robbery; he that daſhes in pieces is come up before thy face* [f]. *The Lord cometh to avenge the cruelties done to* Jacob *and to* Iſrael. *I hear already the noiſe of the whip, and the noiſe of the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horſes and of the jumping chariots. The horſeman lifteth up both the bright ſword and the glittering ſpear. The ſhield of his mighty men is made red: the valiant men are in ſcarlet. They ſhall ſeem like torches, they ſhall run like the lightning. God is jealous; the Lord revengeth, and is furious. The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is burnt at his preſence: who can ſtand before his indignation; and who can abide in the fierceneſs of his anger?*

Be-

[f] Nahum. iii. 1. ii. 1, 2, & ſeq.

buchadnezzar the great, both theſe names being given by the Babylonians to their kings, as that of Pharaoh was by the Egyptians to theirs. That Nabopollaſſar the father of Nebuchadnezzar was called by theſe names, is plain from the book of the Rabbies, and from Joſephus. R. Juchaſin calls Nebuchadnezzar the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar (55); and David Ganz calls the father Nebuchadnezzar the firſt, and the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar the ſecond (56). Joſephus in ſpeaking of Nabopallaſſar ſometimes calls him Nabuchadonoſor (57) and ſometimes Nabulaſſar (59), which is a contradiction of Nabopallaſſar. It is certain, that the books of Tobit and Judith cannot be reconciled with any other antient writings, ſacred or profane, relating to thoſe times, unleſs we allow the name of Nabuchadonoſor to have been common to the kings of Babylon.

* The authors fix the taking of Niniveh in the year 609 before Chriſt. Cyaxares began to reign in the year 624 before Chriſt, according to the computation of the authors here in the hiſtory of the Medes; the Scythians poſſeſſed Aſia 28 years, and ſix years he was engaged in a war with the Lydians, therefore Niniveh could not be taken before the year 589 before Chriſt; ſo that if they are right as to the deſtruction of Niniveh, Phraortes's death could not happen later than the year 636 as placed in the firſt volume; but this is contrary to Sir Iſaac Newton's calculation of the eclipſe and the former obſervations.

(55) Juchaſ. fol. 136. (56) David. Ganz. at the year of the world 3285. (57) Joſeph. antiq. l. 10. c. 11. (59) Joſeph. contra Apion. l. 1.

Behold I am againſt thee ſaith the Lord of hoſts: I will ſtrip thee of all thy ornaments. Take ye the ſpoil of ſilver, take the ſpoil of gold; for there is no end of the ſtore and glory out of all the pleaſant furniture. She is empty, and void, and waſte. Niniveh *is deſtroyed; ſhe is overthrown; ſhe is deſolate. The gate of the rivers ſhall be opened, and the palace ſhall be diſſolved. And* Huzzab *ſhall be led away captive; ſhe ſhall be brought up, and her maids ſhall lead her, as with the voice of doves tabring upon her breaſts. I ſee a multitude of ſlain, and a great number of carcaſſes; and there is no end of their corpſes; they ſtumble upon their corpſes. Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feeding place of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lions whelp, and none made them afraid: where the lion did tear in pieces enough for his whelps, and ſtrangled for his lioneſſes, and filled his holes with prey, and his dens with rapine? The Lord ſhall deſtroy* Aſſur [g]. *He ſhall depopulate the city, which was ſo beautiful, and turn it into a land where no man cometh, and into a deſart. It ſhall be a dwelling place for wild beaſts, and the birds of night ſhall lurk therein. Behold, ſhall it be ſaid, ſee that proud city, which was ſo ſtately and ſo exalted, which ſaid in her heart, I am the only city, and beſide me there is no other. All they that paſs by her ſhall ſcoff at her, and inſult her with hiſſings and contemptuous gueſtures* (Y).

This

[g] Zephan. ii. 13. 15.

(Y) On the ruins of the old Niniveh another city was raiſed, which for a long time bore the ſame name, but never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is now called Moſul (60), and ſituated on the weſt ſide of the Tigris, where was antiently only a part of the ſuburbs of old Niniveh; for the city itſelf ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the river. The circuit of Niniveh was, according to Diodorus Siculus (61), 480 furlongs, that is ſixty of our miles. Hence it is ſaid by Jonah (62) to be a city of three days journey, that is in compaſs. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well walk in one day. Strabo (63) tells us, that it was much bigger than Babylon, and in the ſame place ſays, that the circuit of Babylon was 385 furlongs, that

(60) Thevenot. part. 2. l. 1. c. 11. p. 50. (61) Diodor. Sicul. l. 2. p. 65. (62) Jonah. iii. 3. (63) Strabo l. 16, p. 737.

THIS victory with the deſtruction of Niniveh the Jews aſcribe to the Chaldeans; the Greek to the Medes; Tobit, Polyhiſtor, Joſephus, and Cteſias to both. It gave a beginning to the great ſucceſſes of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares, and laid the foundation of the two collateral empires, as we may call them, of the Medes and Babylonians, which roſe on the ruins of the Aſſyrian monarchy.

AFTER the reduction of Niniveh, the two conquerors proſecuting their victory led the confederate army againſt Pharaoh-Neco king of Egypt, who had ſometime before routed the king of Aſſyria and taken Carchemiſh. Pharaoh met them near the Euphrates, was defeated, and forced to abandon whatever he had formerly taken from the Aſſyrians [h]; for what once belonged to them, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar looked upon now as theirs by right of conqueſt (Z). After this victory they ſeized on the important place of Carſhemiſh, reduced all Cœle-Syria and Phœnice, and then with an army of Babylonians, Medes, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, to the number of 10,000 chariots, 180,000 foot, and 120,000 horſe, invaded and laid waſte Samaria, Galilee, Scythopolis, &c. and at laſt beſieged

[h] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. Jerem. xlvi. 2. Eupol. apud. Euſeb. præp. evang. l. 9. c. 35.

that is 48 of our miles. The other twelve miles make it, as Strabo ſays, much bigger than Babylon. We have already fixed the æra of its deſtruction.

(Z) From this time the Jewiſh computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, and therefore the fourth year of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchanezzar was by his father taken into partnerſhip of the empire, is according to the Jews (64) the firſt year of his reign. But according to the Babylonian computation his reign is not reckoned to begin till his father's death, which happened two years after. As both theſe computations are found in ſcripture, we thought it neceſſary to ſay thus much in order to reconcile them. We muſt further obſerve, that as the Chaldean aſtronomers counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Nabonaſſar, beginning with the month Thoth; ſo the Jews counted the reigns of their kings by the years of Moſes, beginning with the month Niſan; inſomuch, that if any king began his reign but a few days before the firſt of the month Niſan, thoſe few days were reckoned a whole year, and the beginning of this month was accounted the beginning of his ſecond year (65).

(64) Jerem. xxv. 1. (65) Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſupra. p. 296.

beſieged Jeruſalem, and took king Jehoiakim priſoner [i]. Enriched with the ſpoils of the conquered nations, they divided their forces, Nebuchadnezzar purſuing his conqueſts in the weſt, and Cyaxares falling upon the Aſſyrian provinces of Armenia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. After this they united their forces once more, and by the reduction of Perſis (A) and Suſiana accompliſhed the conqueſt of the Aſſyrian empire.

The prophet Ezekiel [k] enumerates the chief nations that were ſubdued and ſlaughtered by the two conquerors, Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar. *Aſhur is there and all her company*, viz. in Hades or the lower parts of the earth, where the dead bodies lay buried, *his graves are about him: all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living. There is* Elam, *and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them ſlain, fallen by the ſword, which are gone down uncircumciſed into the nether parts of the earth, which cauſed their terror in the land of the living: yet have the born their ſhame with them that go down into the pit.*——*There is* Meſhech, Tubal, *and all her multitude* (viz. the *Scythians*); *her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumciſed, ſlain by the ſword, though they cauſed their terror in the land of the living.*—*There is* Edom, *her kings, and all her princes, which with their might, are laid by them that were ſlain by the ſword. There be the princes of the north all of them, and all the* Zidonians, *which with their terror are gone down with the*

[i] 2 Kings. xxiv. 2. 7. Daniel i. 1. & 2 Chron, xxxvi. 6. [k] Ezek. xxxii.

(A) While the Aſſyrians reigned at Niniveh, Perſia was divided into ſeveral kingdoms. Amongſt others there was a kingdom of Elam, which flouriſhed in the days of Hezekiah, Manaſſah, Joſiah, and Jehoiakim, kings of Judah, and fell in the reign of Zedekiah (66). This kingdom ſeems to have been very powerful, and to have waged war with the king of Touran or Scythia, beyond the river Oxus, with various ſucceſs, and at length to have been ſubdued by the Medes and Babylonians; which confirms what we have ſaid before, viz. that the Perſians were not ſubdued by Phraortes, as Herodotus would have it, but by Cyaxares, in conjunction with the Babylonians.

(66) Jerem. xxv. 29. and xlix. 34. Ezek. xxxii. 24.

the ſlain. By the princes of the north are meant ſuch as were on the north of Judæa, namely the princes of Armenia and Cappadocia, who fell in the wars which Cyaxares waged in reducing thoſe provinces after the deſtruction of Niniveh.

CYAXARES, having thus erected the kingdom of Media into a powerful empire, and ſhared the new acquiſitions with his Babylonian ally, died in the fortieth year of his reign [l], and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

ASTYAGES, who in ſcripture is called Ahaſuerus [m]. This prince had by Aryenis, the daughter of Halyattes king of Lydia, Cyaxares II. called in ſcripture Darius the Mede, and who was ſixty two years old at the taking of Babylon [n]. The ſame year that Cyaxares was born, Aſtyages gave his daughter Mandane, whom he had by a former wife, to Cambyſes a Perſian; from which marriage ſprung Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian monarch, and the reſtorer of the Jews to their country, to their temple, and former condition. He was born but one year after the birth of his uncle Cyaxares, and conſequently was in the ſixty-firſt year of his age when Babylon was taken. Whether his father Cambyſes was king of Perſia, as Xenophon [o] would have it, or only a nobleman of that country, as we read in Herodotus [p], is what we ſhall examine hereafter. Though the reign of Aſtyages was very long, having laſted thirty-five years [p], yet we find no particulars of it recorded in hiſtory, except his repulſing the Babylonians, who, under the conduct of Evil-merodach the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar, had made an inroad into his country, as we have related at length elſewhere [q]. The victory, which he gained on this occaſion, was in great part owing to the valour and conduct of Cyrus, who attended his grandfather in this expedition, and, though at that time but ſixteen years of age, ſignalized himſelf in a very particular manner [r], purſuing the Babylonian with great ſlaughter quite home to his own borders. This raſh, and ſeemingly unjuſt, undertaking of Evil-merodach laid the foundation of that animoſity between the Medes and Babylonians, which ended at laſt in the ruin of Babylon. From hence we may infer, that Evil-merodach was not the ſon of

Aſtyages. Year of the Flood, 2415. Before Chriſt 584.

[l] Herodot ubi ſupra. [m] Dan. ix. 1. [n] Dan. v. 30, 31. [o] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. [p] Herodot. l. 1. [p] Herodot. l. 1. c 130. [q] See before p. 965. [r] Xenoph. l. 1. Cyropæd.

of Nebuchadnezzar by Amyite the daughter of Cyaxares, or, as others will have it, of Astyages, but by some other wife; it not being likely, that they would have thus engaged in war against each other had they been so nearly related. It is still more improbable, that Evil-merodach should undertake such hostilities while he was on the point of marrying Nitocris, as is commonly reported, who was by birth a Mede.

Cyaxares II. Year after the Flood, 2450. Before Christ 549.

Astyages after a reign of thirty-five years was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, uncle to Cyrus. This prince was scarce warm on his throne, when he found himself engaged in a bloody war with Nerigliſſar, who had murdered Evil-merodach and usurped the crown of Babylon. This war was carried on with great slaughter on both sides by Cyaxares and Cyrus, during the reigns of the usurper Nerigliſſar, of his son Laborosoarchod, and of Nabonadius, the son of Evil-merodach and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, in whose time Babylon was taken, and the Babylonian empire utterly ruined. But as this war, which lasted twenty years, was entirely managed by Cyrus, we shall defer the relating of these important events, till the reign of that great and glorious prince, which, as he was the founder of the Persian monarchy, we shall reserve to the history of that empire.

As for Cyaxares, he is said in scripture to have taken the kingdom, after the reduction of Babylon and death of Belshazzar [s]. For Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire only in partnership with him, though he had entirely acquired it by his own valour. Nay, so far did he carry his complaisance, that he let him enjoy the first rank. But, the command of the army and the whole management of affairs being vested in Cyrus, he alone was looked upon as the supreme governor of the empire. And hence it is, that in Ptolemy's canon no notice is taken of Cyaxares, but immediately after the death of Nabonadius, Cyrus is placed there as the next successor. But that a Mede reigned at Babylon after the death of Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus calls him Labynetus, the last Babylonian king in the canon, is plain both from Xenophon [t] and scripture: the former tells us, that, after the taking of Babylon, Cyrus went to the king of the Medes at Ecbatan, and succeeded him in the kingdom: and we read in scripture, that Babylon

[s] Dan. v. 31. [t] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 8.

Babylon was destroyed by the Medes [u]; *by the kings of the Medes, and the captains and rulers thereof, and all the land of his dominion* [x]; that the kingdom of Babylon was *numbered, and finished, and broken, and given to the Medes and Persians* [y]; first to the Medes under Darius, and then to the Persians under Cyrus: for Darius reigned over Babylon like a conqueror, not observing the laws of the Babylonians, but introducing the immutable laws of the conquering nations the Medes and Persians [z]. In his reign the Medes, as we have observed elsewhere, are constantly placed before the Persians [a]; as the Persians, in the reign of Cyrus and his successors, are placed before the Medes [b]; which shews, that, according to scripture, a Mede reigned at Babylon between the last Babylonish king in Ptolemy's canon and Cyrus. This king can be no other than Cyaxares, as Xenophon calls him [c], or Darius the Mede, as he is stiled by Daniel. The scripture ascribes the destruction of Babylon chiefly to Cyaxares, whereof Hierom alledges three reasons [d]; 1. because Darius or Cyaxares was the elder of the two; 2. in regard the Medes were at that time more famous than the Persians; and lastly, because the uncle ought to be preferred to the nephew. On the other hand, few of the Greek writers take any notice of Cyaxares, which we may easily account for. The Persians, desirous to magnify and extol Cyrus their countryman, gave him all the glory of that great conquest, and from them the Greeks borrowed their relations. Besides, Cyrus alone was employed in the siege of Babylon, Darius being then absent, and the confederate army under his conduct stormed the town, and put an end to the empire of Babylon. We may add, that as Darius did not reign at Babylon full two years, before the fame of this great conquest was spread abroad in distant countries, Cyrus was in the entire possession of the Babylonian empire, whence they looked upon him as the great hero, who had alone performed such extraordinary feats. But Josephus [e], who was better informed, tells us, that Darius with his ally Cyrus destroyed the kingdom of Babylon. The same author adds, that this

Darius

[u] Isa. xiii. 17, 19. [x] Jer. li. 11. 28. [y] Dan. v. 26, 28. [z] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. [a] Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. v. 28 viii. 20. [b] Est. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Dan. x. 1, 20.
[c] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 19. [d] Comment. in Dan. v.
[e] Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 13.

Darius was the son of Astyages, and that he was known to the Greeks by another name. Now if we ask the Greeks the name of Astyages's son, Xenophon [f] will tell us, that he was called Cyaxares. As for the name of Darius, it was preserved in the Darics or Stateres Darici, those famous pieces of gold, which for several ages were preferred by the eastern nations to any other coin: for we are told [g], that these were coined not by the father of Xerxes, but by an earlier Darius, the first king of the Medes and Persians that coined gold. But no Darius, more antient than the father of Xerxes, is any where said to have reigned, except this Darius, whom the scripture calls Darius the Mede.

After the reduction of Babylon, Cyaxares in concert with Cyrus settled the affairs of their new empire, dividing it into 120 provinces [h], which were governed by those who had distinguished themselves during the war. Over these governors were appointed three presidents, who were constantly to reside at court, and, receiving accounts of what happened in the several provinces, dispatch the king's orders to the immediate officers; so that these three principal ministers had the super-intendency over, and the chief administration of, the most weighty affairs of the whole kingdom. Of these Daniel was appointed the chief, an honour, which he highly deserved, not only on account of his great wisdom, but likewise of his age and consummate experience; for he had now served the kings of Babylon full sixty-five years in the quality of prime minister. As this employment advanced him to be the next person to the king, it raised no small jealousy in the other courtiers, who conspiring against him would have compassed his ruin, had he not been miraculously preserved by that providence, which is ever watching over the safety of the just. As the only thing they could lay hold of to disgrace him at court, and make him incur the king's displeasure, was the law of his God, to which they knew him inviolably attached, they prevailed with Darius to issue out a proclamation, forbidding all persons to put up any petition whatsoever to God or man, except to the king, for the space of thirty days, upon pain of being cast into the lions den. Now, as Daniel was saying

[f] Xenoph. ubi supra. [g] Suidas in Δαρεικός, Harpocr. in Δαρεικός, Scholiast. in Aristoph. Eccles. p. 741, 742. [h] Dan. vi. 1.

ing his usual prayers, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, he was surprised, accused, and, as the laws of the Medes were unalterable, condemned to be devoured by the lions. But, being miraculously delivered from their jaws, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and greatly raised, as we may well imagine, Daniel's reputation, both with Darius and Cyrus [i]. This probably happened, while Cyrus was in Syria; for after having settled his affairs at Babylon, and furnished the garisons with such troops as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, which he brought under subjection with the other adjacent countries, extending his conquests as far as the Red sea and the confines of Æthiopia. In the mean time, Darius remained at Babylon, managed the civil affairs of the empire; and in this interval was Daniel cast into the lions den. The Darics were, perhaps, coined much about the same time out of the gold of the conquered Lydians (B). But in the reign of Cyrus we shall give a more distinct account of several particulars relating to his two predecessors Cyaxares and Astyages. We have hitherto supposed the former to be Daniel's Darius the Mede, and Nabonadius his Belshazzar; but as both these points are controverted by writers of no mean characters, before we dismiss the history of Media we must beg leave to offer some thing in our notes in defence of this our supposition, after having acquainted the reader with the sentiments of others, and the arguments they produce to support them (C).

CHAP.

[i] Dan. vi. 4, 5, 6, & seq.

(B) This piece, according to Dr. Bernard (67), weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but as it had very little allay, it may be reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to have been worth twenty-five shillings.

(C) As the whole history of Babylon, from the death of Nebuchadnezzar to the reduction of that city by Cyrus, is overcast, we may say, with an impenetrable mist, writers are strangely puzzled to find out Daniel's Belshazzar among the last kings that reigned

(67) De ponder. & mensur. antiq. p. 171.

reigned there, and equally at a loſs concerning his Darius the Mede, who was in that kingdom ſucceeded by Cyrus. To proceed with all the perſpicuity we can in ſo perplexed a ſubject, we ſhall firſt produce what we read in the prophecies of Daniel relating to the laſt kings of Babylon; 2. What is allowed on all hands to be certain, and is confirmed by the concurrence of all the prophane hiſtorians; and laſtly the various opinions of modern writers, with the arguments they alledge to ſupport them.

The prophet Daniel, after mentioning what had happened in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, relates the viſions he had in the firſt and third year of Belſhazzar, and the fatal end of that prince in the following manner (68). Belſhazzar, having made a great feaſt, commanded the veſſels of gold and ſilver to be brought to him, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple of Jeruſalem. He drank in them, and his wives, and his concubines, and the lords of his court. In the ſame hour an hand appeared and wrote over-againſt the candleſtick on the plaiſter of the wall of the king's palace. The king, who ſaw the motion of the hand, was greatly frightened, and commanded his wiſe-men and ſooth-ſayers to be ſent for. But none of them being able to explain the writing, Daniel was immediately ſent for at the ſuggeſtion of the queen, who, on the alarm which that prodigy had occaſioned, entered the banquetting-room, and acquainted the king with the great abilitities of Daniel in ſuch matters. The prophet, after reproaching the king for profaning the holy veſſels, reads the writing, and informs him, that the words, are Mene Mene, Tekel Upharſin, which he thus interprets; Mene, God has numbered thy kingdom and finiſhed it: Tekel, thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting: Peres, thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Perſians. The prophet adds, that in that night Belſhazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was ſlain, and that Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threeſcore and two years old.

The ſame prophet informs us next (69), what order Darius eſtabliſhed in the realm, and relates the viſions which he had in the firſt year of Darius and in the third of Cyrus. It is manifeſt, that Daniel ſpeaks here of three kings ſucceeding each other to the crown of Babylon; namely, Belſhazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. The laſt is well known; but the queſtion is, who the two others were? a queſtion which we muſt endeavour to ſolve, in order to reconcile Daniel and the profane hiſtorians.

Moſt hiſtorians agree, that Nebuchadnezzar, after a reign of forty-three years, (or forty-five if we compute the two years which he reigned jointly with his father) was ſucceeded by his ſon Evil-merodach, who reigned two complete years, and was murdered

(68) Dan. c. v. (69) Dan. c. vi.

murdered in the beginning of his third by Nerigliſſar. Nerigliſſar ruled four years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Laboroſoarchod, who was murdered after a ſhort reign of nine months. Nabonadius came to the crown next, and reigned ſeveſhteen years. In his time the city of Babylon was taken by Cyrus, and the empire overturned.

'Tis manifeſt, that Belſhazzar was one of the four laſt kings of Babylon, and that he was of the race of Nebuchadnezzar, ſince in ſcripture he is often called his ſon; but authors are ſtrangely puzzled to determine which of the four bears this name in Daniel's prophecies.

Sir John Marſham takes Belſhazzar to be Evil-merodach the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar; he founds his opinion on the authority of ſcripture, where Nebuchadnezzar is often called the father of Belſhazzar, and Belſhazzar the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar. Several other circumſtances concur to prove that Evil-merodach and Belſhazzar muſt be one and the ſame perſon. Beroſus (70) repreſents Evil-merodach as a lewd and wicked prince; Belſhazzar in ſcripture bears the ſame character. Beroſus tells us, that Evil-merodach was killed at a banquet by ſome of his lords (71); the ſcripture ſays that Belſhazzar was murdered at a great entertainment which he gave to 1000 of his lords. However convincing theſe proofs may ſeem and conſonant to ſcripture, yet upon examination we ſhall find them to be of no force, and quite inconſiſtent with what we read in holy-writ. The prophet Daniel, after relating what happened to Belſhazzar at his grand entertainment, adds, and in that night Belſhazzar, king of the Chaldeans, was ſlain, and Darius the Median took the kingdom. From theſe words it is plain, that immediately after the death of Belſhazzar the kingdom was given to the Medes and Perſians (73). But this did not happen upon the death of Evil-merodach, who was ſucceeded, according to Beroſus and Megaſthenes, (74) and Sir John Marſham himſelf, by Nerigliſſar his ſiſter's huſband, who was at the head of the conſpiracy againſt him. This objection ſeemed of ſuch weight to Sir John Marſham, that, in order to allude it, and maintain his aſſertion without contradicting the ſcripture, he was forced to ſuppoſe Nerigliſſar to be Darius the Mede, and the Medo-Perſian empire to have begun in him; a ſuppoſition which we ſhall confute when we come to ſpeak of Darius the Mede. To what we have alledged out of Daniel againſt our learned author's ſyſtem, we ſhall add a proof no leſs convincing from the prophet Jeremiah, who foretold (75), that *all nations ſhould ſerve him,*

(70) Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11. (71) Beroſus ibid. (73) Dan. v. 28, 30, 31. (74) Beroſus & Megaſthen. ubi ſupra, & apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. 9. (75) Jer. xxvii. 7.

him, (Nebuchadnezzar) and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon. If the kingdom was transferred from his ſon to the Medes and Perſians, as Sir John Marſham would have it, it is manifeſt, that this prophecy was never fulfilled. What the author urges in defence of his opinion, viz. that Belſhazzar was, according to ſcripture, the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar, is very true, not in a literal, but more extenſive, ſenſe, wherein any deſcendant is called ſon, and any anceſtor father; and that this is the ſtile of the ſcripture, nobody, who is converſant in the holy books, can be ignorant of.

To Evil-merodach ſucceeded, as we have hinted above, Nerigliſſar, who had married Nebuchadnezzar's daughter. We have not yet met with any author that ever aſſerted him to be Daniel's Belſhazzar. He reigned four years, and left a ſon, named Laboroſoarchod according to Beroſus, or Labaſſoaraſc, as Megaſthenes is pleaſed to call him (76). This prince came very young to the crown, and betrayed a moſt vicious turn of mind, was murdered by his own ſubjects after he had reigned only nine months (77). And this is the reaſon why he is omitted in Ptolemy's canon, where the whole year is reckoned to the king that begins it, how ſoon ſoever he dies after. If a king died but a few days after the beginning of the month Thoth, he was ſaid to have reigned that whole year; and if any other reigned in the interim, but did not live to the beginning of the ſaid month, his name was omitted in the canon. And this was the caſe of Laboroſoarchod.

But to return to our ſubject; Joſeph Scaliger (78), will have Laboroſoarchod to be Daniel's Belſhazzar, and founds his opinion on the following arguments, viz. that he was the laſt of Nebuchadnezzar's race; that he was killed by conſpirators, and that his kingdom devolved to Nabonadius or Labynitus, who was, according to Megaſthenes (79), a ſtranger to the family of Nebuchadnezzar. He adds a circumſtance out of Daniel, which he takes to be of great weight; the queen adviſed Belſhazzar to conſult Daniel; this queen, ſays he, could not be the king's wife; for his wives and concubines were at the feaſt; 'twas therefore the queen mother, which ſuits well with the character of Nebuchadnezzar's daughter, who was regent. If we object againſt this hypotheſis, that Laboroſoarchod reigned only nine months, whereas it is plain from Daniel, that Belſhazzar reigned ſome years; his anſwer is, that the ſcripture aſcribes to Laboroſoarchod or Belſhazzar the whole four years which the canon accounts to Nerigliſſar or Nericaſſolaſſar, as he is there called, becauſe Nerigliſſar reigned only as his guardian. And hence it is, that we hear of

(76) Beroſus apud Joſeph. contra Apion. l. 1. Megaſthen. ubi ſupra. (77) Beroſus ubi ſupra. (78) Scaliger in notis ad frag. veter. Græcor. ſelect. de emendat. tempor. l. 6. c. de Regib. Babylon. (79) Megaſth. ubi ſupra.

of the firſt and third year of Belſhazzar in Daniel (80), though Laboroſoarchod reigned alone no more than nine months.

This opinion too is clogged with two unſurmountable difficulties, which, in a few words, are; 1. That it ſuppoſes Nabonadius to be Darius the Mede, a ſuppoſition which we ſhall plainly prove from holy writ to be falſe; 2. That it falſifies the prophecy of Jeremiah, promiſing the empire to Nebuchadnezzar, to his ſon, and his ſon's ſon; whereas Laboroſoarchod was his daughter's ſon. This difficulty Scaliger ſeems not to be aware of, ſince he takes no notice of it, in ſolving the objections that may be brought againſt his opinion.

If neither Evil-merodach, or Nerigliſſar, nor Laboroſoarchod were Daniel's Belſhazzar, it follows, that Nabonadius was the king who in ſcripture bears that name. This will appear more plain if we conſider, 1. That he is on all hands agreed to have been the laſt of the Babylonian kings, and therefore muſt be the ſame, who in ſcripture is called Belſhazzar; for immediately after the death of Belſhazzar the kingdom was given to the Medes and Perſians (81). 2. That he was of the race of Nebuchadnezzar, for he is by Daniel often called his ſon, and in the Chronicles (82) it is ſaid, that Nebuchadnezzar and his children or off-ſpring reigned at Babylon till the kingdom of Perſia; 3. That the nations of the eaſt were to ſerve Nebuchadnezzar, and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (83); he muſt therefore have been ſucceeded by a ſon and a ſon's ſon to the crown of Babylon. Evil-merodach was his ſon, and of all the kings that reigned after him none but Belſhazzar could be his ſon's ſon. For Nerigliſſar was only his daughter's huſband, and Laboſoarchod his daughter's ſon. 4. Herodotus tells us, that the laſt king of Babylon was ſon to the celebrated queen Nitocris; and it is plain, that by Evil-merodach alone ſhe could have a ſon, who was ſon's ſon to Nebuchadnezzar. This opinion ſeems to us the leaſt perplexed with difficulties, and of all others the moſt agreeable to what we read both in ſcripture and in the profane hiſtorians; and therefore we have, upon ſecond thoughts, preferred it to that of Sir John Marſham, which we were inclined to embrace in our hiſtory of Babylon.

Authors are no leſs divided in their opinions touching Daniel's Darius the Mede, than they are about his Belſhazzar. Sir John Marſham (84), as we have hinted above, ſtands up for Nerigliſſar, and will have the Medo-Perſian empire to have begun in him. He ſuppoſes Nerigliſſar to have been a Mede, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he married the ſiſter of Evil-merodach, whoſe mother

(80) Dan. vii. 1. viii. 1.
(81) Dan. v. 28, 30, 31.
(82) Chron. ii. c. xxxvi. 20.
(83) Jer. c. xxvii. 7.
(84) Can. Cron. Sæcul. 18.

mother was a Mede. We are unwilling to quarrel with him on account of this supposition, or rather conjecture; but should be glad to know how, even in this supposition, the kingdom of Babylon was upon the death of Belshazzar, that is according to him of Evil-merodach, divided and given to the Medes and Persians; and this happened immediately upon the death of that king, as the words of the prophet plainly insinuate; *thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians.* —— *In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom* (85). Besides, it is very plain from the whole sixth chapter of Daniel, that Darius the Mede was king of Media. He introduced the laws of the Medes and Persians, which would have been very impolitic in him, had he usurped the crown without any friends or troops to rely on, except the Babylonians, whose laws he trod under foot and annulled. And this, if we suppose him to be Neriglissar, was his case, for he introduced the laws of the Medes and Persians, was at war with both nations, and had no friends to depend upon except his own subjects, who naturally must have hated him, without any farther provocation, as a stranger, as an usurper, and as the murderer of their lawful prince. To this we may add, that if the Medo-Persian empire began in Neriglissar, Cyrus did not destroy the Babylonian but the Medo-Persian empire, which no author ever asserted. But the strongest proof, in our opinion, that can be produced against this system, and that also of Scaliger, who takes Nabonadius to be Darius the Mede, is, that Darius is said to have divided his empire into 120 provinces (86), which must be understood, not of the Babylonian, which was never so extensive, but of the Persian, empire. The latter on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India by Darius Hystaspis had seven other provinces added to its former number. Whence in the time of Esther it consisted of 127 provinces. If this was the division of the Persian empire in her time, the former must necessarily have been of the same empire. For if the Persian empire from India to Ethiopia contained but 127 provinces, the empire of Babylon alone, which was hardly the seventh part of the other, could not contain 120. It is not therefore to be doubted, but Darius the Mede was lord not of the Babylonian only, but of the Persian empire, which cannot be said either of Nerigliffar or Nabonadius.

Scaliger (87) maintains Nabonadius to be Daniel's Darius, adding, that he was by nation a Mede, and no ways related to Nebuchadnezzar, but freely elected king by the same Babylonian lords who put Laborosoarchod to death. That he was freely elected he endeavours to prove from the words of the prophet Daniel, saying, that he took the kingdom, which imply a free election, and not a forcible invasion. That

(85) Dan. v. 28, 30, 31. (86) Dan. vi. 1. (87) Scal. de emendat. tem. l. 6.

That he was a Mede he pretends to evince from a prophecy, which Megaſthenes (88) relates Nebuchadnezzar to have uttered before his death, foretelling to the Babylonians, that a great calamity was to fall on them, which neither Belus, nor queen Beltis could avert; that a Perſian mule ſhould bring the Babylonians under ſubjection, being aſſiſted by a Mede. The Perſian mule is Cyrus, he being the iſſue of a Perſian and a Mede; the Mede, who aſſiſted him, was Nabonadius. If we aſk Scaliger how Nabonadius can be ſaid to have aſſiſted Cyrus in deſtroying the city and kingdom of Babylon, ſince he waged war with him in defence of both, and was vanquiſhed and killed; his anſwer is, that Nabonadius forwarded the deſtruction of Babylon by being conquered and ſlain, and that in this ſenſe (if in this there be any ſenſe) he concurred with Cyrus in the overturning of the Babylonian empire. This argument needs no anſwer, it is ſufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore Iſaac Voſſius well obſerves (89), that the arguments produced by Scaliger to ſupport this wild opinion are unworthy of Scaliger. As to his other proof, viz. that Darius took the kingdom; they imply, we own, no violence, on the part of Darius, who cannot properly be ſaid to have ſtormed the town or won it by dint of arms; ſeeing this was performed by Cyrus in the abſence of Darius, though with the joint forces of the Medes and Perſians. The city being thus reduced by the troops of Darius and by Cyrus his general, Darius without any farther oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the empire as conquered by his forces. It is not by any means probable, that the Babylonian lords after murdering their kings ſhould place a Mede on the throne, while they were at open war with that nation; nor can the diviſion of the Kingdom of Babylon between the Medes and Perſians foretold by Daniel be meant of a king, who, though by nation a Mede, ſhould be elected by the Babylonians, and peaceably enjoy the kingdom till driven out by the Perſians. This diviſion muſt have been made after the empire was deſtroyed and the city taken. To conclude; this ſyſtem contradicts not only the prophecy of Daniel, touching the diviſion of the empire between the Babylonians and Medes, but that likewiſe of Jeremiah, where it is ſaid, that *all nations ſhould ſerve him* (Nebuchadnezzar) *and his ſon, and his ſon's ſon.* If Nabonadius was Darius, who of all the kings of Babylon was Nebuchadnezzar's ſon's ſon? Since Scaliger could not anſwer this queſtion, it is well done of him to take notice of it, in diſplaying and ſolving, in the beſt manner he could, ſeveral difficulties that others might have ſtarted againſt his aſſertion. He commonly adopts the ſentiments of Beroſus; but here he even forſakes him; for Beroſus tells us (90), that

(88) Apud Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. 9. (89) Iſaac Voſs. Chronol. Sac. p. 144. (90) Beroſ. apud Joſeph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 11.

Nabonadius was a Babylonian. 'Tis true, he seems afterwards concerned for having thus slighted the authority of such an unerring guide, and is inclined to make him a Babylonian. But how can this be reconciled with scripture, where he is ever stiled Darius the Median? He has a salve for this sore too: the word Median or Mede is not, says he, the national name, as the whole tribe of chronologers and interpreters, simple well-meaning men, have imagined, but the firname of Darius. But it is very unlucky for Scaliger that Daniel should begin his 9th chapter thus: *In the first year of Darius the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes, which was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans.* He was therefore by nation a Mede, and the son of a king of Media. But our writer seems to have been more conversant in the mingled fragments of Berosus, than in the books of the prophets, from which there is no appeal: and may, on that very account, richly deserve the compliments which in an ironical manner he bestows on such as are unwilling to adopt his wild notions. But we must forgive him, scorn and contradiction were the ingredients of his character; and had he not in most things been singular, in all peremptory, he had neither been a Scaliger, nor the son of Julius.

The difficulties we have objected against the two foregoing opinions have made other writers look for Darius the Mede elsewhere. They suppose, that there was one Darius a Mede king of Persia before Cambyses the father of Cyrus, who was also, according to Xenophon, king of Persia. This conjecture is supported by a passage out of Æschylus (91), where that poet seemingly supposes the first king of Persia there mentioned to have been a Mede, who with a powerful army took Susa. Next to him he places his son, whom he does not name, and in the third place Cyrus, whom he calls a happy prince. This Darius, who took Susa and waged war with the Babylonians, they will have to be Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus. This opinion is liable to one strong objection, namely, that Darius the grandfather of Cyrus could not be alive when Babylon was taken, Cyrus himself being then, as it is agreed on all hands, and we shall shew in the history of Persia, sixty-one years old.

Other writers, following Xenophon's account, maintain Cyaxares, the son of Astyages and uncle of Cyrus, to be Darius the Mede. He succeeded Astyages in the kingdom of Media, as Cyrus did Cambyses in that of Persia. These two kings with joint forces invaded the kingdom of Babylon and took the city. Cyaxares reigned two years at Babylon, and at his death Cyrus became master of the whole empire. This hypothesis is entirely agreeable to scripture, and free from those unsurmountable difficulties, which attend the others, as is allowed even by those who reject it. Their only exception to this system is, that neither Herodotus,

(91) Æsch. Persæ, v. 761.

Herodotus, Berosus, nor Megasthenes knew of any such king as Darius or Cyaxares II. nay, Herodotus tells us in expres words, that Astyages was succeeded by his grandson Cyrus. This immediate succession of Cyrus to his grandfather is vouched by Diodorus, Justin, Strabo, Polyænus, Africanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, Hierom, Austin, &c. but these, as they have only copied after Herodotus, add no new weight to the scale. The above-mentioned writers, we own, give Astyages no other successor than Cyrus.; but Xenophon (92) does, and likewise Josephus (93), forsaking herein Berosus, whom he often quotes, and ever follows, where his authority does not clash with scripture. Xenophon calls the successor of Astyages Cyaxares, and Josephus gives him the name of Darius, adding, that he overturned the kingdom of Babylon, being in that enterprize assisted by his nephew Cyrus (94), which is consonant both to scripture and chronology; whereas the contrary opinion, though perhaps not repugnant to holy writ, cannot by any means be reconciled with chronology. For if we suppose, that Astyages had no other successor but Cyrus, we must allow him to have lived a hundred years and upwards. For he gave his daughter in marriage to Nebuchadnezzar, as the sticklers for Herodotus tell us, before the siege of Niniveh, that is seventy-three years before the reduction of Babylon. He must have been at that time at least thirty years old, and two years more he reigned at Babylon. Could we but prevail upon ourselves to believe, that Astyages lived to so great an age, we should willingly follow Herodotus, having a great respect for that venerable, and by some much injured, historian. His system is no ways repugnant to scripture, where nothing is said of Darius the Mede, which may not be as well applied to Astyages himself as to his son.

A modern writer (95), so prepossessed in favour of Herodotus, as not to call in question any thing that author asserts, endeavours to support his system with a passage from the 13th chap. v. 65th of Daniel, where it is said, *And king Astyages was gathered to his fathers, and Cyrus of Persia received the kingdom.* His quotation is right according to the vulgate, which is the standard in the church of Rome; but in our bibles these words are to be found in the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon xi. 1. However, we need not lay any stress upon this, seeing the same writer, who started the difficulty, has been so kind as to suggest us an answer to it: For a few lines after he lanches out into great commendations of father Tournemine, calling him a critic of great penetration, the most learned and honest man that ever was bred

(92) Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. c. 19. (93) Joseph. Antiq. l. 10. c. 13. (94) Joseph. ubi supra. (95) See Langlet. method e pour etudier l'hist. tom. 1. p. 322.

bred in his ſociety ; and theſe encomiums he beſtows on that very honeſt Jeſuit for diſcovering, that the names of Cyaxares, Aſtyages, and Ahaſuerus were common to all the kings of Media (96). 'Tis very ſurprizing, that he ſhould appropriate the name of Aſtyages to the grandfather of Cyrus, and a few lines after admire the penetration and adopt the opinion of one who will have that name to be common to all the kings that reigned in Media. If F. Tournemine's diſcovery be true, as perhaps it may, we ſhould be glad to know, why the ſon of Aſtyages might not have bore that name as well as his father, and if he might, how will our author prove, that the abovementioned paſſage refers to the father and not to the ſon ? This writer makes a conſcience of forſaking Herodotus in the number of his kings, and at the ſame time does not ſcruple to contradict him with regard to the years of their reſpective reigns ; for he makes Cyaxares reign ſixty-four years, whereas Herodotus allows him only a reign of forty ; wherein he is no leſs at variance with himſelf, after laying ſuch ſtreſs on the authority of Heredotus, than he is with that antient hiſtorian. Thus much we have thought neceſſary to ſay on a ſubject, which has occaſioned endleſs diſputes among the learned, and hope, that the reader will not think we have treſpaſſed on his patience, when he reflects, that we have brought within the compaſs of one note what has ſupplied matter for whole volumes.

(96) See F. Tournemine diſſertat. 10. ad calcem. Menochii.

CHAP.

PERSIA SIVE SHAHISTAN

S. Wheatley Sculpt.

CHAP. XI.

HISTORY of PERSIA.

SECT. I.

The Deſcription of Perſia.

THIS country, like many others, has in different ages been called by different names, and tho' to ſome the ſettling of theſe may ſeem a dry and uſeleſs taſk, yet inaſmuch as the ſubſequent hiſtory will be much enlightened thereby, we ſhall give the reader as diſtinct and accurate an account of them as we can. The moſt antient name of Perſia is that by which it is called by Moſes [a], viz. Elam, or, as ſome write it, Ælam, from Elam the ſon of Shem, the father of its firſt inhabitants. [b] Herodotus calls its inhabitants Cephenes, and in very antient times the [c] people of this country are ſaid to have called themſelves Artæi, and the region wherein they dwelt Artea. In the books of [d] Daniel, Eſdras, &c. we find it called Paras, agreeable to the Perſian denomination of Pars and Phârs, whereby the proper Perſia is called at this time. It has been alſo called [f] Achæmenia and Arſaica from its antient kings. In [g] oriental writers it is called Agjem, Irân, and Shahiſtân, that is the dominions of the Shâh. It is true, that, *ſtrictly* ſpeaking, Achæmenia and Iran are not general names of Perſia, but rather of parts thereof, yet, as they are frequently

Its ſeveral names.

[a] Genes. x. 22. xiv. 1. Jerem. xxv. 25. Joſeph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. vii. [b] Pol. cap. 17. [c] Hyde Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 413. [d] vi. 28. [e] 1 Eſdr. vii. 4. [f] Horat. lib. iii. Od. 1. Ovid. de Arte, lib. 1. v. 226. [g] Hyde ubi ſupr. Voyages du Chardin, tom. iii. p. 2, 3.

quently uſed in authors to ſignify that country which we call Perſia, they may well enough be comprehended in this liſt of names (A).

The

(A) The beſt commentators agree, that the Elamites, who were the anceſtors of the Perſians, were deſcended from Elam the ſon of Shem, and thus much has been aſſerted and proved, as far as the nature of the thing would admit, in our firſt volume (1). It is likewiſe allowed, that the moſt antient among the inſpired writers conſtantly intend Perſia when they ſpeak of Elam and the kingdom of Elam. Thus, not to detain the reader with unneceſſary quotations, when the prophet Jeremiah, after the denouncing many Judgments againſt this country, adds theſe words, *But it ſhall come to paſs in the latter days that I will bring again the captivity of Elam, ſaith Jehovah* (2). He is always underſtood to mean the reſtoration of the kingdom of the Perſians by Cyrus, who ſubdued the Babylonians, as theſe had before ſubdued the Perſians, and made them ſubject to their empire (3). As to the word פרס Paras, authors are not well agreed as to its etymology or ſignification, ſome are for deriving it from the Arabic word Phâris which ſignifies a horſe. Some Perſian hiſtorians ſay, that Phars is a proper name, and that the perſon ſo called was the ſon of Arſham, i. e. Arphaxad the ſon of Shem; others make this Phars the ſon of Japhet, &c. Some again, who ſeem to be neareſt the truth, ſay, that he was the ſon of Elam the ſon of Shem (4). It is evident, however, that the Greek word Perſis and the Latin word Perſia are derived from this oriental denomination, and not from this country's being conquered by Perſeus. The name Artæi is thought to be derived from the Perſian word Ard or Art, which ſignifies ſtrong, brave, magnanimous, intimating, that the people of this country were ſuch in their diſpoſitions (5). Achæmenia, as (6) Stephanus Byzantius informs us, was only a part of Perſia, (7) Strabo ſays nearly the ſame thing, yet ſometimes it is uſed to ſignify Perſia in general, as particularly by (8) Herodotus, who makes Cambyſes in an oration calls his people Achæmenidæ. In the Armenian language Perſia, as I have ſaid, is ſtiled Shahiſtân, i. e. the country of the Shâh (9). The Arabians gave the name of Agemeſlaan to Perſia, becauſe in their language Agem ſignifies ſtranger or rather barbarian, which, with great modeſty, they impoſe on every other nation but themſelves; hence the diſtinction

(1) See vol. i. p. 458. (2) xlix. 39. (3) Poli. Synop. Critic. Lowth on Jerem. xlix. 39. (4) Hyde Rel. vet. Perſ. c. xxxv. p. 488, 419. (5) Ibid. p. 413. (6) Apud. Hyde ubi ſupr. (7) Lib. xv. p. 500 (8) Clio, p. 195. (9) Hyde, p. 313.

THE extent of Perſia has been in different ages as various as its names [h], Ptolemy bounds it thus: on the north it has Media, on the eaſt Carmania, on the weſt Suſiana, on the ſouth the Perſian gulph, but this relates to Perſia as a province. We conſider it in another light, and therefore, to ſpeak as clearly and diſtinctily as we may, let us firſt aſſign the boundaries of the Perſian empire as they ſtood anciently, when it extended fartheſt, let us next ſettle the boundaries of the modern Perſian empire, and thirdly, let us review the ſeveral provinces mentioned by ancient writers, and, as we go on, take ſome account of the condition they are now in. Extent.

AS to the antient empire of the Perſians it reached in length, from the Helleſpont to the mouth of the river Indus, about 2800 Engliſh miles, in breadth, from Pontus to the mouth of the Arabian gulph, about 2000 miles. Boundaries.

THE [k] modern Perſia, that is the dominions of the Perſian crown, extends in length, from the mouth of the river Araxes to the mouth of the river Indus, about 1840 of our miles, and in breadth, from the river Oxus to the Perſian gulph, about 1080 of our miles, bounded thus; on the north by the Caſpian ſea, the river Oxus, and mount Caucaſus; on the eaſt by the river Indus and the dominions of the great Mogul, as he is commonly call'd; on the ſouth by

[h] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 4. [i] Cluver. Geogr. lib. v. c. 13.
[k] Cluver. ubi. ſup.

tion of Arak-Arab and Arak-Agem, which ſignifies as much as the towns of the Arabs and the towns of the Barbarians. The Perſians themſelves call their country generally Iroun, and Iran, for this reaſon, they ſay, that under the reign of king Effraſiab, their empire contained all the countries between the Caſpian ſea and China. This monarch divided his mighty empire into two parts, calling that on the other ſide of the river Oxus Touran, and this Iran, i. e. on the other ſide of the river, and on this ſide of the river, whence in the antient Perſian hiſtories Key Iran and Key Touran ſignified the king of Perſia and the king of Tartary; at this day the Perſian monarch is ſtiled Padcha-Iran, and the grand-vizier of Perſia, Iran-Medary, i. e. the pole of Perſia (10).

(10) Chardin voy. vol. iii. p. 3.

by the Persian gulph and the Indian ocean, and on the west by the dominions of the Grand-Signior (B).

Gedrosia. In our account of the provinces, into which the country we are speaking of was antiently divided, we shall begin with Gedrosia, mentioned by [1] Pliny, Strabo, and other writers. It is bounded on the west by Carmania, on the north by Drangiana and Arachosia, on the east by Guzarat

[1] See note (C).

(B) The ingenious Sir John Chardin tells us, "that Persia "is the greatest empire in the world, if we consider it accord- "ing to the geographical descriptions of the Persians, for they "represent its antient bonndaries to have been the four follow- "ing great seas, viz. the Black-sea, the Red-sea, the Caspian- "sea, and the Persian gulph, and also these six rivers, almost "as well known as seas, Euphrates, Araxis, Tigris, Phasus, "Oxus, and Indus. It is, indeed, impossible to mark precisely "the limits of this vast kingdom, for it is not with it as with "the dominions of some petty sovereign, where a rivulet or a "pillar marks the frontier. Persia has on every side a space "of three or four days journey utterly uninhabited, though the "soil is in some places the best in the world; the Persians look "on it as a mark of the true grandeur, the leaving such de- "serts between great empires, it hinders, say they, all disputes "about limits, and they serve like walls to separate one king- "dom from another. The seas and rivers before mentioned are "far from being the boundaries of Persia at this day, yet the "latest Persian writers describe always their empire within these "limits, for they insist, that of right all the countries between "them belong to them, and that they want only such another "brave king as Abbas the great to restore them to the possessi- "on of their antient territory. Persia, in the state I saw it, "taking it from Georgia, i. e. from the 45th deg. of lati- "tude to the 80th, and from the river Indus to the mountains "of Ararat, that is from the 77th to the 112th degree of lon- "gitude, contains in length about 550 Persian leagues which "makes 750 French leagues, and in breadth about 400 (11)". We have chosen to make use of the testimony of this traveller preferable to others, because he seems to have taken great pains in the description which he has given us of this country, and since it must be allowed, that his long stay therein, his great parts, and general knowledge qualified him perfectly for such a work. If we cannot credit him, it is hard to know on whom we may rely.

(11) Chardin. voy. tom. iii. p. 2[illegible]

Guzarat a province of India, on the ſouth by the Indian ocean; it is call'd at preſent Makran, of old it was inhabited by the Arbitæ, Parſiræ, Muſarnæi, and the Rhamnæ; its principal cities were Paſis, Arbis, and Cuni, Ptolemy places here a celebrated emporium call'd the haven of women. The principal modern cities are [m] Firhk, Chalak, and the port of Guadal (C).

CARMANIA, divided into Carmania the deſart, and Carmania proper. [n] Carmania the deſart is bounded on the north by Parthia, on the weſt by Perſis, on the eaſt by Drangiana, Carmania.

[m] Voyages de Tavernier, liv. iv. ch. 1. [n] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 6.

(C) As it would have ſwelled this chapter to an exceſſive bulk, if we we had in the text been very particular as to the reſpective provinces of Perſia, ſo to avoid obſcurity on the other hand, we have thought it neceſſary to add ſuch a deſcription of each province in theſe notes, as may ſuffice to give the reader a competent idea of its ſituation, extent, and productions. This being premiſed, let us proceed in the order obſerved in the text.

Tho' Gedroſia be conſtantly ſo called by Strabo and Ptolemy, yet (12) Diodorus Siculus, (13) Suidas, and ſome manuſcripts of (14) Ammianus Marcellinus read Cedroſia. The extent of this province cannot eaſily be aſſigned, becauſe though in general terms its boundaries be pretty well ſettled, yet how to fix theſe at this diſtance of time is a queſtion not readily reſolved. Mount Becius, or rather a ridge of mountains, runs through the middle of this province, and from them ſprings the celebrated river Arbis or Arabis, which after a ſhort courſe runs into the Indian ocean, at the mouth of this river ſtood the Γυναικῶν λιμὴν of Ptolemy (15), mentioned alſo by Arrian in his Indian hiſtory, who tells us, that this place was ſo called, becauſe originally it was governed by women (16). The ſoil of this province was ſandy and barren, very deficient in water, and the air intemperately hot, ſo that Alexander's army ſuffered exceſſively here, notwithſtanding they built their huts with aromatic wood, and met with ſpices in profuſion (17). Ptolemy mentions two iſlands dependent on this province Aſtea and Codane (18): Arrian, ſpeaking of the voyage of Nearchus, tells us, he obſerved ſeveral others (19).

(12) Lib. xviii. c. 6. (13) In verb Κεδρωσία. (14) In Edit. Valeſii, p. 369. (15) Lib. vi. c. 21. (16) Ch. xxii. (17) Strabo, Indic. p. 366. (18) Ubi ſupr. (19) Hiſt.

Drangiana, on the south by Carmania proper. [o] Carmania proper hath on the south the Indian ocean, on the west Persis and the gulph of Persia, on the east Gedrosia, and on the north Carmania the desart; it contains the modern provinces of Chirman and Ormas, it was inhabited by the Isatichæ, Zuthi, Gadanopydres, Camelobosei, Agdonites, Rhudianæ, Ares, Charadeæ, Pasargadæ, Armozæi; its antient cities were Carmanæ, now Khirman, still a considerable place, and famous for the scymetars made there, Alexandria built by Alexander the great, Armuza or Armuzum, on the shore of the gulph, giving name to a promontory, and to the island of Ormuz. The modern places of note besides are Khirman, [p] Bermazir, Kuhestek, and Iasquez, which gives name to a cape or promontory shooting into the Persian gulph (D).

Drangi-

[o] Lib. vi. c. 8. [p] Tavern. voy. l. iv. c. 1.

(D) Though other authors speak of Carmania in general, yet Ptolemy makes not only the difference before noted in the text, but interposes the description of Arabia Felix between Carmania Deserta and Carmania the proper. As to the first, it is very truly what (20) Ptolemy calls it, having in it scarce a town or a village, its soil an unhospitable sand, its air hot and unhealthy, and the whole province in a manner destitute of water (21). Carmania proper, is a better country, having in it several rivers, particularly the Andamis mentioned by (22) Pliny and (23) Ptolemy, it is, however, mountainous, though with this advantage, that these mountains have mines of copper and iron; the people antiently, however, lived in no very desireable condition if the description given us by Pomponius Mela be true, "The "Carmanians, said he, have neither fruits, nor raiment, nor "house, nor cattle, but cover themselves with skins of fish, and "feeding on them for the most part, the bodies as well as "heads of these people are covered with hair (24)". It may be, Pomponius Mela confounds the Carmanians with a nation inhabiting the sea coast, and called from their manner of living Icthyophagi, mentioned both by (25) Strabo and (26) Arrian, and who are said not only to have fed on fish, but to have erected huts with their bones. (27) Ammianus Marcellinus gives Carmania a better character. At this day this province is particularly

(20) Lib. vi. c. 6. (21) Lib. vi. c. 8. (22) Lib. vi. c. 23. (23) Ubi supr. (24) De situ orbis. lib. iii. c. 8. (25) Lib. xv. (26) Hist. Indic. c. (27) Lib. xxiii.

Drangiana.

[q] Drangiana, bounded on the ſouth by Gedroſia, on the eaſt by Arachoſia, on the north by Aria, on the weſt by Carmania the deſart, derived its name, as ſome ſay, from the river Drangius, and is called by the modern Perſians Sigiſtan; it was antiently peopled by the Darandæ and the Batrii. Ptolomy reckons ten conſiderable cities in this province, the moſt famous of them were Ariaſpe and Prophthaſia, the towns now of note are [r] Siſtan, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the antient city laſt mentioned, Chalak, and Kets. [s] Some writers ſpeak of a certain valley in this province called Mulebet, improved by a prince called Aladin into a paradiſe, though for very bad purpoſes (E).

Arachoſia,

[q] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xix.
[r] Tavern. voy. ubi ſupra.
[s] See note (E).

ticularly remarkable for producing ſheep which bear the fineſt wool in the world, they have this peculiar property, that having fed upon new graſs from January to May their fleece falls off of itſelf, and leaves the ſheep quite naked; the wool being gathered and beaten, the coarſe breaks, and the fine only remains. The Gaurs have the whole manufacture of this wool in their hands, which conſiſts chiefly in girdles much eſteemed through the eaſt, and in a ſort of ſerges, which are as ſoft and almoſt as fine as ſilk (28). Dependent on this province is the little, but famous, iſland of Ormus, in compaſs about 20 miles, ſtony and full of rocks, barren and deſtitute of all neceſſaries except ſalt, of which there is ſuch plenty and ſo hard, that it is ſaid houſes are built thereof. The ſoil is compoſed of a white ſand, formerly imported into Europe. Water (except ſuch as after rains was preſerved in ciſterns) it had none, ſo that even in its moſt flouriſhing times, when it was the emporium of this part of the world, its inhabitants had not only their victuals, but the very water they uſed, from the continent, the air in ſummer exceſſively ſultry, ſo that people were forced to live in grots, and to lie in water (29). At preſent there is nothing on it but a fort; but of its antient kingdom, and of the ſeveral revolutions which happened therein, we ſhall not fail to treat in its proper place.

(E) (30) Strabo, Ptolemy (31), and Pliny (32), agree in calling this province Drangiana; Diodorus calls it Drangina, and its inhabitants

(28) Tavernier in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 307.
(29) Mandelſlo's Travels in Harris's collection, vol. ii. p. 118. Tavern. in the ſame vol. p. 347.
(30) Lib. xv. p. 497.
31 Lib. vi. c. 19.

Arachoſia. ARACHOSIA, bounded on the weſt by Drangiana, on the north by Paropamiſus, on the eaſt by the river Indus, on the ſouth by Gedroſia, its modern name is not well ſettled, inhabited of old by the Arimaſpi, who were afterwards called Margyetæ, and then Euergetæ, the Sydri, Roplutæ, and Eortæ. Ptolemy reckons up thirteen cities in this province, we ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning only three; Arachothus built on a lake of the ſame name by the famous Semiramis, who is ſaid to have given it the name of Cophes; Alexandria built by Alexander the great, and by ſome thought to be the ſame with the city now called [t] Cabul; Arbaca ſuppoſed to have derived its name from ſome of

[t] See note F.

inhabitants Drangi (33). A ridge of mountains, the principal of which is called Bagous, runs through this country, and from thence ſome have fancied that there ran a river called Drangius, from whence this country took its name, but of this there is no certainty; the province is not large, and every where hilly, far from abounding with any rich commodities, and therefore never very famous either in antient or modern times, chiefly at preſent from its being reported to have been the birth-place of Ruſtan, the celebrated hero of oriental romances. As to the valley of Mulebet, or paradiſe of Sultan Aladin, mentioned above; its hiſtory runs thus: A petty prince of this name cauſed this valley to be adorned in the moſt elegant manner he could contrive, furniſhing it eſpecially with airy pavilions, fine women, rich ſherbets, and delicate proviſions, he then ſhut up its entrance with a ſtrong fort, and whenever he had any dangerous exploit to perform, for it ſeems he was but a kind of free-booter, he choſe out ſome ſtrong, able, young man, and having got him to drink to ſuch a degree as to loſe his ſenſes, he cauſed him while he was in that condition to be removed into that paradiſe of his, where having ſuffered him to remain for two or three days, he then directed him to be lulled aſleep in the ſame manner, and ſo ſent home to his own houſe, then, under promiſe of ſending him for ever to dwell in that Paradiſe, the joys of which he had taſted, Aladin quickly drew the deluded wretch to perpetrate the moſt barbarous and bloody facts that could be thought of (34).

(33) lib. xvii. (34) Paul. venet. ap. Purchas's pilgrimage, B. iv. ch. 6. p. 317.

of the kings of Parthia called Arbaces. As to modern towns of note we know of none (F).

PAROPAMISUS,

(F) It is on the authority of Monſ. Tavernier that we have told our readers there are now no towns of note in this province (35), by which we mean, none that are exactly known to ſtand within the limits of the antient Arachoſia; however, ſince ſome writers are poſitive, that the antient city of Arachotus, or rather Arachotos, for it is a Greek appellation, was ſeated where now ſtands the city of Cabul (63), we will take this opportunity of inſerting a deſcription of that city and the parts adjacent, which may perhaps prove as uſeful, and muſt of neceſſity be more entertaining, to our readers, than a dry recital of the conjectures of geographers relating to this province. "Caboul is a large city, the metro-
"polis of the province of Cabouliſtan, or Caboul, and hath
"two caſtles well fortified, and becauſe ſeveral kings have held
"their courts there, and many princes ſucceſſively have had it
"for their portion, there are a great many palaces in it; it lies
"in 33 deg. of north latitude. The mountains about it produce
"plenty of Mirobalans, which from thence the eaſtern people
"call Cabuly, ſeveral ſorts of drugs, and ſome ſpices, which
"with the iron mines in them yield a great profit to the inha-
"bitants. In this town they maintain a great trade with Tar-
"tary, the country of the Uſbecks, and the Indies. The Uſ-
"becks alone ſell yearly in this town above ſixty thouſand horſes,
"and the Perſians bring hither great numbers of ſheep and other
"cattle, by which means they are much enriched. Wine is to
"be had and proviſions are cheap, tho' the country about it is
"but cold and barren, unleſs in ſome places which are ſheltered
"by the mountains, being rendered little the more fruitful by
"the two rivers that water it, and have their ſource in the
"mountains. From this province eſpecially come the large canes,
"of which they make halberds and lances; and they have many
"grounds planted with them. The inhabitants of the city and
"province are moſt of them heathens, and therefore in all towns
"and villages are many pagods. They reckon the months by
"the moons, and with great devotion celebrate the feaſt called
"Houly, which laſts two days, at the full moon in February.
"At this feaſt they are all cloathed in a dark red, and after they
"have prayed in the temple, and made their oblations, they
"ſpend the reſt of the time in dancing by companies in the
"ſtreets, to the ſound of trumpets, viſiting their friends, and
"eating

(35) l. iv. c. 1. p. 412. (36) Heylin's coſmography, B. iii. p. 146.

Paropamiſus. Paropamisus, bounded on the weſt by Aria, on the north by Bactria, on the eaſt by the dominions of the Mogul, on the ſouth by Arachoſia. It is called by the moderns [u] Sableſtan, including likewiſe the kingdom of Candahar; its antient inhabitants were the Bolitæ, Ariſtophili, Ambantæ, Parietæ, and Parſii; its chief cities Ortoſpanum and Naulibis; modern cities there are many of great note, ſuch as Beckſabat, Aſbe, [w] Buſt, ſtrengthened with one of the fineſt caſtles in Perſia, and adorned with various beautiful Karawanſeras (G).

[x] Bactriana

[u] Tavern. Voy. ſupr. p. 394.

[w] Tavern. Voy. tom. i. l. iii.

"eating together every tribe by itſelf. The Great Mogul's "revenue from this country is 4 or 5 millions yearly (37)". Yet after all it is far from being certain, whether Cabul has any thing to do with the antient province of Arachoſia, ſince Cabouliſtan lies beyond Candahar, and is generally reckoned part of the Mogul's dominions.

(G) The name of this province is differently written, generally Paropamiſus, ſometimes Parapamiſis, and again Paropamiſis (38), deriving this denomination from the mountain Paropamiſus, which is a part of Taurus, but was falſely ſtiled Caucaſus, to flatter Alexander the Great, that it might be ſaid of him that he had paſſed that famous ridge of mountains; a ſtrange vanity! and ſcarce to be credited, if it were not ſupported by the authority of writers of the higheſt credit (39). The ſoil of this country ingeneral is not over-fruitful, the province being full of hills, overſhadowing the valleys ſo as to render them cool and pleaſant. We have obſerved above, that the kingdom of Candahar is included within the antient province of Parapomiſus; this little realm hath for its capital a city of the ſame name, which is looked upon to be the beſt fortified place in all this part of Aſia; as the caravans paſſed conſtantly through it in going to, or coming from, India, it is conſequently a place rich and full of trade. Tavernier has given us ample deſcription of it at the end of the 5th book of his travels; as to the hiſtory of its princes and of the various fortunes it has ſuſtained, we ſhall give the reader a diſtinct view of them, when we have deduced the Perſian hiſtory as low as to the erecting of this little kingdom.

(37) Tavern. in Harris's collect. vol. ii. p. 355. (38) Cellar. Geogr. Antiq. vol. ii. c. 23. p. 719. (39) Strab. lib. xi. p. 348. Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. v. c. 3.

[x] BACTRIANA, or Bactria, now called Choraſſan, antiently inhabited by the Salataræ, Zariaſpæ, Chomatri, Comi, Acinacæ, Tambozi, Thocaræ, a powerful people, and ſeveral other nations of leſs note; it was in the firſt ages of the world a kingdom, and a very famous one too, in latter times it boaſted a thouſand cities, the chief of theſe were Bactra and Ebuſmi, both royal cities as Ptolemy tells us; Maracanda and Charracharta; its modern cities of note are are alſo numerous, but we ſhall not mention them here, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider this country more particularly. Bactria.

MARGIANA, bounded on the weſt by Hyrcania, on the north by Tartary, on the ſouth by Aria, and on the eaſt by Bactria; now called Eſtarabad, it is divided from Tartary by the river Oxus, called by the modern Perſians [y] Ruth-khané-burkan, inhabited antiently by the Derbicæ, the Maſſagetæ, who came hither from Scythia, the Parni, the Dahæ, and the Tapurni. [z] Among its cities of note we may reckon Alexandria, one of the ſix cities of that name in Perſia, afterwards called Antiochia, and after that Seleucia, Nigæa, or rather Nyſæa, mentioned by Ptolemy; as to modern places of note, Eſtarabad, Amul, and Damkau, deſerve chiefly to be mentioned (H). Margiana.

[a] HYRCANIA,

[x] Ptol. l. vi. c. xi.

[y] Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

[z] Cluv. ubi ſupr.

(H) Many antient authors agree in commending the ſituation of this province, begirt, as it is, with high mountains, watered with pleaſant rivers, amongſt the reſt with the noble river Oxus, ſo famous in Greek and Latin authors. It is likewiſe celebrated for its fertility in vines of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, that two men can ſcarce fathom the trunk of one of them, bearing cluſters, ſome of which are two cubits long. Antiochus Soter was ſo much pleaſed with the beauty of this country, that he not only built a magnificent city therein, but even incloſed the whole plain watered by the rivers Arias and Margue, with a wall 1500 ſtadia in circuit (40). Eſtarabad its preſent capital is chiefly remarkable for the fine druggets and other excellent woollen goods manufactured there (41).

(40) Strab. lib. xi. p. 519.

(41) Tavern. vol. i. p. 397.

Hyrcania.

[a] Hyrcania, bounded on the north by the Caſpian ſea, called ſometimes Mare Hyrcanum from its waſhing the ſhore of this Province, on the weſt by Media, on the ſouth by Parthia, and on the eaſt by Margiania; called now Mazandran, and including likewiſe the province of Kylan. The old inhabitants of this country were the Maxeræ, Aſtabeni, and Chrindi; its antient capital was called Hyrcania as well as the province, nor has it at this diſtance of time much changed its name, ſince it is ſtill called Hyrcan. Tambrace, a very ſtrong place at the time Arſaces began to lay the foundation of his empire. Modern places of note are [b] Ferh-abad, a port ſeated on a navigable arm of the Caſpian ſea, a fine city much frequented by Ruſſian merchants, as being not above a fortnight's ſail from Aſtracan; Giru, Telarapeſet, Ciarman, and Eſcref, are alſo places of note in this country (I).

[c] Aria,

[a] Ptol. l. vi. c. 9. [b] Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels in Harris's collect. vol. i. p. 434.

(I) Antient writers agree in repreſenting Hyrcania as a country fruitful in wine, wheat, figs, and all other kinds of fruits, here and there, however, interſperſed with meadows and paſture lands, and in ſome places with the leſs pleaſant proſpect of thick woods, abounding with wild beaſts of almoſt every kind, even to a proverb. As to its preſent condition, nothing can be more amazing than the wide difference there is between the accounts given us by perſons of credit and capacity, and who have had equal opportunities of acquiring a perfect knowledge of the things of which they diſcourſe. The reader will the better judge of this, if he takes the trouble of comparing the following paſſage, extracted from the travels of the duke of Holſtein's embaſſadors, with what we ſhall hereafter give him from Sir John Chardin, in ſpeaking of the air of Perſia. "It muſt be confeſſed by all "thoſe who have travelled in theſe parts, that the province of "Kilan is a terreſtrial paradiſe, abounding in ſilk, oil, wine, "rice, tobacco, lemons, oranges, pomgranates, and all ſorts "of other fruits; the vines (which ſpread themſelves with their "branches up the trees) being very excellent here, being as "big in compaſs as a man in the waiſt. The Caſpian ſea, as "well as the rivers belonging to this province, affords to the "inhabitants prodigious quantities of fiſh, as their paſture grounds "furniſh

(42) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxiii.

[c] ARIA, bounded on the north by Margiana and Bactria, on the west by Parthia and Carmania the desart, on the south by Drangiana, on the east by Paropamisus, now comprehended under the province of Chorasan; it was antiently inhabited by the Nisæi, Astaveni, Musdorani, Cassirotæ, Obares, Elymandri, and the Bergi; its principal cities of old were Aria, seated on the river Arias, mentioned by Pliny, thought to be the same city which is still famous under the name of Heri, or Herat, rebuilt and splendidly adorned by the Sultan Heussien-Mirza, Alexandria built by Alexander, who settled a colony of Macedonians therein, Artacanda, called by [d] Strabo Artacana, and Bitaxa (K). Aria.

[e] PARTHIA

[e] Ptol. lib. vi. c. xvii. [d] Geogr. lib. xv.

" furnish them with great store of cattle, and their forests with " venison and wild fowl, which makes me admire, how John de " Laet, who follows the footsteps of Johannes de Persia, could " assert with so much confidence, that Messanderan (part of " the province of Kilan) lies under so cold a climate, that the " fruits there seldom come to full maturity, when it is confess- " ed by all that have any right knowledge of those parts, that " among all the provinces of that vast empire, there is none that " challenge prerogative for a temperate and benign air, before that " of Messanderan, which, beyond all dispute, produces the " best fruits of all Persia. Schach Abas was so well convinced " of this point, that he gave the preference in his opinion to " this province before any other of all his dominions, which " made him lay the foundation of the city of Ferabath, his ordi- " nary residence where he he died (43).

(K) It is not easy to determine, whether Aria and Ariana were the same province, or, if they were not; how they differed. To discuss so perplexed a question here, and to endeavour to solve what, to the best geographers, has appeared an inexplicable doubt, would be at once an act of vanity and rashness. It is better therefore to refer the learned reader to the authors cited at the bottom of the page, from whom we may receive all the satisfaction the nature of the thing will admit (44). In our description in the text, we have followed Ptolemy exactly, as knowing

(43) Harris's Collect. vol. ii. p. 101. (44) Cellar. Geograph. Antiq. lib. iii. c. xxii. p. 721. Casaub. in Strab. lib. xv. p. 720.

Parthia.

[e] Parthia, bounded on the west by Media, on the north by Hyrcania, on the east by Aria, on the south by Carmania the desart, surrounded with mountains, which serve it for boundaries on every side, at this day called Erak or Arak, and to distinguish it from Chaldea, which is likewise called Erak, this is styled Erac-Agemi. [f] The antient Parthians are said to have been originally Scythians, who, banished from their own country, settled here and assumed this name, which in their own, that is in the Scythian, language, signify'd exiles. Ptolomy reckons 25 large cities with this province, and it must certainly have been very populous, since many cities and 2000 villages were destroyed by earthquakes. Its capital was Hecatompylos, so called from its having a hundred gates, a noble and magnificent place, and so lucky, as some think, to remain still the capital of Persia,

[e] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 5. [f] Cluv. ubi supra.

knowing no better guide, though we must at the same time allow, that some things there are in his description of this province which are not easily understood, such as the several fountains from whence he derives the stream of the river Arius, and the lake which he says it forms (45). Of the thirty-five cities mentioned by that author, we cannot find above five or six mentioned by any other antient writer, and of these the greatest part are found altogether in a paragraph of Ammianus Marcellinus (46). It was antiently a very populous country, though much subject to heats, and intermixed with desarts, heaths, and forests near the mountains; however, where the heat of the sun is a little rebated, they have very fruitful plains, which among other things produce grapes, the wine of which hath so strong a body as to keep fourscore or a hundred years, without dimunition of colour or flavour. The antient city of Aria, now known by the name of Heri or Herat, is still large and populous. Sir Thomas Herbert in his travels tells us, that when he was there he found it under a governor of its own, and adds, that the adjoining country abounds with roses, of which they make a water much stronger in its smell than that made in Europe. There are likewise, says another eminent traveller, admirable tapestries made in the neighbourhood of this place, such as transcend not only the tapestries of Europe, but even those that come from the rest of the Persian looms (47).

(45) lib. vi. c. 17. (46) lib. xxii. (47) Harris's Collect. vol. i. 435.

ſia, under the name of Hiſpahan, or rather Spauhawn. Modern towns of note are g Touchercan, Hamadan, a very conſiderable place, and eſpecially noted for great herds of cattle fed in its neighbourhood, producing great quantities of butter, cheeſe, and hides, Chachan, Com, Caſbin, &c. (L).

h PERSIS,

g Tavern. Voy. l. iv. c. 1.

(L) The mighty reputation which the kings of Parthia by their military virtues obtained will oblige us to ſpeak hereafter of this province more accurately, than in this general deſcription of the Perſian dominions it was proper for us to do. As to what we have advanced concerning the origin of the Parthians, it may not be amiſs to give the reader here the words of that author, on whoſe authority we took it. "The Parthians (ſays he) are alſo "derived from the Scythians: for they were exiles of that "country, as their very name teſtifies. For in the Scythian, "language baniſhed men are called Parthians. Theſe in like manner "with the Bactrians, being by civil wars driven out of Scythia, "firſt fixed themſelves by ſtealth in the country adjoining to "Hyrcania, and afterwards obtained by force more extended "dominions (48)". Though in latter ages Parthia became the miſtreſs of her neighbours, and ſhared with Rome the empire of the world, yet under the antient Perſian, and even under the Macedonian, monarchs, it was ſo little conſidered, that it remained an adjunct of Hyrcania, and was not made a particular province. It is not eaſy to fix the derivation of the capital of Parthia; in antient time, Polybius ſays, that it was called Hecatompylos, becauſe all the roads through the Parthian dominion centered here (49). Curtius ſays it was built by the Greeks, but by whom, or at what time, he informs us not (50). It ſhould ſeem, that Hecatompylos is rather a Greek interpretation of the true name of this city, than the real name thereof, but then what name this was in the Parthian language we pretend not to ſay, it not having been recorded by any author we have met with.

In reſpect to what has been obſerved in the text of Spauhawn's being founded on the ruins of the antient Hecatompylos, there are many authorities to bear us out, though I do not find any certain

(48) Iſiodor. Origin. ix. c. 2. (49) lib. x. c. 25.
(50) lib. vi. c. 11.

[h] Persis, bounded on the north by Media, on the west by Susiana, on the east by the Carmanias, on the south by the

[h] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 4.

tain grounds whereon to found this opinion (51). It is unanimously acknowledged, that the present city is of no great antiquity, and the two parts into which it is divided preserve the names of two contiguous towns from the junction of which it was formed. These are Heider and Neamet-Olahi. The inhabitants of these places, notwithstanding their neighbourhood, bore a mortal hatred to each other, which they have transmitted to their successors, who, tho' they live in the same city, shew notwithstanding, on all public occasions, a warm and inveterate antipathy one towards the other. Some indeed ascribe the enmity to another cause, they say, that Heider and Neamet-Olahi are the names of two princes who reigned antiently over Persia, and who divided their subjects into two parties, which are said to have subsisted ever since, not only in Spauhawn, but in all the towns of Persia. Such as say this, however, own, that the city we are speaking of are composed of two distinct towns, called by them Deredechte and Joubare. It may be wondered that magistrates in the course of ages have not subdued these unnatural feuds. An enquiry into the cause would be impertinent here, if the answer were not short, they have been always indulged by the magistrates, because these quarrels bring them gain (52). It is not very clear at what time the towns beforementioned were united, or when this city received the name by which it is now known. Some say this happened before the reign of the famous Timur-Bec, corruptly called Tamerlan, who destroyed it twice. Certain it is, that Spauhawn owes the glory it now possesses to the great Shâh Abas, who after the conquest of the kingdoms of Lar and Ormus, charmed with the situation of this place, made it the capital of his empire, between the year 1620 and 1628. There is perhaps no city in the world, the name of which is so differently written as this of the capital of Persia (54). Among Europeans

(51) Herbert's Travels in Harris's Collect. vol. i. p. 431. Holstein Ambassadors Travels in the same Collection, vol. ii. p. 79. Careri Voyag. tom. ii. p. 85. (52) Tavernier Voyag. tom. i. Lib. 4. iv. c. 5. p. 434. Charind, tom. ii. p. 6. Careri. ubi supr. Le Brun. Voyag. tom. i. p. 197. (53) Holstein Ambassadors travels, Tavernier. Voyag. ubi supr. Careri. ubi supr. p. 86.

the Perſian gulph, called now Pârs, or Fars, antiently inhabited by the Meſabatæ, Rapſii, Hippophagi, Suzæi, Megores,

Europeans it is uſually written Hiſpahan, or Iſpahan, it is alſo called Spaha, Spachea, Aſpahan, Izpaan, and Spahon; the Nubian geographer calls it Aſbahawn, and the Perſians themſelves pronounce it, as it is written in the text, Spauhawn, which orthography we have taken the freedom to introduce, ſince the beſt writers are divided on this head. Tavernier and Sir John Chardin write it Iſpahan, Dr. Gemelli Careri, Spahon, M. le Brun Spahan, but all theſe authors agree that the inhabitants pronounce it as ſettled by us. The etymology of the word is no leſs difficult to be diſcovered, than the manner in which it ſhould be wrote. Before the time of Tamerlane it is ſaid to have been called Sipahan, from the prodigious number of its inhabitants, Sipe, in the old Perſic and Uſbeque language, ſignifying an army, and the plural thereof Sipahan conſequently ſignifying armies. Another derivation there is from an Arabic word ſignifying a battalion (54): but it is time to quit theſe dry enquiries for ſomething more uſeful, as well as more entertaining, ſince in the deſcription of Perſia it would be an unpardonable fault to omit an exact account of its capital, eſpecially ſince we are furniſhed with ſuch noble materials, as are to be found in the travels of Sir Thomas Herbert, the Holſtein ambaſſadors, M. Tavernier, Sir John Chardin, Dr. Gemelli Careri, M. le Brun, and others, Chardin and le Brun having each of them given us a copious deſcription thereof adorned with copper-plates, from whence it is as eaſy to form a juſt idea of it as of London or Paris. All who ſpeak of Spauhawn are agreed, that nothing can be more beautiful in nature than the ſituation thereof: it ſtands in a plain ſpacious and fertile, ſurrounded with mountains, which defend it alike from the ſultry heats of ſummer and the piercing winds of the winter ſeaſon; through this plain run ſeveral rivers which water Spauhawn, and contribute alike to ornament and uſe. The firſt of theſe is the river Zenderoud, over which there are three fine bridges; this river takes it riſe in the mountains of Jayabat, three days journey from the city, and is but a ſmall ſtream of itſelf; but Abas the Great cut a channel, whereby he brought a briſker and more conſiderable ſtream to fall into this river, that it might benefit his capital the more, and by this contrivance the Zenderoud is as broad at Spauhawn in the ſpring, as the Seine is at Paris in the winter. The united waters of theſe rivers are ſweet, pleaſant, and wholeſome,

(54) Holſtein Ambaſſadors Travels ubi ſupr.

res, Stabæi. Antient cities of note were Perſepolis, the noble metropolis of the antient Perſian empire; Axima; Maraſium, ſome, almoſt beyond compariſon, as indeed are all the ſprings which are found in the gardens belonging to the houſes of Spauhawn. The river brought by Abas into the Zenderoud is called Mahmoud, and we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak both of it and the Zenderoud in another place. Beſides theſe there are two other ſtreams, which run very near each other, and are both comprehended under the name of Abcorrenge: One of theſe is pretty conſiderable, its waters being at all times deep, and generally ſpeaking equal, for which reaſon ſeveral attempts have been made to bring it to enter the Zenderoud. King Tahmas in the XVIth century expended an exceſſive ſum of money on a project of this ſort without ſucceſs. Abas the great did the ſame thing on another project, but without effect, which did not, however, diſcourage Abas the ſecond from twice endeavouring at the ſame thing, in which likewiſe failing, it is now looked on as a thing impracticable (55). The extent of Spauhawn is very great, not leſs perhaps than twenty miles within the walls; they are of earth poorly built, and ſo covered with houſes and ſhaded with greens, that in many places it is a difficult thing to diſcover them; which is a defect not peculiar to this city, but is ſhared by moſt of the great towns in Perſia, whence many travellers have been led to repreſent them as not walled at all. The Perſians themſelves are wont to ſay, Spauhawn Niſpe gehon, i e. Spauhawn is half the world. It is certainly a very large and populous city, but never were there ſeen wider accounts than thoſe which different authors give us of the number of ſouls in this city. Sir Thomas Herbert ſays, in his time there were 200,000 (56). Sir John Chardin ſays, that ſome have reckoned eleven-hundred thouſand (57); but he is himſelf of opinion that it is not more populous than London. At a diſtance the city is not eaſily diſtinguiſhed, for the ſtreets being many of them adorned with plantanes, and every houſe having its garden, the whole looks like a wood. The ſtreets in general are neither broad nor convenient, there being three great evils which attend them; the firſt is that being built on common ſewers, theſe are frequently broke up, which is very dangerous, conſidering that moſt people ride; the ſecond is, that there are frequent wells or pits in the ſtreets, which are as dangerous; the third ariſes from the people's emptying all their ordure from the tops of their

(55) Chardin. Voyag. tom. ii. p. 2. 3. (56) Ubi ſupra.
(57) Ubi ſupra.

Maraſium, called now Marazu; Tiace, the capital of a diſtrict of the ſame name; Parſagada, a noble city built by

their houſes; the latter is indeed in ſome meaſure qualified by the dryneſs of the air, and by its being quickly removed by the peaſants who carry it away to dung their grounds. Sir John Chardin reckons eight gates; four looking to the eaſt and ſouth, and four to the weſt and north, viz. the gate of Haſſen-Abad, the gate of Joubare called alſo the gate of Abas, the gate of Seidahmedion, the Dervaze-deulet that is the imperial gate, the gate of Lombon, the gate of Tokchi, and the gate Deredechte; he rekons alſo ſix poſterns. Other authors ſay there are ten gates, but it is agreed, that there is no difficulty in entering Spauhawn at any hour of the day or night. Whoever has a mind to make himſelf perfectly maſter of the names of the ſtreets, and even of the houſes of this vaſt city may ſatisfy his curioſity, and be very agreeably entertained by peruſing Chardin's elegant deſcription, which is at once pleaſant and exact, and equally fitted to amuſe and to inſtruct the reader. The compaſs of this note will not allow us ſo much as to abridge his curious deſcription, we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with mentioning only the principal things in Spauhawn, as they are deſcribed by that gentleman and M. le Brun. To begin then with the royal palace, which is three-quarters of a league in circumference: It has ſix gates, the firſt called Ali-Kapie, that is the gate of Ali. The ſecond Haram Kapeſie, or the gate of the Serail; the third Moerbag Kapeſie, the gate of the kitchen; the fourth Gandag Kapeſie, or the garden gate, through which none paſſes but the king himſelf, and his kapaters or eunuchs who attend his women; the fifth Ghajatganna Kapeſie, or the gate of the taylors, becauſe thoſe belonging to his majeſty have apartments near it. The ſixth Ghanna Kapeſie or the gate of the ſecretary. The grandees of the kingdom, when they go to pay their court, generally enter the palace by the two gates firſt mentioned. The Mey-doen, which is one of the principal ornaments of this great city. It is a grand market 710 paces long from eaſt to weſt, and 210 broad from north to ſouth. On the ſouth ſide ſtands the royal palace, and on the north the Nachroe-chone a building wherein are placed the king's band of muſic. On one ſide of the Mey-doen ſtands the moſque called Sjig-lotf-olla, ſo called from one of their doctors who is reputed a ſaint. It has a fine dome adorned with green and blue ſtones encruſted with gold, having on the top a pyramid, on which are placed three balls

by Cyrus, and hoonur'd with his tomb[i]. As to modern cities there are many of great note, and amongſt theſe Chiras, Benaron,

[i] Tavern. Voyag. tom. 1. l. iv. c. 1. p. 412.

balls of the ſame metal. On the weſt ſide of the Mey-doen ſtands the royal moſque extremely magnificent. At ſome diſtance from thence appears the gate called Ali-Kapie, and between theſe ſtand a range of fine buildings adorned with porticoes full of ſhops. The middle ſpace is taken up in a great meaſure with tents, under which all ſorts of goods are ſold; but theſe are taken away in the evening to make room for the guards, who with their great dogs attend there all night long. In this ſpace the mountebanks erect ſtages, diſtribute their packets, and with their antic tricks divert the populace. In the middle ſtands a pillar, on the ſummit of which the prize is placed when tournaments are celebrated here; this prize conſiſts generally in a cup of gold, or ſomething of the ſame value, and none are ſuffered to contend for it but perſons of very high quality. On the feaſt of Nouroes, or the beginning of the year, all the tents are taken away, and every thing is made clear for the more commodious celebration of the carouſals, which are then performed in the preſence of the king, who is ſeated in a kind of gallery or theatre called Talael, very curiouſly adorned on the gate of Ali. Next to this noble market-place we ought to mention the principal ſtreet of Spauhawn, called Chiaer-baeg, i. e. four-gardens, one of the grandeſt ornaments of this city; the ſhops therein being wonderfully magnificent, and the diſpoſition thereof in every reſpect convenient and pleaſant. From thence runs the bridge of Allawardie-Chan over the river Zendervade, 540 paces long, and 17 broad, built with large ſtones; it has three and thirty arches, ſome of which are founded on the ſand, which is firm and ſtable; and through theſe, when it is high enough, the water flows. There are ninety-three niches upon this bridge, ſome ſhut, ſome open, and the corners thereof are flanked with four towers. It has a wall or parapet of brick with openings at certain diſtances, which afford the fineſt proſpect in the world. In the neighbourhood of this bridge are divers pleaſure-houſes belonging to the king, and gardens ſtored with fruit-trees, and adorned with every thing elſe that contribute to the making them worthy of their poſſeſſor. There are ſome other bridges, moſques, and public ſtructures, which deſerve to be particularized, if this note were not already too long: Let us conclude it then with obſerving, that the citadel or fortreſs, called by the Perſians

Benaron, Lar, Bender-abaſſi, or Gombroon, and Bender-congo, are reckoned the chief (M).

Suſiana,

ſians Tabaroek, is a very mean ſtructure, and in as mean a condition, its walls being in ſuch a ruinous ſtate, that though there are ſome cannon mounted upon them, yet they are never made uſe of, from an apprehenſion that the walls would fall if thoſe pieces were diſcharged (59).

(M) This country is very frequently mentioned in antient authors, and therefore we are the better enabled to give an account of its former, as well as preſent, ſtate (60). Such parts of it as lie towards the north are hilly and barren, bearing neither fruit nor corn ſufficient for the uſe of the inhabitants; ſome emeralds indeed there are found, but of no great value. On the coaſt of the Perſian gulph the ſoil is as bad, though of a different nature, being hot and ſandy, producing few other trees than palms; but between theſe there lies a rich and pleaſant region abounding with corn, fruit, and cattle, and better watered, though but by ſmall rivers, than moſt of the other regions within this wide empire. The entrance of this country is narrow and difficult, defended formerly againſt Alexander the Great by Ariobarzanes, a noble Perſian, who gave a check to that conqueror's progreſs, and immortalized his name by his gallant performance in the ſervice of his country. As to Perſepolis, the antient capital of this province, and of the old empire of the Perſians, Diodorus Siculus informs us, that it was the richeſt city in the world at the time that it was ſubdued by Alexander, whoſe ſoldiers taking it by ſtorm put all the men to the ſword, rifled their houſes, and carried off immenſe quantities of gold and ſilver, Alexander reſerving to himſelf the treaſures in the citadel, which had been amaſſing there from the time of Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian empire If this author's computation be right, he took thence a hundred and twenty thouſand talents of gold; in fine, the ſpoil was ſo great, that the neighbouring countries were conſtrained to furniſh mules and other beaſts of burthen, beſides three thouſand camels to carry it off; for he had conceived ſuch a diſlike to the inhabitants of this city, that he was reſolved to leave them nothing of value; and thus, as the ſame writer obſerves, Perſepolis, once ſo famous for its

(59) Le Brun. tom. i. p. 198, &c. Chardin. tom. ii. c. 1. Careri tom. ii. l. 1. c. 5, 6.

(60) Strab. lib. xv. p. 501. Plin. lib. vi. c. xxvi. Herod. c. 125.

Susiana, bounded on the [k] north by Assyria, on the west by Chaldea, on the east by Persis, on the south by the Persian

[k] Ptol. lib. vi. c. 5.

its magnificence, became no less remarkable for its calamity (61). Among the cities of note at this time the principal is Schiras, which, with the adjacent country, is thus described by a famous traveller, in his account of the road from Spauhawn to the Indies: "From thence (i. e. Thel-minar) to Schiras is an hard day's "journey, especially when the snow melts, for then the road is "like a sea. The city of Schiras, which many will have to be "the antient Cyropolis, the metropolis of the province of Persia, "lies in 78 deg. 15 miles long. and 29 deg. 36 miles latitude. "It is seated in a plain, about four leagues in extent from "north to south, and about five leagues from east to west. "Upon the south-east is a lake of salt water about four leagues "in compass. The soil about it is very good and fruitful, and "is famous for the best wines in Persia. The city itself has "nothing handsome in it, for it looks more like a ruin-"ed town than a city. It has no walls but a bad ditch, "and the houses are built of earth dried in the sun, and whiten-"ed over with lime; so that when they are all well moistened "with rain, they often fall down of themselves, only the college "which Iman Kouli-Kan built, and some of the mosques "are of brick; and the best of these mosques, which is "called Sha-Shiraque, is kept in something better repair than "ordinary out of a particular devotion; but there is nothing "worth taking notice of in it. On the north-east stands a high "mountain, which is covered with several sorts of fruit-trees, "of which there are some orange, lemons, and cypresses, and "at the foot of a stone-bridge, from whence there is a street "which goes in a strait line quite through the city. This street "is walled on both sides, and at certain spaces are several great "gates which have neat little houses built upon them, from "which is a pleasant prospect into the gardens planted with "rows of cypresses. The streets of Schiras are somewhat nar-"row; but there are some fair ones, having in the midst of "them lovely canals and basons of water very pleasant. There "are a great many fair covered bazars with shops well furnished "with all sorts of Indian and Turkish commodities, and every "commodity has its particular bazar. In the college there are "professors who have salaries for teaching theology, philosophy, "and

(61) Diod. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 68.

Perſian gulph, believed by ſome to have been the land of Havilah, called now Chuſiſtan, inhabited by the nations following,

" and medicine, and 'tis ſaid it has ſometimes 500 ſtudents in it. " There are in this city three or four glaſs-houſes, where they " make great and ſmall bottles to tranſport the ſweet waters " made in this city, as alſo ſeveral other veſſels to put their " fruits in, which they ſend in great quantities into India, Su- " matra, Batavia, and other places. They make their glaſs of " a white ſtone almoſt as hard as marble, which they fetch " from a hill four days journey from Schiras, and 'tis as clear " and delicate as any glaſs in the world. It is wonderful how " they blow their great bottles called Caraba, which are a finger " thick, and hold near thirty quarts of wine. They have no " manufacture at Schiras, but a few coarſe painted cloths, and " uſed only by the meaner ſort. On the north-weſt ſide is the " king's garden called Bay-ſha, which is indeed well planted " with fruit-trees, roſes, and jaſmins, but for want of order it " looks like a wilderneſs. From this garden to the hills is a " vineyard, belonging to ſeveral perſons, two leagues long " and one broad, which is watered with the river Bendemir, " which is ſometimes dry in ſummer, becauſe it never rains " there but in ſpring and autumn. The wines made here are " the beſt in all Perſia, but they make no great quantities of " them, becauſe they dry and pickle good part of their grapes. " 'Tis an excellent ſtomach wine, but very ſtrong, ſo that, with- " out ſpoiling the taſte of it, it will carry two thirds of water. " They ſell their wine by weight, and not by meaſure, and putting " it in cheſts ſend a great deal yearly to Spauhawn and the Indies. " The people of Schiras are very witty, and moſt of the " beſt poets in Perſia were born here. In an antient moſque " here lies Scheich Sadi, one of the beſt of their poets, whom " they honour as a ſaint. The ſoil about this city is very good " and produces plenty of all things. They have all the fruits " that we have, and oranges and lemons in abundance. They " have vaſt quantities of roſes, from which they draw ſuch " great plenty of roſe-water that they furniſh all the Indies " with it, They have a great deal of corn, but give much to " their horſes to be eaten in the blade, becauſe they ſay that " for want of water it would never come to maturity. There " is a great deal of opium made at Schiras, for round about " the town are large fields ſown with white poppies; they " have alſo ſtore of capers which they ſend into all parts " (62).

(62) Tavern. in Harris's collection, vol. ii. p. 344.

following, viz. the Elymæi and Cossæi. Its capital the famous city of Susa, the [l] Shushan of the scriptures, and Tariana, called by Ammianus Tarsiana [m]. The modern towns of note are [n] Ahawas, Scabar, Kam-hormus (N).

Curdistan and Schirwan.

THERE are two other provinces of the Persian empire, which need not be described here, because they have been treated of elsewhere already. These are [o] Curdistan, containing

[l] Daniel viii. 2. Nehem. i. 1. Esth. 2. [m] ap. Cellar. geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. p. 684. [n] Tavern. voyag. ubi supr. [o] Cluver. geog. l. v. c. 14. Tavern. ubi supr. universal history, vol. iv. p. 857.

(N) Susiana, as described by Ptolemy, includes the province stiled Elymais (63), which Pliny also observes to have lain within the bounds of this province, and to have been distinguished from it by the river Eulæus (64). It received its name from Susa, the capital thereof, once the royal seat of the Persian kings, who were wont to reside one part of the year here, and the other at Ecbatana. Pliny says, that it was founded by Darius the son of Hystaspes (65); but this is not to be taken strictly, for certain it is, that the Darius he speaks of could only be its restorer, since Strabo positively affirms, that it was built by Tithonus the father of Memnon (66); and Herodotus long before says, that Susa was called the city of Memnon (67). 'Tis difficult to determine whether in pleasantness, magnificence, or strength this noble city excelled; seated it was, as sacred and prophane authors agree, on the river Ulai or Eulæus, called also the Choaspes, or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, for the Eulæus and the Choaspes, meeting at Susa, run together in one stream, and are afterwards stiled sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. As to its beauty, Diodorus affirms, that Alexander, whence he seized the palace here, took possession of the noblest mansion in the universe. Here were preserved the records of the Persian empire; and here were laid up the treasures of the kingdom, that they might be made use of on any emergency, and not be squandered away at the will of the prince. Alexander took from hence nine thousand talents of coined gold, and forty thousand talents of gold and silver bullion (68). The modern name of this celebrated city differs not much from that by which it was formerly called. The city of Shustern being by some travellers conceived to be built at least very near the place where of old stood Susa (69).

(63) Cellar. geog. antiq. lib. iii. c. 19. 5. 2. p. 682. (94) Hist. nat. lib. vi. c 27. (65) ubi supr. (66) Geogr. lib. xv. p. 500. (67 Terpsich. c. 54. (68) Diod. Sicul. lib. xviii. c. 66. (69 Tavern. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1.

taining the antient Aſſyria, and [p] Schirwan, of old ſtyled Media. A famous modern traveller [q] tells us, that there are reckoned in the dominions of Perſia upwards of five hundred conſiderable places, walled towns, and caſtles, about ſixty thouſand villages, and forty millions of ſouls.

Climate. As to the air and climate of this country, conſidering the great extent thereof, it cannot be otherwiſe than varied, according to the ſituation of the ſeveral parts thereof, ſome being frozen with cold, and others burnt with heat at the ſame time of the year, which cannot be ſtyled wonderful, ſince it is natural, and occaſioned by cauſes for which we can eaſily account. The air, where-ever it is cold, is dry; but where it is extremely hot, it is ſometimes moiſt: In order to give the reader a juſt notion of this, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that all along the coaſt of the Perſian gulph, from weſt to eaſt, to the very mouth of the river Indus, the heat is for four months ſo exceſſive, that even thoſe who are born in the country are unable to bear it, but are forced to quit their houſes, and retire to the mountains, ſo that ſuch as travel in theſe parts at that ſeaſon, find none in the villages, but wretched poor creatures left there to watch the effects of the rich, at the expence of their own health. The extreme heat of the air as it renders it inſupportable, ſo it makes it alſo prodigiouſly unwholſome, ſtrangers frequently falling ſick there, and ſeldom eſcaping. The eaſtern provinces of Perſia, from the river Indus, to the borders of Tartary, are ſubject to great heats, but not quite ſo unwholſome, as on the coaſts of the Indian ocean and Perſian gulph; but in the northern provinces, on the coaſt of the Caſpian ſea, the heat is full as great, and, though attended with moiſture, as unwholſome as on the coaſt before-mentioned. From October to May there is no country in the world more pleaſant than this; but the people carry in their faces indelible marks of the malign influence of their ſummers, looking all of them of a faint yellow, and having neither ſtrength nor ſpirits, though about the end of April they abandon their houſes, and retire to the mountains, which are five and twenty or thirty leagues from the ſea. In a word, the unhealthineſs of this place is ſo notorious, that when a perſon is ſent to the government of Ghilan, it is generally looked on as a kind of diſgrace, and the

[p] Cluver. ubi ſupr. Tavern. ubi ſupr. univerſal hiſtory. vol. iv. p. 495.

the people at Spauhawn are apt to ask, whether he has robbed or murdered to deserve such a commission. But this moistness in the air is only in these parts; the rest of Persia enjoys a dry air, the sky being perfectly serene, and hardly so much as a cloud seen to fly therein. To say the truth, the purity of this element is the greatest blessing the inhabitants enjoy, deriving from thence a clear and florid complexion, together with an excellent habit of body. It rains seldom, but it does not follow, that the heat admits of no mitigation; for in the night though not a cloud to be seen, the sky being so clear that the stars alone afford a light sufficient to travel by, yet there is a brisk wind which lasts till within an hour of morning, which gives such a coolness to the air, that a man may dispense with a tolerably warm garment. The season in general, and in the middle of this kingdom, happens thus; the winter, beginning in November and lasting till march, is very sharp and rude, attended with frost, and snow falling in great flakes on the mountains, but never descending on the plains. There are mountains three days journey to the west of Spauhawn, on which the snow lies for eight months of the year. It is said, that they find there white worms as big as one's little finger, which if crushed feel colder than the snow itself. From the month of March to that of May, there are brisk winds, from May to September, the air is serene and dry, refreshed by pleasant gales which blow in the night, at evening, and morning, and in September and November the winds blow as in spring. It is to be observed, that in summer the nights are about ten hours long, the twilight being very short, which, joined to the coolness of the nights, renders the heat of the day so moderate, that this season is as supportable as Spauhawn as at Paris. The great dryness of its air exempts Persia from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring indeed there sometimes falls hail, and as the harvest is then pretty far advanced, it does a great deal of mischief. The rainbow is seldom seen in this country, because there rise not there vapours sufficient to form it; but in the night there are seen rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed, as it were, by a train of smoke. The winds, however brisk, seldom swell into storms or tempests; but on the other hand they are sometimes poisonous and infectious

fectious on the shore of the Gulph, as all travellers agree (O).

THERE

(O) As to the air and clime of Persia, we have chiefly followed the so often commended Sir John Chardin, but never without comparing what he says with what is said by other writers the most esteemed on the same subject. M. Tavernier and he both agree in reporting, that at Spauhawn it is usual to enquire whether a man has robbed or murdered who is sent to Kilan (70); which makes it the more strange, that intelligent persons, who have also been on the spot, should report directly the contrary, as had been remarked in a former note; yet after all some account may be given of this matter, nay, it is to be hoped, such a one as will satisfy even a critical reader. There are a few months in the year in which the account given by Olearius is still found strictly true: but alas! the rest of the the year the people are in a wretched condition, fly from their habitations, and scarce know where to seek for rest. It was in the best season of the year that the Holstein ambassadors, and their retinue crossed this country, and thus, it seems, it came to pass, that they represented it as a paradise, not suspecting that at another season of the year it could be so intolerable a place as it really is. As to the supportable heat at Gombroon, all authors are agreed about it. M. Tavernier says, that people oftentimes find themselves struck by a south wind in such a manner, that they cry, I burn, and immediately fall down dead (71). M. le Brun says, that he was greatly incommoded therewith while he was there, and that the people assured him, that the weather was at some times so excessively sultry as to melt the seals of letters. At this time the people go in their shifts, and are continually sprinkled with cold water; nay, the interpreter, belonging to M. le Brun and his company, had a well in which he passed some part of the day: Among the inconveniencies consequent from this malign disposition of the air, one of the most terrible is the ingendering in the arms and legs a kind of long small worms which are not to be withdrawn without great danger of breaking them, upon which a mortification ensues. Our author last mentioned has therefore just reason to say, that a severer punishment could not be inflicted even on a heinous offender, than the leaving him in such a place as this; and yet, as he observes, there are many people of worth and good sense, who, for the sake of acquiring large fortunes in a short time, hazard themselves here, and rarely live to enjoy riches when they have got them (72).

(70) Chardin. tom. iii. p. 7. Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 1. p. 414.
(71) Tavern. tom. i. liv. v. c. 23. p. 764 (72) Le Brun. voyag. tom. ii. p. 322.

Mountains. THERE is perhaps no country in the world, which, generally speaking, is more mountainous than Persia; but these mountains are far from being advantageous, since many of them yield neither springs nor metals, and but a few are shaded with trees. It is true, that many of them are situated on the frontiers, and serve as a kind of natural bastions or ramparts to this vast region, and it is very likely contribute in other places to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the vallies under them from excessive heat. On some of these hills there is found a sort of mineral salt, which is sold very cheap [r]. As for particular mountains, we have already mentioned most of them, which deserve to be remembered in our description of the several provinces of Persia.

Rivers. IN respect to rivers, it has been already observed, that, except the Araxis, there is not one navigable stream in all this country. There are indeed in most of its provinces some little rivers which run short courses, and would be more considerable than they are, if through want of water the inhabitants were not forced to divert their streams, by small channels, in order to fructify their grounds. An eminent traveller informs us, that this was practised antiently much more than of late years, and that from hence in a great measure arises the mighty difference between the productions of antient and modern Persia. He affirms, that a Persian of great quality, and who was perfectly acquainted with this matter, informed him, that, within the space of 24 years, no less than fourscore channels had been choaked up and lost in the territory of Tauris [s]. As to seas, the northern provinces of the Persian empire lye on the Caspian lake or sea, of which an ample description has been already given. On the south the Persian shore is washed by the Indian ocean, and by the waters of the Persian gulph, or gulph of Balsora, flowing out of the Indian ocean near the isle of Ormus, from the south-east to the north-west, having Persia on the east, and Arabia on the west, it runs as high as the antient Chaldea, where it receives the Euphrates and the Tigris united in one stream, and very few rivers of note besides. It may not be amiss to take notice here, that the gulph is sometimes styled the red-sea, as well

[r] Tavern. voy. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 416. [s] Tavern. voyag. ubi supr.

well as the gulph of Aden (P).

AFTER

(P) As we have remarked, that there is not above one navigable river in Perſia, the reader need not be ſurprized that we ſay ſo little of the ſeveral ſtreams which water that country, one of them we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of under the head of natural rarities, but the river Araxes deſerves to be further conſidered on account of the miſtakes which ſome writers have been guilty of in relation thereto, occaſioned chiefly by the giving this name to two different rivers; Olearius gives us a very diſtinct account of this matter, which we ſhall therefore recite in his own words. "The 17th we croſs'd the famous river of Aras (Araxes) "by the means of a bridge of boats near Tzanat. Q. Curtius, "ſpeaking of this river, in two different paſſages, and in a "different ſenſe, has not a little puzzled the antient hiſtorians "and geographers, who indeed for the moſt part put it in the ſame "province, but can't agree in the deſcription of its courſe, for "Q. Curtius in his fifth book puts it in Perſis, and ſays its "courſe is to the ſouth, whereas in his ſeventh book he makes "it paſs through Media, and to diſembogue in the Caſpian ſea. "Strabo is no leſs dubious, and Raderus, endeavouring to "diſſolve this knot, by aſſerting that the river Medus, before it "is joined with the Araxes, had its courſe to the ſouth, and "afterwards exonerates itſelf into the Caſpian ſea, is fallen into "a groſs miſtake; for how is it to be conceived, that the river "ſhould make its way through the vaſt mountain Taurus, which "is ſo many leagues in breadth, and divides not only all Perſia "but even Aſia itſelf, and ſo continue its current from Perſe-"polis to the Caſpian ſea? The foundation of the whole miſtake "lay here, that there are two rivers which bear the name of "Araxes in Perſia, one in Media, the other in Perſis, to the laſt, "which waſhes the walls of Perſepolis, (now called Schiras) Q. "Curtius has left the right name of Araxes, but has taken the "liberty to impoſe the name of Tanais upon the Jaxartes, which "paſſes through Scythia, as he has given the name of Caucaſus to "the eaſtern branch of the mountain Taurus, but with what "reaſon I am not able to determine. That which paſſes through "Perſis is by the Perſians called Bend-Emer, from a ſignal "miracle there performed by Ali, and diſembogues in the "ocean in the Perſian gulph, that which we ſpeak of now keeps "its antient name, and riſes out of the mountains of Armenia "behind the great Ararat, and being joined by many other "rivers, the chiefeſt whereof are Karaſu, Senki, Kerni, and "Arpa, it turns its channel near Karaſu deep into the country, "and afterwards near Ordabath falls with a great noiſe, which "which is heard two leagues thence, in the plain of Mokan. Its "courſe there is very ſlow, and after having received into its "channel

After this account of mountains and rivers, and after affirming

" channel about twelve leagues above Tzanat the river Cur or " Cyrus (as large a river as itself, coming northward out of " Georgia) it exonerates itself into the Caspian sea. This suffi- " ciently refutes Ptolemy and those who follow his footsteps, " who make the Araxes and the Cyrus fall by two different chan- " nels into the Caspian sea. Thus they would have Cyropolis " called Scamachie, which Maginus would infer from the de- " grees of latitude given by Ptolemy: But according to that " supposition those two rivers must not be placed above, but " below, the city towards the south, it being certain, that when " we travelled in those parts, we found the conflux of those two " rivers at 39 deg. 54 min. and the city of Scamachie at 40 " deg. 50 min. which is 15 leagues thence and under another " meridian. Neither is there any other river within 19 days " journey of Scamachie on either side, which bears the least " comparison in bigness or otherwise to this river (73)". We should not have introduced so long a quotation, if it had not been a matter of consequence, as will appear in the subsequent history, where this account will serve to rectify some points, which have hitherto confounded even the best authors. It is but just to add, that M. Le Brun in his travels confirms precisely what this author has said (74). As to the Persian gulph, it is not to be questioned, but that the ancients stiled it, as well as the gulph of Arabia, the Red Sea; what renders it most remarkable now is its pearl fishery, of which no doubt the reader will expect some account. They fish for them in many places of the gulph, but especially about the islands of Baharin. This fishery produces a prodigious quantity of pearl, Sir John Chardin says, more than a million in a year, the largest weigh generally from ten to twelve grains, and if by chance any are taken of greater weight, the fishers are directed under great penalties to bring them to the king's exchequer, which it is, however, believed that they do not always do (75). This fishing is performed by divers, who, being carried down to the bottom of the sea in five fathom water, by the weight of a stone fixed to their toes, pick up there all the shells they can see as fast as they can, and put them into a basket they carry down with them on purpose, and then rise up again to take breath, and refresh themselves with a pipe of tobacco; those who are in the boat pull up the baskets, the divers work but from one to eleven, and from eight to three.

They

(73) Ambassadors of Holstein's Travels in Harris's collect, vol ii. p. 104. (74) Voyag. tom. ii. p. 148. (75) Chardin, tom. iii. p. 31.

affirming that there are many of the former, and but a very few to be met with of the latter, the reader will eaſily comprehend, that the ſoil cannot be generally rich or fruitful, but on the contrary ſandy and barren; however, here and there, there are vallies fruitful and pleaſant enough. The earth in ſome places is ſandy and ſtony, in others heavy and hard, but every where ſo dry, that if it be not watered it produces nothing, no not ſo much as graſs. Rain is not wholly wanting here, but it rains, however, very ſeldom, and not enough to keep even the beſt lands in a condition of bearing corn or fruits without farther help; and even in the winter the beams of the ſun are ſo briſk and ſo drying, that the rain has not much effect. But where-ever the ſoil is ſufficiently moiſtned, either by natural or artificial means, it bears wonderfully well. If it ſhould be aſked, how this deſcription ſuits with what we find recorded, in antient authors, of the luxury and profuſeneſs of the Perſians, ſuch a demand is capable of various anſwers; for firſt, Perſia is not now near ſo much peopled as it was heretofore, and conſequently there cannot be ſo great a number of labourers, which muſt induce barrenneſs in a country, where the ſoil produces nothing without cultivation. Again, it may be ſaid, that the alteration of government, and of religion, has in a great meaſure produced this difference. The antient kings of Perſia were mild and beneficent to their ſubjects, whereas the Mohammedan princes have been always proud, over-bearing, and cruel. According to the opinion of the Perſees or Gaurs, it was meritorious to render barren fields fertile, whereas the Perſians, like other Mohammedans, are ſatisfyed with what good things they find, and will not give themſelves the trouble to labour for poſterity. They look upon life as a great road, wherein men ought to content themſelves with ſuch things as fall into their way, and, in conſequence of ſuch notions, there is no great wonder, that ſterility has enſued, and that modern travellers do not ſpeak in that language with Quintus Curtius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other ſuch like authors. [t] Sir John Chardin

[t] Voyag. tom. iii. p. 11.

They fiſh for pearls from the end of June to the end of September; beſides the pearl-oyſters, they catch others in the ſea excellent for eating (76).

(76) Tavern. in Harris's Collect. v. ii. p. 314.

din therefore delivers it as his opinion, that if the Turks were to inhabit this country, it would grow still poorer than it is, whereas if the Armenians or the Persees were to become masters thereof, it would from their industry quickly recover its antient splendor. It must not, however, be imagined, that there subsists not at this day the same variety in point of fruitfulness among the provinces of this extensive country as heretofore. Media, Iberia, Hyrcania, and Bactria, are still in a great measure what they were, and surpass most of the other provinces in their productions; as along the coasts of the Persian gulph the soil is still more barren, cattle less plenty, and every thing in a worse condition than any where else. Before we part with this subject, we think proper to remark, that the Persians are so sensible of the snow's fertilizing their land, that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year, there being a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from Spauhawn, between two and three foot high, over which when once the snow rises, the peasant, who first brings the news to court, receives a considerable reward for his pains [u]. But it is now time for us to speak more particularly of the productions of the earth.

Trees. AMONG the trees, the most common in Persia, we may reckon the plantane, the willow, the fir, and cornel, called by the Arabs Sedar, and by the Persians Conar, from whence probably came the latin Cornus, and thence our cornel. It is a received opinion in this country, that the plantane has a singular virtue against the plague, and all other infectious diseases, and they positively assert, that there has been no contagion at Spauhawn, since the planting vast numbers of these trees in streets and gardens. The tree which bears Gall-Nuts grows in several parts of Persia, but particularly in Koureſtan. The trees which produce Gums, Mastic, and Incense, are found very commonly in most parts of Persia, that, however, which bears Incense is particularly found in Carmania the desart, resembling in form a large Pear-Tree. Turpentine Trees, and Almond Trees, with the wild Chesnut, are common. The tree which bears Manna is also frequent, but there are several sorts of Manna in Persia, the best is of a yellowish colour and of a large grain, it comes from Nichapour, which is a part of Bactria. There is another sort called the Manna of Tamarisk

[u] Tavern. voyag. tom. i. l. iv. c. 1. p. 414.

mariſk, becauſe it is gathered from that tree; all the different ſorts of Manna are uſed to the ſame end in medicine, and are therefore gathered with like care, being eſteemed a valuable commodity, as well as one eaſily diſpoſed of. The herbs in Perſia, eſpecially ſuch as are aromatic, exceed thoſe of other countries, roots, legumes, and ſalleting are larger, fairer, and better taſted than elſewhere, and are eaten raw without danger of their creating any crudities in the ſtomach. Moſt of our European roots and legumes flouriſh here in great perfection, and they would certainly be more cultivated than they are, if, as in Europe, men were by religion reſtrained from eating fleſh. As to drugs, Perſia produces as many as any country in Aſia; for, beſides Manna, Caſſia, Sena, the Nux Vomica, are common in moſt provinces, gum Ammoniac, called by the Perſians Ouſcioc, is found in abundance on the confines of Parthia towards the South. Rhubarb grows commonly in Coraſſan or the antient Sogdiana, but it is not ſo good as that which is brought from the country of the Tartars, between the Caſpian-Sea and China, and for this reaſon they endeavour to confound both under the name of Rivend-tchini, i. e. Rhubarb of China; in Coraſſan they eat it commonly as we do beet-roots. The poppy of Perſia is eſteemed the fineſt in the world, not only in reſpect to its beauty, but becauſe its juice is by far ſtronger than the juice of the ſame plant elſewhere. The Perſians call this juice Afioun, from whence our word opium; the beſt is made in the territory of Lingan ſix miles from Spauhawn, though others prefer the Afioun of Cazeron, which is towards the Perſian gulph, as being leſs apt to ingender crudities in the ſtomach. Tobacco grows all over Perſia, eſpecially about Hammadan, which is the ancient Suſa, and in Coureſtan near the Perſian gulph, which is eſteemed the fineſt, the Perſians themſelves, however, who are great ſmoakers, prefer what they call Tambacou Ingleſi, or Engliſh tobacco to their own; but Sir John Cardin ſays, that this tobacco, which was no other than brazil, being kept at too high a price, the demand for it is now quite loſt. Saffron is cultivated in many provinces, and eſpecially about the Caſpian ſea and in the neighbourhood of Hammadan, and is much eſteemed. The plant called by the Perſians Hiltet, and ſuppoſed to be the lazerpithium or ſilphium of Dioſcorides, from whence drops the Aſſa-fœtida, is common every where, but abounds moſt in Sogdiana: there are two ſorts of it, the white and the black,

Herbs and drugs.

black, the white is the least esteemed, because less strong than the black; this juice or gum is all over the east called King, and the Indians consume vast quantities of it, mixing it in all their ragouts and sauces; it has by far the strongest odour of any thing hitherto discovered, since places where it has been kept will retain its scent for whole years, and the vessels in which it is transported to India are so thoroughly impregnated therewith, that no other goods can be put on board them without acquiring its scent, however carefully packed up. Mummy of both sorts is a great Persian commodity, the first is taken from embalmed bodies, or such as are dried in the sands, the other is a precious gum which distils out of a rock; there are two mines or sources of it in Persia, the one in Carmania the desart in the country of Sar, which is the best; for it is certain, that there is no bruise, cut, or wound, which a drachm of this precious gum will not cure in twenty-four hours. The other mine is in Corassan, the rocks from whence it distils belong to the king, and all that issues from thence is for his use, they are inclosed with walls, the gates of which are secured by the seals of the five principal officers in the province, once a year each mine is opened in their presence, and all the mummy that is then found, or at least the greatest part of it, is sent to the king's treasure. It derives its name from the Persian word Moum, which signifies literally an unguent, the Hebrews and the Arabs make use of the same term; the Persians say, that the prophet Daniel taught them the use and preparation of mummy. Cotton is very common over all Persia, but there is a tree which somewhat resembles it, but is by far more rare, which produces a sort of silk very fine and soft, and of which many uses are made. Galbanum is likewise common in this country, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs which do not deserve to be mentioned here [u].

In speaking of the fruits of Persia, melons certainly claim the first place, they have above twenty sorts of them here, the first are called Guermec, i. e. forced by heat, they are round and small, a spring fruit, insipid in the mouth, and consequently no way pleasant, the people, however, fancy them prodigiously wholesome, and on their first coming in eat for a fortnight or three weeks together twelve or thirteen pound weight each day, nay an author of good

[u] Tavern. voyag. tom. i. iv. c. 2. p. 418. Chardin. tom. iii. p. 12. Careri, tom. ii. p. 209.

good credit and a physician says, that some eat thirty pounds of them at a meal without feeling any inconvenience therefrom. For four months in the year, in which melons are common, the common people eat hardly any thing else, and Sir John Chardin says, that they eat more of them in Spauhawn in a day than throughout all France in a month; the best grow about a little borough called Craguerde on the borders of Tartary, from whence, though it be thirty days journey, they are brought to Spauhawn for the use of the king. The people in general are so fond of melons, that they take great pains to preserve them in certain repositories during the last months of the year, and even till the guermec are again in season. After the melon the raisin deserves our notice, of which there are twelve or fourteen sorts in Persia, the most esteemed are the violet, the red, and the black, they are so large that one of them is a good mouthful; they preserve grapes all the winter in Persia, putting them up in paper bags on the vines, in order to preserve them from the birds. In Courdestan, and about Sultania where they have abundance of violets, they mingle their leaves with the dry raisins, which at once give them a fine taste and render them the more wholesome; the best grapes in the neighbourhood of Spauhawn are found on the vines belonging to the Gaurs or antient Persians, for they, being permitted by their religion to drink wine, take the more pains in cultivating these trees, which for the same reason are neglected by the Mohammedan Persians. The dates of Persia are without comparison the richest in the world, their syrup being sweeter and more pleasant than virgin honey, the best grow in Coureستan, Sistan, about Persepolis, and the shore of the Persian gulph, and particularly at Jaron, a town in the road between Schiras and Lar; strangers, however, ought to eat very moderately of this fruit, otherwise it is apt to overheat the blood, sometimes to such a degree as to create ulcers, but the inhabitants never feel any such inconvenience. Dates grow in clusters on the palm-tree, which is the highest of all fruit-bearing trees, and has no branches but at the very top, it produces fruit at fifteen years growth, and continues bearing till it is two hundred years old. All our European fruits grow in great perfection here, their apricots are excellent and of several sorts, nectarines and peaches weigh sometimes sixteen or eighteen ounces each, they break easily, and what is very extraordinary, the stone opens at the same time the

peach

peach is broke, and discovers a kernel extremely white, and of a taste the most delicious that can be imagined. The Persian pomgranates grow of several colours and in the highest perfection, some of them weighing a full pound; to sum up all, it may not be amiss to mention the particular places where the several kinds of fruit are held most excellent; apples and pears grow to the highest perfection in Iberia, dates in Carmania, pomgranates about Schiras, oranges in Hyrcania, and all sorts of things in Bactria, which produces finer and fairer fruit than any other country in the world; but it is particularly renowned for its onions, at once prodigiously large, and sweet as apples; pistaches, almonds, hazels, filberds, and figs abound; and Sir John Cardin tells us, that, at an entertainment near Spauhawn, he saw fifty several kinds of fruit provided for one desert [w].

Grain. THE grain most common in Persia is wheat, which is wonderfully fair and clean; as for barley, rice, and millet, they make bread of them in some places, as in Courdestan, when their wheat-bread is exhausted before the return of harvest. They do not cultivate in this country either oats or rye, except where the Armenians are settled, who make great use of the latter in Lent. Rice is the universal aliment of all sorts of people in Persia, for this reason they are extremely careful in its cultivation, for after they have sown it in the same manner with other grain, they in three months time transplant it root by root into fields which are well watered, otherwise it would never attain that perfection in which we find it there, since it is softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than the same grain in any other part of the world: it may be its taste is in some measure heightened by a practice they make use of to give it a glossy whiteness, viz. by cleansing it after its being beaten out of the husks with a mixture of flour and salt [x].

Flowers. THERE are in Persia all the sorts of flowers which are to be found in Europe, but they are not equally common in all the provinces of this empire; for there are fewer sorts of them, and fewer of each sort in the southern provinces than in the rest, excessive heat being more destructive to them than frost; which is the reason that in India they have fewer than in Persia, and that those in

[w] Chardin. tom. iii. p. 23. Tavern. ubi supr. Careri, ubi supr.

[x] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 101.

in Perſia have more vivid and delightful colours than thoſe either in India or in Europe. Hyrcania in this reſpect excels the reſt of Perſia, as much as Perſia does other countries; there are there whole foreſts of oranges, the jeſſamin ſingle and double; and there all the flowers we have in Europe, with many we have not, are profuſely ſcattered by nature. The moſt eaſtern part of this country, which is called Mazenderan, is a perfect parterre; from September to the end of April the whole country is covered with flowers as with a carpet, and the fruits are then in their beſt ſeaſon, the exceſſive heat and the malignity of the air deſtroying them in ſucceeding months. Towards Media, and on the northern frontiers of Arabia, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemonies, ranunculuſſes, of the brighteſt red, all ſpringing of themſelves in other places, as in the neighbourhood of Spauhawn jonquils grow wild and ſubſiſt all the winter. To recite all that is ſaid on this ſubject, by ſuch as have travelled through Perſia, would not be agreeable to the deſign of this work; let us content ourſelves therefore with adding, that roſes of uncommon beauty are frequent here, the buſhes bearing often three different coloured roſes on one branch, viz. yellow, yellow and black, and red. Pietro della Valle, who reports that the Perſians are wont to make uſe of art in dying their roots, in order to give different colours to their flowers, is in this circumſtance contradicted by Sir John Chardin, who affirms on the contrary, that their gardeners have little or no ſkill, and that the nobility of Perſia are ſo far from being curious in ſuch things, that they take no pleaſure in walking in their gardens, however beautifully and richly adorned, but content themſelves with ſingling out ſome ſpot or other on their firſt coming in, where they ſit down, and ſmoak, and drink coffee, as long as they remain there (Q) y.

METALS

y Chardin, tom. iii. p. 26. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 420. Careri, tom. ii. p. 3. Le Brun, tom. i. p. 227.

(Q) Though there is ſcarce a province in Perſia which does not produce wine, yet the wine of ſome provinces is much more eſteemed than the wine of others; but Schiras wine is univerſally allowed to be the very beſt in Perſia, inſomuch, that it is a common proverb there, that to live happily one muſt eat the bread of Yezd,

Metals or minerels.

METALS of all sorts are frequently found in Persia, especially of late years; and since the reign of Abas the Great, who was at immense pains to search them out, and to make the best use of mines where-ever they were discovered; iron, copper, and lead are common, but of gold and silver there are no mines open at present. As Persia is a very mountainous country, and as those mountains produce sulphur and salt-petre, if the inhabitants of this country were as active and inquisitive as amongst us, there is no doubt to be made, but that gold and silver both might be found in some part or other of the Persian dominions. In the country of Guendamon, near a town called Kervan, four leagues from Spauhawn, there is a silver mine, which has been formerly wrought, but through the scarcity of wood it produce has never equalled its expence; and it is therefore become a proverb in Persia to signify an unlucky undertaking, that it is like the mine of Kervan, where they lay out ten to receive nine. There were also silver mines in Kirman, and Mazenderan, but they are now abandoned for the same reason. Mines of iron are found in Hyrcania, in the northern Media, in Parthia, and in Bactria, but it is not so pliable as some European iron. The mines of steel are the most valuable of any in this country, and produce in such abundance, that Sir John Chardin tells us, it is not worth above sixpence a pound; this steel is so full of sulphur, that if you take off the filings thereof and cast them into the fire they make a report as loud as gunpowder; it is so fine and close, that it is as hard as a diamond, but on the other hand it is as brittle as glass, and as the Persian artizans know not how to correct this, they are able to make no very valuable instruments thereof. It is to be observed, that this steel is quite a different metal from iron, which appears

Yezd. and drink the wine of Schiras. They do not make use in this country of wooden vessels, as we do, for keeping their wine, but preserve it in earthen vessels, which they take care to have well glazed, otherwise they would imbibe a great quantity of wine. These pots are set in very handsome order in their caves or cellars, these too being as much adorned as such places will admit of, and have always a reservoir of water in the middle of them, that upon occasion people may be entertained there, and drink wine out of the reach of the sun (77).

(77) Tavern. tom. i. liv. iv. c. 2. p. 420.

appears from hence, that by giving it too fierce a fire it may be burnt and deſtroyed; the Perſians call both this and the ſteel of the Indies ſteel of Damaſcus, in order to diſtinguiſh it from European ſteel. Copper is found in greateſt quantity at Sary in the mountains of Mazenderan; there are alſo mines of it in Bactriana, and towards Caſbin; it is, however, poor and not fit for uſe, till mingled with either Swediſh copper or copper of Japan; the lead mines are towards Kirman and Yezde. Minerals are alſo found in Perſia in vaſt abundance, ſulphur and ſalt-petre are taken out of the mountain of Damavend, which ſeparates Hyrcania from Parthia. Salt is made here by nature without the leaſt aſſiſtance of art, as are alſo ſulphur and allom; nothing is more common than to meet in this country with plains, ſometimes ten leagues in length, covered intirely with ſalt, and others covered in like manner with ſulphur or allom; in Media and at Spauhawn the ſalt is dug out of mines, and is as hard and firm as free-ſtone, nay in Carmania the deſart the people actually uſe it as ſuch in building their houſes. Marble, free-ſtone, and ſlate, are found in great plenty about Hamadan; the marble is of four colours, white, black, red and black, and white; the beſt is found about Tauris, it is tranſparent as chryſtal, its colour is white mingled with a pale green, but it is ſo ſoft, that ſome have queſtioned whether it be really a ſtone or not; in the neighbourhood of the ſame city they find azure, but it is not ſo good as that of Tartary. In Hyrcania, and eſpecially in Mazenderan, the Petrolium or Naphthe is met with, of two ſorts, black and white, but the richeſt mine in Perſia is the Turquoiſe; there are two ſorts of this precious ſtone, one at Nichapour in Coraſſan, and the other in Phirous-cou, or mount Phirous, between Hyrcania and Parthia, four leagues journey from the Caſpian ſea; this mountain derives its name from the antient king of Perſia, who ſubdued this country, and in whoſe time the mine was found; nay the very ſtones carry his name alſo, for though we call them Turquoiſes, becauſe they come from the true and proper Turkey, yet throughout the eaſt they are ſtiled Firouze. They have of late years diſcovered another mine of the ſame ſort of ſtones, but they are by no means ſo valuable, but are diſtinguiſhed among us by the name of Turquoiſes of the new rock, to difference them from thoſe taken out of the antient mines, which belong entirely to the king, who, after ſelecting the moſt beautiful, ſells the reſt

rest to merchants. The reason why these late discovered turquoises are less valued than those of the old mines is, because they are less beautiful in their colour, and what colour they have is not thoroughly fixed, but grows paler by degrees, and at last wears almost quite out [z].

Beasts tame and wild.

The horses of Persia are the most beautiful in the east, though they are not so much esteemed as those of Arabia; they are higher than our saddle horses, and their limbs as well proportioned as can be imagined; though there are great numbers of them, yet considering how much they are used, and the great demand made for them by the subjects of the mogul on one side, and of the grand-seignor on the other, they are held at a very great price, a fine horse being sometimes valued at a thousand crowns. Next to horses we may reckon mules, which are much esteemed here, and are very fine, and next to these we may justly place asses, of which they have in this country two sorts, the first bred in Persia, heavy and doltish as asses in other countries are, the other originally of an Arabian breed, the most docile and useful creature of its kind in the world; these are used wholly for the saddle, and are very frequently adorned with fine accoutrements, because of their easy manner of going, and their being very sure-footed. The clergy, that have not great benefices, affect to ride much on these Arabian asses, and on this account these animals also are kept at a high rate, a good ass being worth at Spauhawn twenty-five pistoles. Camels are numerous in Persia, and so much in esteem, that they are called Kechty-krouch-konion, i. e. the ships of the earth, because the inland trade is carried on by the help of these camels as the foreign by ships: To describe this animal particularly here would be improper, since they are rather more employed by the Arabians than by the Persians; let us content ourselves therefore with observing, that the Persians make use of three sorts, a smaller, a larger, and a swifter kind of camel, than are common elsewhere. The largest camels will travel with a load of twelve or thirteen hundred weight, the swifter kind of camel is called Revatrie, i. e. the goer, because they trot as fast as a horse can gallop. It is worthy of notice, that these creatures are managed entirely by the voice, those who direct them making use of a kind of song, and according

[z] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 28. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 2. p. 221. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 212.

cording as they keep a quicker, or ſlower, time, the camel moves briſker, or at its ordinary pace. As beef is little eat in Perſia, their oxen are generally employed in ploughing and other ſorts of labour. Hogs are no where bred in Perſia, if we except a province or two on the borders of the Caſpian ſea; ſheep and deer are very common throughout all Perſia, and as to the former, Sir John Chardin aſſures us, that he has ſeen flocks of them which covered four or five leagues of paſturage. As to beaſts of chace, they are not ſo common here as in moſt of the countries of Europe, becauſe it is generally ſpeaking devoid of wood; but in Hyrcania where there are woods, deer of all ſorts and gazells are found in great abundance; the gazell is a creature common throughout the eaſt, and ſo many of them have been brought into Europe that they need not any deſcription. As to wild beaſts, there are not a great number of them in this country, for the ſame reaſon which has been before aſſigned with reſpect to beaſts of chace, except in Hyrcania, where in the woods there are great numbers of lions, bears, tygers, leopards, &c. ſo that the antients ſpoke very truly of Hyrcania, when they called it the country of wild beaſts. One thing, however, is to be remarked, that neither here nor throughout all Perſia there are any wolves; but the chakal or jakal, a creature which makes a terrible noiſe, and which many good writers take for the Hyæna, is common every where, and has this peculiar quality, that it tears up dead bodies, if the graves are not carefully watched; as to inſects, the dryneſs of the air prevents our having much to ſay about them; therere are, however, in ſome provinces prodigious numbers of locuſts or graſs-hoppers, which come in ſuch clouds as to obſcure the air. In certain parts of the Perſian dominions they have large black ſcorpions, ſo venomous, that ſuch as are ſtung by them die in a few hours; in others they have lizards frightfully ugly, which are an ell long, and as thick as a large toad, their ſkins being as hard and tough as that of the ſea dog; they are ſaid to attack and kill men ſometimes, but that may be doubted. Among the reptiles of this country there is a long worm called by the inhabitants Hazar-pey, i. e. thouſand feet, its whole body is ſtuck with ſmall feet, with which it runs prodigiouſly faſt; it is longer and ſmaller than a caterpillar, and its bite is dangerous, and even mortal, if it gets into the ears [a].

[a] Chardin. tom. iii. p. 32. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 423. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 215.

There are in Persia all the several sorts of fowl which we have in Europe, but not in such quantities, because they are chiefly bred and taken care of by the Armenians, who have frequently capons fatted to such a degree, that they are killed for nothing but their grease. There are, however, vast numbers of pigeons, wild and tame; and as the dung of pigeons is the best manure for melons, they keep great flocks all over the kingdom, so that it may be on grounds presumed, that no country in the world has such a number of pidgeon-houses; they are most of them six times as large as any we have in Europe, they are built of brick and plaistered on the outside, every thing being disposed in the most convenient manner possible for the preservation of these creatures. In the neighbourhood of Spauhawn they reckon more than three thousand of these pidgeon-houses, chiefly erected for the preservation of the dung, which is sold for about three-pence the dozen pound. The Persians call this manure Tchalgous, i. e. enlivening; it is a great diversion among the lower sort of people in town and country to catch pigeons, though it be forbidden; for this purpose they have pigeons so taught, that flying in one flock, they surround such wild ones as they find in a field and bring them back with them to their masters. People who follow this trade are called kestor-perron, or pigeon-stealers, and there are some so addicted to it, that they will lie out whole days in the very depth of winter, in order to carry on this foolish and wicked employment: for, under the notion of wild pigeons. they take every bodies pigeons they can find. The patridge of this country are the largest and finest in the world, being generally of the size of our fowls; as to water-fowl, they have geese, ducks, cranes, herons, and many other sorts, but they are more plenty in the northern than the southern provinces; the singing-birds here are of the same kinds we have in Europe; the nightingale is heard here all the year, but chiefly in the spring: martlets, which learn whatever words are taught them; and another bird of the same size, called by them Noura, which chatters continually, and repeats very pleasantly whatever it hears. As to the birds of a larger size, the most considerable is the Pelican, called by Persians Tacab, i. e. water-carrier, and also Misc, i. e. sheep, because it is as large as one of those animals, its feathers white and soft like those of a goose, its head is much larger in proportion than its body, and its beak from eighteen to twenty inches long, and as thick as ones arm, under this beak it has a

sack

ſack or pouch, in which it preſerves a quantity of water for moiſtening its food; it uſually reſts this long beak on its back, which would otherwiſe incommode it very much. The Pelican lives chiefly upon fiſh, in taking of which it ſhews an admirable contrivance, by placing its beak in ſuch a manner under the water, as to catch them as it were in a net; when it opens its throat, the paſſage is large enough for a lamb; it it called the water-carrier, becauſe in Arabia and other places where water is hard to be had, it makes its neſt at a great diſtance from ſtreams or wells, foreſeeing, that there will be leſs danger of diſturbance in ſuch places, though this ſituation obliges the bird to fly ſometimes two days journey for a ſupply of water for her young, which ſhe brings in the ſack before-mentioned; and hence the fables of the antients of the pelican's tearing her breaſt open to feed her young. There are in Perſia various birds of prey, and in the mountains, about fifteen or twenty leagues from Schiras, there are ſome of the largeſt and fineſt in the world. The people take great pains in teaching them to fly at game, and the king has generally eight hundred of theſe birds, each of which has a perſon to attend it. The Perſian lords are likewiſe great lovers of falconry, and even the common people practice it much; for neither this, nor ſhooting, nor hunting with dogs, is forbid to the meaneſt man in Perſia [b].

Fiſhes. We ſhall divide the fiſhes of Perſia into freſh or ſalt water fiſh; as to the firſt, they are not very plenty, becauſe there are no great rivers in Perſia; however, there are of theſe three kinds, thoſe of the lakes, of the rivers, and of the keriſes or ſubterraneous paſſages; thoſe in the lakes are carps and ſhads; the river fiſh is chiefly barble, which is alſo the ſort of fiſh commonly met with in the ſubterraneous channels; they are very large, but they are by no means good, and their eggs are particularly dangerous, which is generally attributed to their never beholding the light of the ſun, but living altogether in theſe foul and cold ſtreams. There are in the river at Spauhawn a great number of crabs which crawl up the trees, and live night and day under the leaves, whence they are taken, and are eſteemed a very delicious food. As to the ſea-fiſh, no country is better ſerved; the Caſpian ſea, as we have ſeen before, contains very fine fiſh on one ſide, and the Perſian

[b] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 225. Carreri. tom. ii, p. 214.

gulph on the other is believed to have more fiſh in it than any other ſea in the world; they fiſh there twice a day, morning and evening, and ſuch fiſh as are not ſold by ten o'clock in the morning, or before ſun-ſet, are thrown back into the ſea. There are taken on the coaſts of this gulph a ſort of fiſh, for which they have no particular name, its fleſh is of a red colour, very delicious, and ſome of them weigh two or three hundred pounds; its fleſh will take ſalt like beef, but it cannot be kept long, becauſe the ſalt in this country is very corroſive; for which reaſon, whenever they intend to keep either fiſh or fleſh, the inhabitants content themſelves either with drying it in the air, or by the help of ſmoke [c].

Natural rarities.

As we have now examined the productions of the air, earth, and waters of Perſia, we are next to ſpeak of the natural rarities which are to be found in this large empire. Of theſe the firſt we are to take notice of is a certain poiſonous ſhrub or plant, called by the Arabians Chark, by the Perſians Gulbad-Samour, i. e. the wind-poiſoning flower; it flowers like the thiſtle, and has pods filled with a thick white liquor of the conſiſtence of cream, ſharp and ſour to the taſte; it is affirmed, that where-ever the wind blows over a member of theſe plants, as it does frequently in Carmania the deſart, it thence contracts a poiſonous quality, which proves mortal to the next that reſpires it [d]. There is likewiſe another ſhrub in the ſame country, viz. Carmania the deſart, ſingularly noxious, it is called Kerzehre, i. e. aſſes poiſon, becauſe theſe creatures are apt to eat of its fruit which generally proves mortal. The very water that waſhes its roots is likewiſe held to be poiſonous, the trunk of this ſhrub is as large as one's leg, and it ſometimes grows to the height of ſix feet; its bark is remarkably rough, and of a bright green colour, its leaves perfectly round with a riſing ground in the middle; it bears a ſort of flower exactly reſembling the roſe, of a kind of fleſh-colour, whence it is apprehended, that the Greeks called it Rhododendron, the Arabians as well as the Perſians call it the gaul or poiſon of an aſs. Some are of opinion, that it is the Nerium of our herbaliſts, and the ſame plant that is called in French Roſage [e]. The goats, both wild and tame, which feed on the ſhore of the Perſian gulph, afford the

[c] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 44. Tavern. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 11. p. 424. Carreri, tom. ii. p. 210.
[d] Chardin. tom. iii. p. 13.
[e] Chardin. ubi ſupra.

the bezoar, ſo much eſteemed in medicine, but the very beſt is taken out of theſe creatures, in the province of Coraſſan or Bactria, and is thought to excel by far the bezoar of Golchonda and the reſt of the Indies. The naturaliſts in Perſia give it as their opinion, that the more dry and hard the food is, on which the animal lives, the more ſalutiferous and efficacious the bezoar found in it proves. Coraſſan and the coaſts of the Perſian gulph are allowed to produce the dryeſt herbage in the world. It is no fable, what has been reported, as to the formation of bezoar, for there is generally found in the core of ſuch balls, lumps, or ſtones as it grows in, a little ſprig of bramble or other buſh, round which by a continual acceſſion of matter the ball of bezoar is formed; this ſtone is here found in ſheep as well as in goats, but it is not ſo in the Indies. Its very name is of oriental extract, and ſhould be wrote Pe-zaor, i. e. poiſon killing, for the eaſtern people held it heretofore to be one of the ſtrongeſt counter-poiſons; quacks, however, were thoſe, who commended it moſt, and its virtues were rather taken upon truſt, than ſupported by experience: the number of the credulous, however, being great, raiſed its price very high: but of late years it is much ſunk in its reputation, as well in the eaſt as in Europe, it being now regarded chiefly as a ſudorific, and thought no very extraordinary thing in that claſs. The manner of giving it in Perſia is thus, they either ſcrape or powder it, and put about two or three grains for a doſe into a ſpoonful of roſe-water. While it was dear, it was often counterfeited, and the materials made uſe of to this end were, generally ſpeaking, reſin and Spaniſh wax. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the poliſh which bezoar ſtones generally have, is artificial, for when they are taken out of the creature, their outſide is of a rough greeniſh hue, juſt as the ſtone appears within [f]. The Abmelec, i. e. water of locuſt, or graſhoppers, is a bird which deſerves to be deſcribed better perhaps than moſt others of which travellers have given us an account, becauſe the facts relating to it are not only ſtrange in themſelves, but are alſo ſo well and ſo diſtinctly atteſted, that, however ſurprizing they may ſeem, we cannot but afford them our belief. The food of this creature is the locuſt, or graſshopper. It is of

[f] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 19.

of the ſize of an ordinary hen, its feathers black, its wings large, and its fleſh of a greyiſh colour; they fly generally in great flocks, as the ſtarlings are wont to do with us; but the thing which renders theſe birds wonderful is, that they are ſo fond of the water of a certain fountain in Coraſſan, or Bactria, that where-ever that water is carried, they follow; on which account it is carefully preſerved; for where-ever the locuſts fall, the Armenian prieſts, who are provided with this water, bring a quantity of it, and place it in jars, or pour it into little channels in the fields, the next day whole troops of theſe birds arrive, and quickly deliver the people from the locuſt [g], (R). The river Mahmoudker, i. e.

[g] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 40. Tavern. tom. i. l. iv. c. 3. p. 426.

(R) Sir John Chardin has given us in his deſcription of Perſia the following paſſage from an antient traveller in relation to this bird. "In Cyprus, about the time that the corn was ripe for the "ſickle the earth produced ſuch a quantity of cavaletts or locuſts, "that they obſcured ſometimes the ſplendor of the ſun. Where-"ever theſe came they burnt and eat up all; for this there was "no remedy, ſince as faſt as they were deſtroyed the earth pro-"duced more; God, however, raiſed them up a means for "their deliverance, which happened thus. In Perſia near the "city of Cuerch, there is a fountain of water, which has a won-"derful property of deſtroying theſe inſects; for a pitcher full "of this, being carried in the open air, without paſſing through "houſe or vault, and being ſet on a high place, certain birds "which follow it, and fly and cry after the men who carry it "from the fountain, come to the place where it is fixed; theſe "birds are red and black, and fly in great flocks together like "ſtarlings, the Turks and Perſians call them Muſulmans. Theſe "birds no ſooner came to Cyprus, but they deſtroyed the "locuſts with which the iſland was infeſted; but if the water be "ſpilt or loſt theſe creatures immediately diſappear, which ac-"cident fell out when the Turks took this iſland, for one of "them going up into the ſteeple of Famaguſta, and finding there "a pitcher of this water, he, fancying that it contained gold or "ſilver, or ſome precious thing, broke it, and ſpilt what was "therein, ſince which the Cypriots have been as much tormented "as ever by the locuſts" (77).

(77) Voyag. de Villamont. p. 97. ap. Chardin. tom. iii. p. 40.

i. e. Mahmoud the deaf, is a noble natural rarity. At ſome diſtance from Spauhawn there is a range of rocks, plain and equal for a conſiderable ſpace, except that here and there they have openings, like the embraſures in baſtions, through which the winds paſs with ſurprizing velocity; through theſe rocks falls the river we mentioned into a noble baſon, partly wrought by the water itſelf, and partly formed by art. As one aſcends the mountain, certain natural chinks ſhew the water at the bottom of it, like a ſleeping lake covered with rocks and mountains; it is thought to be of unfathomable depth, and when ſtones are thrown into it, they make a moſt amazing noiſe, whence this river derives its name. After its deſcent from the baſon before mentioned, it rouls along the plain, till at laſt it falls into the river Zenderoud; ſome are of opinion, that this river does not derive its water from ſprings, but from the ſnow on the tops of the mountains, which, melting gradually, diſtills through the chinks of the rocks into the vaſt lake before mentioned; and this they think is in ſome meaſure proved from the acrimonious taſte of theſe waters, which is, however, loſt after it joins the Zenderoud [h]. Under a certain mountain called Tagte-Ruſtan, ſo called from the ruins of a building on the ſummit thereof, ſuppoſed to have been erected by the giant Ruſtan, there runs a grotto, which deſerves a place among the natural rarities of Perſia; from the top of this grotto there diſtills thro' the whole mountain, in two or three places, freſh water, which, falling into proper receptacles, forms two or three diſtinct ſtreams, which iſſue from thence to water the plain. In this grotto, about the beginning of April, a great number of Indians aſſemble to celebrate a feaſt in honour of a hermit or ſaint of theirs, who lived long here, and the whole cave is full of ſhreds or rags of peoples garments, who have come hither to be cured of their diſeaſes, and have found relief. Not far from hence there is a mountain, where they pick up a ſort of blue ſtones, very hard and ſhining, which they make uſe of in adorning their moſques, tombs, and other public buildings. We might add a multitude of other articles of this nature, if the deſcription of Perſia did not already begin to ſwell under our hands; though we

[h] Chardin, tom. ii. p. 2.

we have uſed all the caution in our power to prevent its containing ~~any thing, which may~~ not be uſeful and inſtructive, as well as entertaining, to the reader. Let us now paſs to the artificial rarities viſible in Perſia.

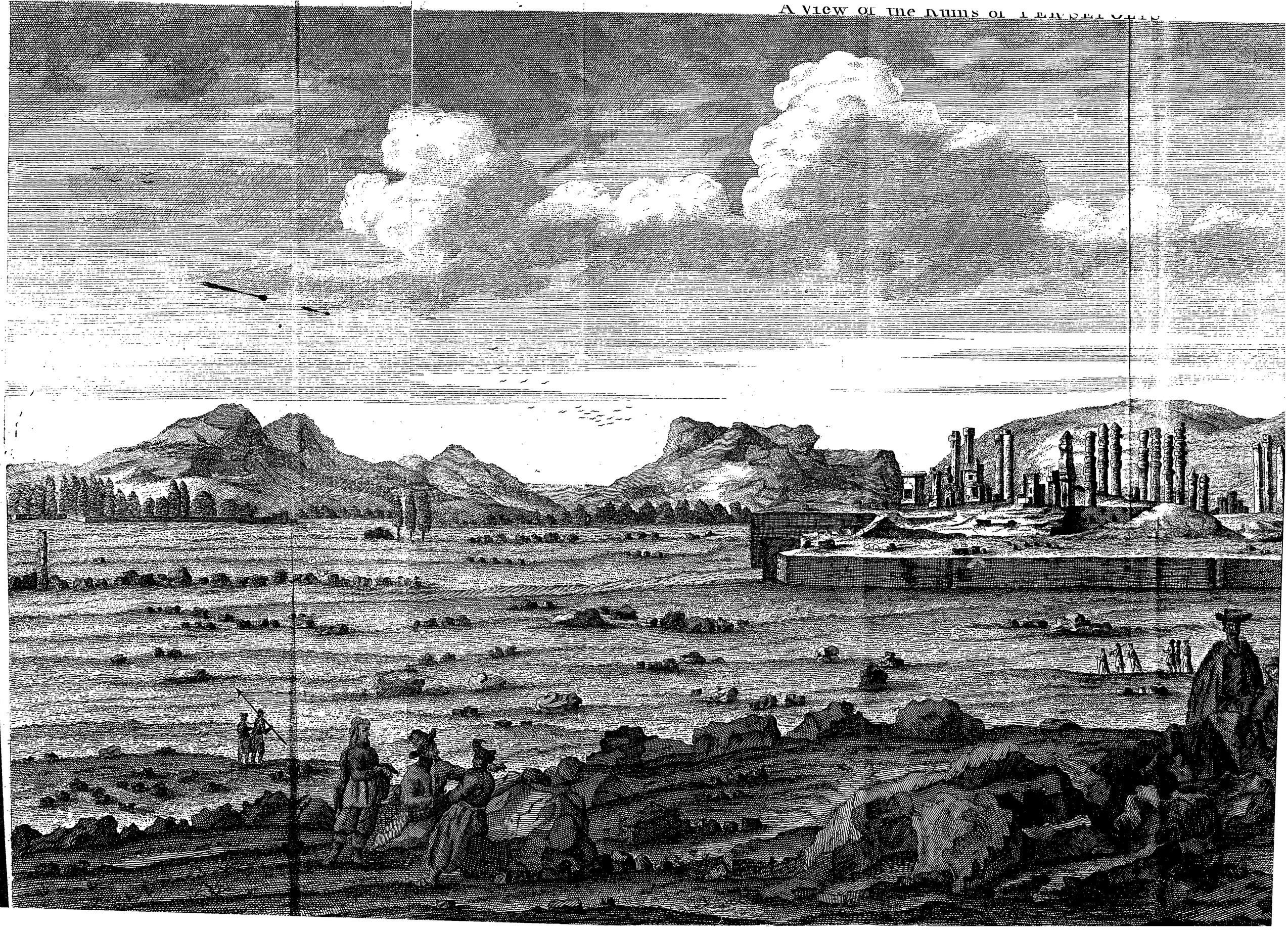
To begin then with the antient Perſepolis, the ruins of which ſtill teſtify the truth of what ſome antient writers have affirmed, that in the day of its proſperity it was one of the moſt auguſt cities in the world; nay, when we conſider all things, when we compare the deſcription of travellers one with another; when we conſider what is recorded of other cities, and what is ſtill to be ſeen of thoſe that were moſt famed; we ſhall be induced to confeſs, that the Perſian empire in all its grandeur could boaſt of nothing more glorious, nor hath left any thing more aſtoniſhing to poſterity, than the preport and ruins of this city. Should we pretend to give a full account of theſe noble remains, it would extend much farther than it is reaſonable this chapter ſhould go. We are writing a geographical deſcription of Perſia; we ought to omit nothing that may give the reader a diſtinct idea of this country, or which may enable him to underſtand thoroughly that hiſtory which is to follow; but in doing this we are to remember, that this geographical deſcription and this hiſtory are but ſections of a far greater work, and therefore we muſt have a care that it be of a piece, and not reſemble a ſtatue, with the body and arms of a man, and the hands, or even the finger, of a giant. For this reaſon we think ourſelves obliged to contract the many diffuſive accounts, which we have read of the ruins of Perſepolis, within reaſonable compaſs, giving the reader ſuch an account as may enable him to conceive how grand and how magnificent they are, and at the ſame time how uſeful fine draughts and exact relations of them may be, towards ſettling many points of antient hiſtory, and giving us juſt notions of the ſpirit and genius of that nation, whoſe capital this was. In doing this we ſhall not involve ourſelves in the diſputes of travellers, or attempt to decide whether Le Brun be in the right in his criticiſms, or rather invectives, againſt Sir John Chardin, our buſineſs is to give a ſuccinct proſpect of what has been ſaid of Perſepolis by authors antient and modern, and therefore to this let us come without further preface (S).

The

[i] Le Brun, tom. i. p. 246.

(S) In order to give the reader ſome idea of the difficulty we

A View of the Ruins of PERSEPOLIS



THE plain in which this famous city ſtood is one of the fineſt in Perſia, and, indeed, in all the eaſt; its length is

we have met with in collecting this article, we ſhall here give him a conciſe account of ſuch authors as have written on this ſubject, and thoſe deſcriptions we have peruſed. The firſt is Sir Thomas Herbert, who in his travels has a long relation, not only of what himſelf ſaw at Perſepolis, but of what has been ſaid by antient authors on that head. He has given us alſo a ſpecimen of the antient characters which are to be ſeen in the tables belonging to theſe ruins, which agrees perfectly well with the drawings of Le Brun. He has likewiſe inſerted his conjectures concerning theſe antiquities, which are neither improbable nor injudicious, but as we ſhall be obliged to mention moſt of theſe from M. Le Brun, it would be unneceſſary to trouble the reader with them here, we ſhall therefore add only to what we have already ſaid concerning the remarks of our worthy countryman, that the draught which he has left us of theſe ruins is far from being exact, and can hardly be ſaid to bear any reſemblance to the accurate deſcriptions of Chardin and Le Brun (79). Prior in point of time to Sir Thomas Herbert, but far inferior to him in every other reſpect, is the conciſe deſcription of theſe remains of antiquity given by our countryman Mr. Geofry Ducket, who in 1568 paſſed this way. The main of what he ſays may be reduced to this, that Perſepolis was 12 miles broad from gate to gate, whether this deſerves any credit, or whether it was the ſlip of an inadvertent author, as well as heedleſs obſerver, we preſume not to determine (80). John Albert de Mandelſloe, who obſerved theſe ruins in the year 1638, has left us a better deſcription of them than moſt of the writers who went before him, and as there is ſomething very plain and inſtructive in what he has left us on this ſubject, it cannot but be agreeable to the reader to compare what he has ſaid with what we have recorded in the text. "The "foundation or ground-work, on which this vaſt ſtructure was "erected, is raiſed 22 geometrical feet, having at each of its "four corners a pair of ſtairs of white marble of 95 ſteps, ſo "flat and broad that twelve horſes may go up conveniently "together a-breaſt. Before you come to the main body of the "ſtructure itſelf you paſs through a ſquare, where you ſee the "ruins of a wall and the remainders of two great gates, each "which have a horſe harneſſed and ſaddled after a very antic "manner,

(79) Sir Thomas Herbert's travels in Harris's collect. vol. i. p. 429. (80) Account of Mr. Geofry Ducket's Travels in Harris's collect, vol. i. p. 526.

is eighteen or nineteen leagues, its breadth in some places two, in others four, and in some places six; it is watered

"manner, carved on one side, and on the other two creatures "resembling a horse, except that they have wings on each "side, and the head is crowned, and like that of a lion. On "the one side you see the ruins of 19 pillars of white and black "marble, the least of which are 8, and some 10, ells high "without the bases, but whether they had been intended for "the support of some large hall, or were built purely in the "air is not to be distinguished at this time". The same author speaking of some unintelligible characters engraven on a square pillar, tells us, there are twelve lines of them so well proportioned and nicely engraven, that they carry not in them the least mark of barbarity, but seem rather to have been wrought in a nice well-judging age; he complains of the rudness of the inhabitants, who, without the least regard to so noble and so antient a palace, carry away large quantities of marble and other stone, for the quicker dispatch of common and private buildings; he also deplores the want of perfect draughts of these wonderful fragments of the antient magnificence of Persia (81). Sir John Chardin in the year 1674, took a view of these ruins, examined them with great care and pains, as appears from the large and particular account of them inserted in the second volume of his travels; it is true, M. Le Brun, who stayed there a much longer time than he, and who had consequently a better opportunity of studying and describing what he saw than this gentleman had, attacks him very warmly on the head of his description; but whoever reads with calmness and candour, what Sir John Chardin, with great perspicuity and without the least affectation of learning, has delivered on this head, will be of opinion, that how much nicer and more exact soever the descriptions of M. Le Brun may be, yet both the narration and the cuts of Sir John Chardin are excellent in their kind, and serve to communicate to us a multitude of useful particulars, which are no where else recorded (82). Dr. Gemelli Carreri has written a whole chapter under the title of a description of the palace of Darius, and the ruins of the antient Persepolis; it is concise as all his descriptions are, and the observations he makes are short and weighty, according to the custom of Italian authors. He has illustrated his narration with a few prints, which serve to give a competent idea of the magnificence of this antient city, and to demonstrate the conformity there is between the

(81) J. A. Mandelsloe's travels in Harris's collect. vol. i.
(82) Chardin voyag. tom. ii. p. 140—197.

tered by the great river Araxes or Bendemir, and by a multitude of rivulets beſides. Within the compaſs of this plain, there are between a thouſand and fifteen hundred villages, without reckoning thoſe in the mountains, all adorned with pleaſant gardens, and planted with ſhady trees. The entrance of this plain on the weſt ſide has received as much grandeur from nature, as the city it covers could do from induſtry or art. It conſiſts of a range of mountains ſteep and high, four leagues in length and about two miles broad, forming two flat banks, with a riſing terrace in the middle, the ſummit of which is perfectly plain, and even all of native rock. In this there are ſuch openings, and the terraces are ſo fine, and ſo even, that one would be tempted to think the whole the work of art, if the great extent

the ſeveral accounts of theſe ruins contained in the works of intelligent writers (83). M. Le Brun, who arrogates to himſelf a great ſuperiority over all the writers on this ſubject, ſpent a long time in ſurveying, meaſuring, and drawing views of theſe fragments of antiquity, he has taken upwards of thirty folio pages in deſcribing what he ſaw, and remarking on the intentions of thoſe who deſigned the ſeveral figures, of which he has given us copies, which are certainly very uſeful, as well as very beautiful, ornaments to his book. Beſides, he has written a long diſſertation on the difference between his account and that of Sir John Chardin, wherein the antiquities of Perſepolis are farther explained (84). From theſe materials a very copious deſcription and very curious obſervations might have been thrown together, eſpecially when we conſider, that, beſides travellers, ſeveral other writers of great eminence have left us their thoughts on this ſubject, ſuch as the moſt judicious doctor Hyde in his learned book of the religion of the antient Perſians, wherein he has explained with great knowledge and learning ſome of the enigmatical figures repreſented on the walls and pillars of theſe antient buildings (85); but it is our buſineſs to hint only where the curious and inquiſitive reader may be informed at large, as to all the extraordinary particulars relating to theſe monuments of the Perſian glory, our deſcription being no more than the out-lines of a regular diſſertation on this head, for which what has been ſaid above, and what we have advanced in this note, will, we hope, ſerve for a ſufficient apology.

(83) Carreri voyag. tom. ii. p. 246. (84) Le Brun. voyag. tom. ii. p. 285. (85) Hyde. hiſt. relig. vet. perſ. p. 344.

extent and prodigious elation thereof did not convince one, that it is a wonder too great for ought but nature to produce. Undoubtedly theſe banks were the advanced guards from Perſepolis took poſt, and from which Alexander found it ſo difficult to diſlodge them. One cannot from hence deſcry the ruins of the city, becauſe the banks are too high to be overlooked, but one can perceive on every ſide the ruins of walls and of edifices, which heretofore adorned the range of mountains, of which we are ſpeaking. On the weſt and on the north this city is defended in like manner, ſo that, conſidering the height and evenneſs of theſe banks, one may ſafely ſay, with a late ingenious traveller, that there is not in the world a place ſo fortified by nature [k]. The antient palace of the kings of Perſia, called by the inhabitants Chil-minar, i. e. forty columns, is ſituated at the foot of the mountain; and the walls of this ſuperb building are ſtill ſtanding on their ſides, and it has the mountain on the eaſt. The front is in extent ſix hundred paces from north to ſouth, and three hundred and ninety from eaſt to weſt, quite to the rock, without any ſtair-caſe on that ſide; till one comes to the mountain, where, by the help of certain ragged ſtones, it is eaſy to get to the loweſt part of the wall, where it is not above eighteen feet ſeven inches in height, and in ſome places not ſo high. This curtain is four hundred and ten paces in length, on the north, and one and twenty foot high in ſome places; but in moſt thirty quite to the mountain, where there is ſtill a corner of the wall, and in the middle an entrance, by which one may get up to the top by broken pieces of the rock. One finds alſo before the weſt ſide ſeveral rocks, which riſe towards the north, till they are even with the wall, appearing like a kind of platform, extending eighty paces before it. It ſeems, as if there had been a ſtair-caſe antiently on this ſide, and ſome buildings without this curtain, the rocks being very ſmooth in many places. On the top of this edifice there is a platform of 400 paces, which extends itſelf in the middle of the front-wall, quite to the mountain. Along this wall, and all the three ſides, runs a pavement of two ſtones joined together, which fill up a ſpace eight foot broad; part of theſe ſtones are eight, nine, and ten feet long, and ſix in breadth, but the reſt are ſmaller. The principal ſtair-caſe is not placed in the middle of the front, but much nearer

[k] Chardin. tom. ii. p. 141. Le Brun. tom. ii. p. 261.

nearer the north end than the ſouth, being ſix hundred paces diſtant from this, and only a hundred and ſixty-five from that; this ſtair-caſe is compoſed of two flights of ſtairs, forty-two feet aſunder at bottom. Its depth is 25 feet 7 inches to the wall, from whence proceed the ſteps, which are as long as the ſtair-caſe is deep, within five inches; each of theſe ſteps is four inches high, and fourteen in breadth, ſo that nothing can be more commodious. There are fifty-five on the north ſide, and fifty-three on the ſouth, but the latter are not ſo whole as the former. Aſcending thus high, one meets with a landing-place, fifty-one feet four inches broad, proportioned exactly to the breadth of the ſtair-caſe; the ſtones of this landing-place are of an extraordinary ſize. The two flights of the ſtair-caſe are ſeparated by the wall of the front, but in ſuch a manner, that they decline from each other to the middle, and incline towards each other from the middle to the top, which has a wonderful effect on the eye, and ſuits perfectly well with that magnificence which reigns throughout every other part of the building.

THE upper-part of this ſtair-caſe conſiſts of 48 ſteps on one ſide and on the other, ſome of which are damaged, notwithſtanding they are cut in the rock. At the top of theſe there is another landing-place, between the flights of ſtairs, 75 feet broad, paved with great ſtones, ſome 13 or 14 feet long, and 7 or 8 broad [1] (T).

To

[1] Le Brun, ubi ſupr. Chardin, ubi ſupr.

(T) In the deſcription in our text we have adhered pretty cloſely to M. le Brun, and that for many reaſons; firſt, becauſe his profeſſion, which was that of a painter, rendered him more capable of deſcribing minutely, and of deſigning exactly, all the wonders of Perſepolis, than any former traveller, whom either buſineſs or curioſity had led that way. Secondly, this gentleman had, as we have more than once hinted, determined with himſelf to conſider more attentively, and to examine more nicely, theſe relics of architecture, than any other author had done. Thirdly, he had not only all the authors we have mentioned in our laſt note, but Monſ. Chardin's curious plans to direct him, and it may be to correct him, in his notions on that head. Fourthly, there is ſuch an agreement, in material points at leaſt, between his accounts and thoſe of Chardin, notwith-

To ſpeak now of what is to be ſeen when one is amongſt theſe ruins. The firſt thing that ſalutes the eye in a ſtrait line, 42 feet diſtant from the front before deſcribed, are two great porticoes and two columns. The pavement of the firſt is much damaged by time, and the ſecond is ſunk five

withſtanding his affecting on all occaſions to quarrel with that gentleman's ſentiments, that we did not think it at all neceſſary to trouble the reader with any particulars of a diſpute of no great importance in itſelf, and which, though proſecuted with warmth, ſeems to have been commenced out of vanity. It may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that the fame of theſe ruins has, for the two or three laſt centuries, been ſo great, and the deſires of the Virtuoſi to ſee exact plans of them ſo ſtrong, that ſome have ventured to publiſh the conceptions of their own brains for the antiquities of Chelminar. Such was the view of Perſepolis ſent into the world by Sebaſtian Serlio an Italian architect, in his account of noble buildings antient and modern, ſince therein are found juſt forty columns adorned with chapiters of the Corinthian order, which no traveller ever had the happineſs to ſee. In the voyages of John Struys, amongſt a multitude of other ſtrange things and temerarious aſſertions, we have a wild deſcription of theſe ruins, and a wilder plan, ſaid in the title page of the book to be drawn by the author's own hand, which, if it were, he certainly drew by gueſs; ſince it is not only quite different from the plans publiſhed by others, but contains alſo ſuch palpable miſtakes, as never could have been committed by an eye-witneſs of theſe noble works, eſpecially one who looked on them with a deſign of deſcribing them to the reſt of mankind. We are not, however, to fancy, that wherever travellers differ in their accounts, one of them muſt be miſtaken. M. Le Brun and Sir John Chardin vary very little in what they ſay, relating to the pillars yet ſtanding at Perſepolis; but there is a conſiderable difference on this head between what they ſay and what we find recorded in the writings of Figueroa, Herbert, and Thevenot, all of whom teſtify nearly to the ſame point. Time and the barbarity of the modern Perſians, who make very little account of theſe ruins, have made conſiderable alterations ſince they were firſt deſcribed; and it is very probable, that whoever ſees them twenty years hence, will find them not exactly anſwerable to what is ſaid of them by M. Le Brun (86).

(86) Chardin. voyag. tom. ii. p. 152.

five feet lower than the former, theſe porticoes are 22 feet 4 inches in depth, and 13 feet 4 inches in breadth. One ſees in the front of each pilaſter a large figure cut in baſs-relief, 22 feet in length from its fore to its hind-feet, and 14 feet and a half high. The heads of theſe animals are entirely deſtroyed, their breaſt and feet project from the pilaſter, and their bodies are very much damaged. Thoſe of the firſt portico front towards the ſtair-caſe, and thoſe of the ſecond which have wings on their bodies towards the mountains. One ſees above the pilaſters certain characters, but they are ſo ſmall and ſo high that one can make nothing of them. The firſt portico is ſtill 29 feet high, and the ſecond 28. The baſes of the pilaſters are five feet two inches high. The animals are not carved out of one ſtone, but out of three joined together for that purpoſe. In the preſent condition it is not eaſy to decide what they were intended for, tho' many authors have given the world their conjectures, of which the reader will find ſome account in the authors cited at the bottom of the page, and will judge for himſelf which is the moſt probable of thoſe taken notice of there.

THE two columns which ſtand between the two porticoes are more entire than any other part of the ruins. They are of white marble, fluted, and wonderfully beautiful, that is as to their chapiters and other ornaments, for as to their baſes they are covered with earth; they are 26 feet from the firſt portico, and 56 from the ſecond, 14 feet in circumference, and 54 high. There were certainly two others between theſe and the laſt portico, of which there are ſtill ſome remains, great pieces of marble lying about half buried in the earth: 52 feet from the laſt mentioned portico ſouthward, there is a large ciſtern cut out of a whole ſtone, 20 feet long, 17 feet 5 inches broad, and three feet above the earth. From thence to the wall there is a ſpace of about 130 paces, in which one finds nothing but broken pieces of ſtone, and the remains of a column which appears to have been unfluted, and therein differs from all the reſt; it is about two feet in compaſs, and 12 and a half long: from it to the mountain, there is nothing to be met with but wild heaps of broken ſtones.

Turning from theſe porticoes to the ſouth, one ſees at the diſtance of 172 feet another ſtair-caſe, conſiſting of two flights of ſteps in the ſame manner as the former, one fronting towards the eaſt, the other towards the weſt. The wall is ſtill about ſix feet 7 inches high, but in the middle 'tis almoſt entirely ruined. The extent is 83 feet of the eaſt flight of ſtairs, and it is evident enough from the lowermoſt of them, that they were adorned with figures in baſs-relief. On the top of the ſtair-caſe are ſtill ſome foliages viſible, with figures in baſs-relief of a lion tearing a bull, larger than the life. The ſtair-caſe is half buried in earth, and one ſees certain ſmall figures on the wall, on both ſides. The weſt flight conſiſts of 28 ſteps; the other, having ſuffered more by the acceſſion of the earth, has now but 18, each 17 feet long, three inches high, 14 inches and a half broad. There are many of theſe towards the top broken, and two or three entirely deſtroyed, tho' cut out of the rock. At the end of the landing-place, from the ſtair-caſe, there is another front, whereon there are three rows of ſmall figures, one above another; of the firſt row there is nothing now to be ſeen but the parts below the girdle, the reſt being deſtroyed by time; the ſecond row, which is the beſt preſerved, has notwithſtanding received great injuries; and as to the third, there is nothing now above ground but their heads. Theſe figures are two feet nine inches high, and the wall, of which there is ſtill five feet three inches above ground, is 98 feet in extent from the firſt ſtep to its left corner, where there is another ſtair-caſe, the ſteps of which are exactly of the ſame ſize with thoſe before deſcribed. From what remains of the inner wall it appears, that it alſo was covered with ſmall figures. At the end of the ſtair-caſe there is another wall, which extends 90 feet beyond the landing-place; the corner turns a little to the ſouth, and goes no farther, becauſe the earth is there at the ſame height; returning to the weſt flight of ſteps of the ſtair-caſe before mentioned, we meet with a wall 45 feet in length, beyond the bottom of the ſtair-caſe, with an interval of 67 feet to the weſt front. This ſide like the former is adorned with three rows of figures, and a lion tearing a bull or an aſs, with a horn in its forehead; between theſe animals and the figures there is a ſquare ſpace filled with characters, of which the higheſt are quite effaced;

the

the figures on this ſide are fairer than on the other, the ground being leſs elevated ; there are 25 ſteps here. The wall from the ſtair-caſe weſtward extends quite to the front; but beyond the ſtair-caſe is unadorned with figures.

At the ſtep of the ſtair-caſe, between the two flights of ſtairs, there is an open place, paved with very large ſtones between the ſtair-caſe and the firſt columns, which are 22 feet and two inches diſtant ; they ſtand in two rows, each conſiſting of ſix columns, of which there is only one remaining entire, eight baſes, and ſome broken pieces of the reſt. There are ſix rows of columns 70 feet eight inches diſtant from theſe, each row conſiſting of ſix columns. Theſe thirty ſix columns are 22 feet two inches one from the other, as the former are. There are ſtill ſeven of theſe intire, with the baſes of all the reſt, but much broken and defaced. Of thoſe which are left, there is one of the firſt row, one of the ſecond, two of the third, and one of each of the reſt. One finds, between theſe columns and thoſe before mentioned, ſeveral large ſtones, heretofore part of ſome ſubterraneous building. Seventy feet eight inches weſt from theſe columns, towards the front of the ſtair-caſe, there were 12 columns more diſpoſed in two rows, of which there are only five remaining. The baſes of ſeven more are viſible, and the ground is covered with ruins of thoſe which are decayed. One can diſcover, however, among the fragments of thoſe ornaments, which lie half interred, that each of theſe columns was ſurmounted by the figure of a camel kneeling. To the ſouth of theſe columns ſtands the edifice moſt elevated of any in theſe ruins, but it is neceſſary for us to obſerve, that on the eaſt there are ſtill diſcernable two rows of columns, conſiſting of ſix each, of which the baſes of four or five remain ſtill above the earth, and in all appearance theſe were oppoſed to other rows of columns which were in the front. Advancing ſtill towards the mountains, one finds the ruins of many buildings, conſiſting of porticoes, paſſages, and windows, the porticoes are adorned with figures, and theſe ruins take up a great ſpace ; but to return to the edifice ſpoken of before, it extends 118 feet from the columns, and the wall of its front is yet five feet ſeven inches high, compoſed of one row of ſtones only, ſome of which are eight feet broad, extending from eaſt to weſt 113 feet.

There is before the edifice certain ſtone foundations ſtill viſible, but what end they ſerved cannot be gueſſed, ſince there is no ſtair-caſe on this ſide. This wall is adorned with no ſort of ornament as the reſt are; there are, however, two ſtair-caſes, one on the north, the other on the ſouth-ſide, but almoſt entirely ruined; on the landing-place, however, we ſtill diſcover the remains of porticoes which an earthquake threw down; all the reſt of the building, which conſiſts of great and little porticoes, is entirely ruined, the ground covered with the fragments is about 147 feet in length, and nearly ſquare. On the north there are two porticoes, and three niches or windows walled up, and on the ſouth a portico and four windows open. There are two other porticoes, which are not covered, on the weſt, with two openings; and a third to the eaſt, with three niches or windows walled up. Six of theſe openings are without cornices, and there remains but half a one to the eaſt. One ſees under the two porticoes on the north, on each ſide, the figure of a man, and of two women from their knees upwards, their legs being covered with earth; under one of thoſe on the weſt ſide, there is the figure of a man fighting with a bull, which has a horn in its forehead, the man holds this with his left hand, and ſtrikes a poignard into the belly of the beaſt with his right; on the other ſide the figures are the ſame, excepting only, that the man holds the horn with his right hand, and ſtabs the beaſt with his left. In the ſecond portico there is the figure of a man holding a beaſt, reſembling either a deer or a lion, by ſuch a horn in its forehead, and with wings upon his back. Under the portico to the north, the ſame figures are viſible, only the man combats here a true lion, which he holds by the mane; theſe figures have half their legs buried under the earth. On both ſides of the partico towards the ſouth, there is the figure of a man, with an ornament on his head reſembling a crown, attended by two women, one of whom holds an umbrella over his head, and the other has ſome enſign of authority in her hand. Above theſe figures are three niches full of characters. On the pilaſters of the firſt portico, which are out of their places, and lie near the flight of ſtairs laſt mentioned, there are two men, each armed with a lance, which the one holds with both hands, the other only in his left; one of theſe only is entire.

Behind

Behind this edifice one finds another of much the ſame kind, except that it is 38 feet longer, with a niche or window blocked up, and another open, with two ſtones ſtanding up, one on the right hand, the other on the left: Of theſe, that towards the eaſt is broken, the other towards the weſt is ſtill 28 feet high. There is on the top of this ſtone three niches or tablets full of characters, and a fourth below which ſeems to have been cut after the reſt. The like inſcriptions are ſeen in the niches or windows before-mentioned, each tablet conſiſting of one ſtone only. To the ſouth there are two flights of ſtairs, the one to the eaſt, the other to the weſt; but of theſe only five ſteps are remaining; and on the wings, as well as on the wall which ſeparates them, there are ſtill viſible ſome ſmall figures and foliages, though half buried in the ground, a hundred feet from thence to the ſouth, the laſt ruins are found of theſe edifices, conſiſting chiefly of porticoes and encloſed ſpaces of ground, and between theſe two heaps of ruins another ſtair-caſe, of which only ſeven ſteps are remaining, which ſerve, however, to ſhew that antiently they were adorned with figures and foliages. On the eaſt-ſide of this ſtair-caſe there are certain ſubterraneous paſſages, in which the inhabitants imagine great treaſures are hid. M. Le Brun entered them, as ſeveral travellers have done before, but was quickly obliged to return without making any diſcoveries, the paſſages being ſo narrow, and ſo dark, and moiſt, that it was impoſſible to go far. However, even theſe experiments are ſufficient to ſhew, that the conjectures of the inhabitants are very indifferently founded, ſince from the ſtructure of theſe vaults we are left to judge they were rather intended for carrying off water, or ſome ſuch like purpoſe, than to be made the repoſitories of royal treaſures [m].

THERE would be no difficulty in following M. Le Brun's deſcription much farther, or in adding thereto his particular delineations of the pillars, niches, and figures ſpoken of before; but for the reaſons already given we ſhall ſtop here, that we may have room to ſay ſomewhat as to the conjectures of the learned, concerning theſe remains of the

[m] Le Brun, vol. ii. p. 268.

the magnificence of antient times. The processions delineated on the walls, the vases in the hands of many of the figures, the several tablets of unknown characters, and the many hieroglyphical representations, which are still seen in these ruins, have led some great men into an opinion, that this antient structure was a temple, dedicated to the deities worshipped in Persia. Others, with much greater reason, have delivered it as their sentiment, that these ruins are what remain of the antient palace of Persepolis, which they think strongly confirm'd by the description left us by antient authors of that noble pile of building. As to the figures in procession, those who adhere to this notion say, that they represent a birth-day feast of one of the Persian emperors, when his courtiers were wont to bring him presents; as to the inscriptions they are, generally speaking, illegible, by the Persees or antient Persians themselves, so that hardly any argument can be deduced from them. The hieroglyphics might as well serve for ornaments to a palace as to a temple, and, it may be, were some of the spoils of Egypt, brought thence by Cambyses army, led by Smerdis the Magian. However this be, certain it is, that the habits of these figures agree perfectly well with the descriptions of the old Median and Persian robes, as they are recorded in Greek writers. On the whole, therefore, it may be presumed, that whatever this edifice was, it was actually erected by the kings of the first race, since nothing seen there carries the aspect of latter times; but whether Cyrus was the founder, or whether this palace was begun by Darius, and finished by Xerxes, is a point not easily, if at all, to be determined. From a view of the figures visible on the walls, pillars, &c. it seems probable to us, that they were enigmatical representations, at least for the most part, of the course of the heavenly bodies, and of the effects produced by them; but of this, and of the reasons which incline us to believe it, we shall take occasion to discourse more largely in our section on the religion of the antient Persians. The traditions of the natives in respect to these antiquities are generally represented by travellers, as confused, extravagant, and not to be depended on. This may, however, in some measure arise from their want of acquaintance with oriental history, which is not always so fabulous and incoherent as it is represented to be; there

is,

is, and there ever will be, a wide difference between the narrative ſtyle of theſe eaſtern nations, and that in uſe amongſt us; but as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew, even in reſpect to theſe ruins, certainty may be deduced, as well from the hyperbolical relations of eaſtern writers, as from the artful memoirs of ſome of our weſtern hiſtorians (V).

At

(V) In this note we intend to examine, in as ſhort a compaſs as poſſible, what antient writers have delivered concerning the city and palace of Perſepolis; to begin then with what is ſaid by Diodorus the Sicilian on this ſubject. He relates, that, after paſſing the river Araxes, Alexander met with near 800 Greeks, moſt of them old men, ſome having their hands, others their feet, ſome their ears, and ſome their noſes, cut off, which had been done by the Perſians of that diſtrict; which ſo incenſed him, eſpecially againſt the inhabitants of Perſepolis, that he called ſays our author, the Macedonians together and told them, "That Perſepolis, the metropolis of Perſia, of all the cities "of Aſia, had done moſt miſchief to the Grecians, and "therefore he gave it up to the plunder and ſpoil of the "ſoldiers, except the king's palace. This was the richeſt "city of any under the ſun, and for many ages all the "private houſes were full of all ſorts of wealth, and what-"ever was deſirable. The Macedonians therefore, forcing "into the city, put all the men to the ſword, and rifled "and carried away every man's goods and eſtate, amongſt "which was abundance of rich and coſtly furniture, and or-"naments of all ſorts. In this place was hurried away here "and there vaſt quantities of ſilver, and no leſs of gold, "great numbers of rich garments, ſome of purple, others em-"broidered with gold, all which became a plentiful prey to "the ravenous ſoldiers. And thus the royal ſeat of the "Perſians, once famous throughout the world, was now ex-"poſed to ſcorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bot-"tom. For, though every place was full of rich ſpoil, yet the "covetouſneſs of the Macedonians was inſatiably ſtill thirſting "after more. And they were ſo eager in plundering, that "they fought one with another with drawn ſwords, and many "who were conceived to have got a greater ſhare than the "reſt, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of "extraor-

At two leagues diſtance from theſe ruins, there is a famous mountain, ſeated between two of the fineſt plains in the world, and which is called by the inhabitants by ſeveral names; ſometimes they ſtyle it Kabreſton-Gauron, i. e. the ſepulchres of the Gaurs; ſometimes Nachs Ruſtan, the pictures of Ruſtan; and ſometimes Takt-Ruſtan, i. e. the throne of Ruſtan. This Ruſtan, as we have obſerved before, is the Hercules of the eaſt, or rather the Amadis, for the ſtories they tell of him are alike fabulous and romantick. Our buſineſs, however, is not with them, but with the mountain, which is one entire rock, harder and capable of a better poliſh than marble; it is levelled by art, its ſides are perfectly perpendicular, ſo that it looks like a large wall, and upon it there are figures repreſented in baſs-relief, with great ſkill and beauty. The firſt of theſe, which was about the height of a pike from the ground, repreſents

" extraordinary value they divided with their ſwords, and each " took a ſhare; others in rage cut off the hands of ſuch " as laid hold upon a thing that was in diſpute. They firſt " raviſhed the women, as they were in their jewels and rich " attire, and then ſold them for ſlaves. So that by how " much Perſepolis excelled all the other cities in glory and " worldly felicity, by ſo much more was the meaſure of their " miſery and calamity. Then Alexander ſeized upon all the " treaſures in the citadel, which was a vaſt quantity of gold " and ſilver of the public revenues that had been heaping " up, and depoſited there from the time of Cyrus, the firſt " king of Perſia, to that day. For there was found an hundred and twenty thouſand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of ſilver. Part of this treaſure he took for " the uſe of the war, and ordered another part of it to be " treaſured up at Suſa. To this purpoſe, he ordered, that a " multitude of mules, both for draught and carriage, and " three thouſand camels with pack-ſaddles ſhould be brought " out of Babylon, Meſopotamia, and Suſa, and with theſe " he conveyed all the treaſures to the ſeveral places he had " appointed. For, by reaſon of his great hatred to the inhabitants, he was reſolved not to truſt them with any thing, " but utterly to ruin and deſtroy Perſepolis: Of whoſe palace in regard of its ſtately ſtructure, we conceive it " will not be impertinent if we ſay ſomething. This " ſtately fabrick or citadel was ſurrounded with a treble " wall;

repreſents a combat between two knights, mounted on horſeback, each of them having an iron mace in his left-hand. He on the right has a bonnet on his head, and holds out in his right-hand a large ring of iron, of which the other knight ſeems to take hold with his right-hand; at the foot of each of their horſes lies a man grovelling on the ground. All theſe figures, as well of horſes as of men, are gigantic; and as to the meaning of the piece, if we truſt tradition and the Perſian poets, it is thus to be underſtood; they

" wall: the firſt was ſixteen cubits high, adorned with many " ſumptuous buildings, and lofty turrets. The ſecond was " like to the firſt, but as high again. The third was drawn " like a quadrant four ſquare, ſixty cubits high, all of the " hardeſt marble, and ſo cemented as to continue to the lateſt " time. On the four ſides are brazen gates, near to which " there are curtains or palliſades of the ſame metal, twenty cu- " bits high, theſe were raiſed as well to ſtrike the beholder with " terror, as the ſtrengthening and ſecurity of the place. On " the eaſt ſide of the citadel, about four hundred feet diſtant, " ſtood a mountain called the royal mount, for here are all the " ſepulchres of the kings, many apartments and little cells be- " ing cut into the midſt of the rock; into which cells there is " made no direct paſſage, but the coffins with the dead bodies " are by machines hoiſted up, and ſo let down into theſe vaults. " In this citadel were many ſtately lodgings, both for the king " and his ſoldiers, of excellent workmanſhip, and treaſury " chambers moſt commodiouſly contrived for the laying up of " money. Here Alexander made a ſumptuous feaſt for the en- " tertainment of his friends, in commemoration of his victory, " and offered magnificent ſacrifices to the gods. At this feaſt " were entertained whores who proſtituted their bodies for hire, " where the cups went ſo high, and the reins ſo let looſe to drunk- " enneſs and debauchery, that many were both drunk and mad. " Among the reſt there was at that time a curteſan, called " Thais, an Athenian, that ſaid Alexander would perform the " moſt glorious act of any that ever he had done, if while he " was feaſting with them he would burn the palace, and ſo the " glory and renown of Perſia might be ſaid to be brought to " nothing in a moment by the hands of women. This ſpread- " ing abroad, and coming to the ears of the young men, (who " commonly make little uſe of reaſon when drink is in their " heads) preſently one cries out, Come on, bring us fire-brands, " and ſo incites the reſt to fire the citadel, to revenge that impiety " the Perſians had committed in deſtroying the temples of the " Grecians. At this others with joy ſet up a ſhout, but ſaid, " that

they ſay, that one of theſe cavaliers was Ruſtan or Ruſtem the ſon of Sal the white, the ſon of Sam, the ſon of Noramon king of the Indies; the ſecond Ruſtan or Ruſtem, the ſon of Tahmour king of Perſia; theſe two princes are ſaid to be engaged in long and bloody wars, and at laſt to have agreed to determine their quarrels by a combat. The manner in which this was to be performed was thus: one extended a ring of iron in his right-hand which the other laid hold of, it being previouſly agreed, that whoever could wrench from the other this iron ring, ſhould be eſteemed the conqueror, and ſhould be obeyed for the future by him who loſt it; they ſay too, that the king of Perſia, who is the

" that ſo brave an exploit belonged only to Alexander to per-
" form. The king ſtirred up at thoſe words embraced the
" motion, upon which as many as were preſent left their cups
" and leaped from the table, and ſaid, that they would now ce-
" lebrate a victorious feſtival to Bacchus. Hereupon multitudes
" of fire-brands were preſently got together, and all the wo-
" men that played upon muſical inſtruments, which were at the
" feaſt, were called for, and then the king with ſongs, pipes,
" and flutes, bravely led the way to this noble expedition, con-
" trived and managed by this whore, Thais, who next after the
" king, threw the firſt fire-brand into the palace. This pre-
" cedent was preſently followed by the reſt, ſo that, in very
" ſhort time, the whole fabric by the violence of the fire was
" conſumed to aſhes (87)". We have tranſcribed this long paſſage to avoid a multitude of quotations, ſince ſeveral authors, have either copied Diodorus, or the authors made uſe of by him. Plutarch, in his life of Alexander, gives us an account of this tranſaction, little different from that which we have juſt ſeen; indeed, he ſpeaks leſs confidently of the ſtory of Thais than Diodorus does, whence ſome have ſuſpected the truth of it, and whether Thais had any concern therein or no. Arrian ſays, that Alexander ſeized at Paſſagardon on the money which had been laid up there by Cyrus, and then adds, " the royal
" palace of the Perſian monarchs he burnt, much againſt the
" will of Parmenio, who intreated him to leave it untouched,
" not only becauſe it was improper to ſpoil and deſtroy what
" he had gained by his valour, but that he would thereby diſ-
" oblige the Aſiatics, and render them leſs benevolent to him,
" for they would then ſuppoſe that he would not keep Aſia in
" his poſſeſſion, but abandon it as ſoon as it was conquered and
" laid waſte. To which Alexander made anſwer, that he was
" reſolved

(87) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. c. 7.

the perſon repreſented by the figure, having a long beard, vanquiſhed the king of the Indies in this engagement. Beſides this ring and mace, theſe combatants have iron bullets hanging by chains at the ſides of their horſes, which it is to be ſuppoſed they let fly at each other in the ſame manner as peaſants ſometimes fight with their flails. Joining to this figure there is another, wherein the men are repreſented as of a leſs ſtature than in that before deſcribed, viz. not above ſeven foot high; there is a perſon repreſented in the middle of the piece armed from head to foot, leaning on a naked ſabre with both his hands; he is ſaid to be the ſame king of the Indies before-mentioned, becauſe his bonnet and beard reſemble thoſe of the figure ſo called in the former piece; he turns his head towards five men, who have their bodies hid by the wall from the ſhoulders downwards, perhaps to ſignify that they are priſoners; behind him, there are three other men in the ſame poſition, who ſeem to be making ſigns to the five over-againſt them. As to this repreſentation it is impoſſible to ſay any thing with certainty, ſince we are furniſhed with no lights by antient writers, and the traditions of the modern Perſians on ſuch ſubjects are little to be depended on; though to ſay the truth,

" reſolved to revenge the antient injuries his country had re-
" ceived by the Perſians, who, when they arrived with their
" army in Greece, ſubverted Athens, burnt their temples, and
" committed many other barbarous devaſtations there. But
" this, in my opinion, ſeems to have been no prudent or po-
" litic action in Alexander, and was no revenge upon the Per-
" ſians at all (88)". Strabo ſpeaks very conciſely on this ſubject, his words are theſe, " Alexander deſtroyed the temple of
" Perſepolis in revenge of the injuries done the Greeks, whoſe
" cities and temples the Perſians had formerly deſtroyed with
" fire and ſword (89)". Curtius has nothing ſingular upon this head except the following obſervation. " The city of Perſe-
" polis was ſo far from being rebuilt, that unleſs the river A-
" raxes ran near it, there had not been the leaſt ſign left to
" have gueſſed where it ſtood; that it was ſituated twenty
" ſtadia from the banks of this river, the inhabitants rather be-
" lieve than know with any certainty (90)". In this point, however, he ſeems to have been miſtaken; for firſt, he is the only author who ſays, that Perſepolis was ruined. Diodorus ſays,

(88) Exped. Alex. lib. iii. c. 18. (89) Geogr. lib. xv. p. 730. (90) Court. lib. v. c. 7.

truth, the common people in Perſia are rather more modeſt than elſewhere, for when they are aſked about the meaning of theſe figures, they generally ſay, God knows. Nay, their men of learning content themſelves with affirming, that they relate to the ancient heroes of their country, without pretending to enter into particulars. At a hundred and twenty paces diſtance from this figure, one finds the firſt tomb, but before one comes thither, one ſees here and there on the mountains ſeveral tablets, which ſeem to have been deſigned for ſuch repreſentations as have been before deſcribed; whence it is evident, that the works on this mountain have been left unfiniſhed. One ſees before this firſt tomb the repreſentation of a combat between a knight and a giant; but as to the meaning thereof, we know as little as of that of the former. At ſixty paces from this tomb there is another, thirty paces from thence another, and at the diſtance of a hundred paces a fourth, which is the laſt. There are two inſcriptions near the third tomb, one fifteen lines in length, in the character made uſe of in the inſcriptions at the palace of Perſepolis. There are many other curious repreſentations carved on this mountain, ſome perfectly whole and ſound, others much defaced, either

ſays, indeed, that it was plundered; but as to burning and deſtroying, what he relates is confined to the palace; beſides, after the death of Alexander, he informs us, that Antigonus, taking five thouſand talents of ſilver out of the treaſury at Ectabana, marched into Perſia, and after twenty days arrived at its capital Perſepolis (91). Arrian alſo ſpeaks of this city as ſtill ſtanding after the deſtruction of the palace; and, if we may believe the author of the book of Maccabees, it continued a great and noble city. What he ſays on this ſubject, ſtands thus, in our tranſlation. "About that time, came Antiochus "with diſhonour out of the country of Perſia. For he had "entered the city called Perſepolis, and went about to rob the "temple, and to hold the city, whereupon the multitude, run-"ning to defend themſelves with their weapons, put them to "flight; and ſo it happened, that Antiochus, being put to "flight of the inhabitants, returned with ſhame (92). In the firſt book of Maccabees, there is ſtill a more extraordinary paſſage in reſpect to the point before us. "About that time, ſays "the author, king Antiochus travelling through the high coun-"tries,

(91). Diod. Sicul. lib. xix. c. 3. (92) 2 Mac. c. ix. ver. 1.

either through the injuries of time and weather, or the brutal zeal of the Mohammedans, who pique themſelves much on deſtroying images. We ſhall not detain the reader any longer on ſo obſcure a ſubject, ſince our deſcriptions, however prolix, would never afford him the ſame idea he may gain at once by looking on the prints inſerted in their travels by Chardin and Le Brun [n]. Beſides, ſhould we run into a long diſcourſe on the conjectures, which have been or may be made in relation to theſe ſepulchres, it would certainly lead us far out of our road, and turn very little to the edification of the reader. On the whole therefore

[n] Vid. Chardin, tom. ii. p. Le Brun, tom. ii. p.

" tries, heard ſay, that Elymais in the country of Perſia, was " a city greatly renowned for riches, ſilver, and gold. And " that there was in it a very rich temple, wherein were coverings " of gold, and breaſt-plates, and ſhields which Alexander, ſon " of Philip, the Macedonian king, who reigned firſt among the " Grecians, had left there. Wherefore he came and ſought to " take the city, and to ſpoil it, but he was not able, becauſe " they of the city, having had warning thereof, roſe up a- " gainſt him in battle: ſo he fled, and departed thence with " great heavineſs, and returned to Babylon (93)". That this city Elymais was Perſepolis, we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, ſince we are certain, that the latter is only a Greek appellation, and not the true name of the city; nor in all probability did the Greeks ever commit the Perſian name thereof to writing. One thing we will venture to obſerve here, which has not hitherto been remarked by any author; it is, this; Perſepolis or Perſæpolis ſignifies in Greek no more than the city of the Perſians; Elymais ſignifies the ſame thing, as alſo Phars-abad, which Sir John Chardin conjectures to be its antient name in the Perſic tongue; hence therefore, we may with probability conclude, that its moſt antient name was Elymais, derived from the antient name of Perſia, Elam, that in proceſs of time when Perſia was called Pharas, this city might be ſtiled Pharas-abad, and that the Greeks might tranſlate either of theſe appellations in their own language by the word Perſepolis; all which we ſubmit to the curious and inquiſitive reader.

(93) 1 Mac. c. vi. ver. 1.

fore, we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that theſe ſtupendous monuments of antient magnificence are ſufficient to fill us with high ideas of the wiſdom and genius of the antient Perſians, before ſuperſtition and ſlavery took place (X).

The

(X) Beſides the tombs ſpoken of above, there are two near the ruins of the palace of Perſepolis, which Sir John Chardin ſays, appeared to him the moſt curious remnants of antiquity which he beheld there. They are about ſix hundred paces from the columns, and in order to reach them, there is a neceſſity of climbing three hundred paces up the rock. Theſe monuments are cut and hollowed into the rock. The one is in the north, over againſt the great ſtair-caſe of the palace, the front is 72 feet broad, and its height about 130. The plat-form is ſquare and like the landing-place of a ſtair-caſe; it is about 4 feet deep that is cut into the mountain; on each ſide there are ſix figures finely cut, and exactly reſembling thoſe in the proceſſion; in the wall of the palace there are four columns fronting the ſpectator, and exactly in the middle there appears a door, but it is only the figure of a door cut in the rock, and does not ſeem ever to have been deſigned for a paſſage into any cavity behind it. Over this there is another fine piece of workmanſhip full of figures; and on the ſummit there appears an altar with fire burning on it, and a reverend perſon holding a bow in his hand, kneeling on a kind of aſcent, over againſt it as if at his devotions. In the corner of the piece there is a round figure which ſeems to repreſent the ſun, and in the middle, as if in the air, there is a ſmall figure of the ſame perſon, whom we ſee praying below, as if he were aſcending into the heavens. The other tomb, which is an the eaſt ſide, differs not much from this which we have deſcribed. It has four columns, a falſe door, and has over it an altar with fire, and a prince or high-prieſt praying before it, with the other decorations mentioned before. Some inconſiderable differences there are in the architecture and in the diſpoſition of things in this ſecond tomb, but we do not think them of conſequence enough to be mentioned here. Sir John Chardin tells us, that the inhabitants of the country ſay, that Nembroth or Nimrod was buried in the firſt, and Dar-ab, i. e. Darius, in the ſecond; but he thinks the firſt fabulous. And as to Darius being interred here, he owns it is in ſome meaſure warranted by the account given us by Arrian that Alexander cauſed the body of that unfortunate prince to be embalmed, and to be ſent to his mother, that ſhe might cauſe

THE great perfection, which appears in theſe antient works and thoſe of Perſepolis, leaves us no room to doubt, that thoſe who were the authors of them, might, if they had ſo pleaſed, have left marks of their ſkill and genius in other parts of this empire alſo, or at leaſt that their ſucceſſors might have done ſomething in the ſame way. We have already put ourſelves under ſuch reſtrictions, as forbid a prolix proſecutions of this hint, and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with remarking here, that Mr. Le Brun takes notice in his travels of ſome remains of antiquity, which he, with two Engliſh gentlemen, ſaw near a mountain a league and a half from Schiras, on the left of the plain. There ſtood here a moſque, called the moſque of the mother of Solomon, ſquare, and about twenty paces from one corner to the other, having three porticoes exactly reſembling thoſe at Perſepolis, the firſt on the eaſt, the ſecond on the north-weſt, and the third on the north-eaſt. They are eleven feet high, and have on each pilaſter the figure of a woman as big as the life, with ſomething in her hand, in the ſame attitude with the figures on the wall at Perſepolis. North-eaſt from this ruined moſque, the ſame author ſays, there are

cauſe it to be interred in the tomb of his anceſtors. It is allowed, that the ſepulchres of the kings of Perſia were at Ecbatana in Media, and that, at the time Alexander ſent back Darius's body, that country was new conquered and in great diſorder. It is not impoſſible therefore, that his mother might cauſe him to be buried at Perſepolis. However, Sir John Chardin himſelf is of opinion, that the thing was otherwiſe, and that theſe tombs were actually cloſed up before the reign of Darius (94). It is the firm opinion of the preſent inhabitants of Perſia, that in theſe tombs, and alſo in thoſe deſcribed in the text, there are concealed great quantities of treaſure and valuable effects. It muſt be ſaid in favour of this vulgar notion, that it has antiquity on its ſide, ſince we know, that, when Alexander conquered this country, it was expected that mighty ſums would be found in the tomb of Cyrus (95). As on the other hand,

(94) Chardin, Voy. tom. ii. p. 166. (95) Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. vi. ult, Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. c. 730.

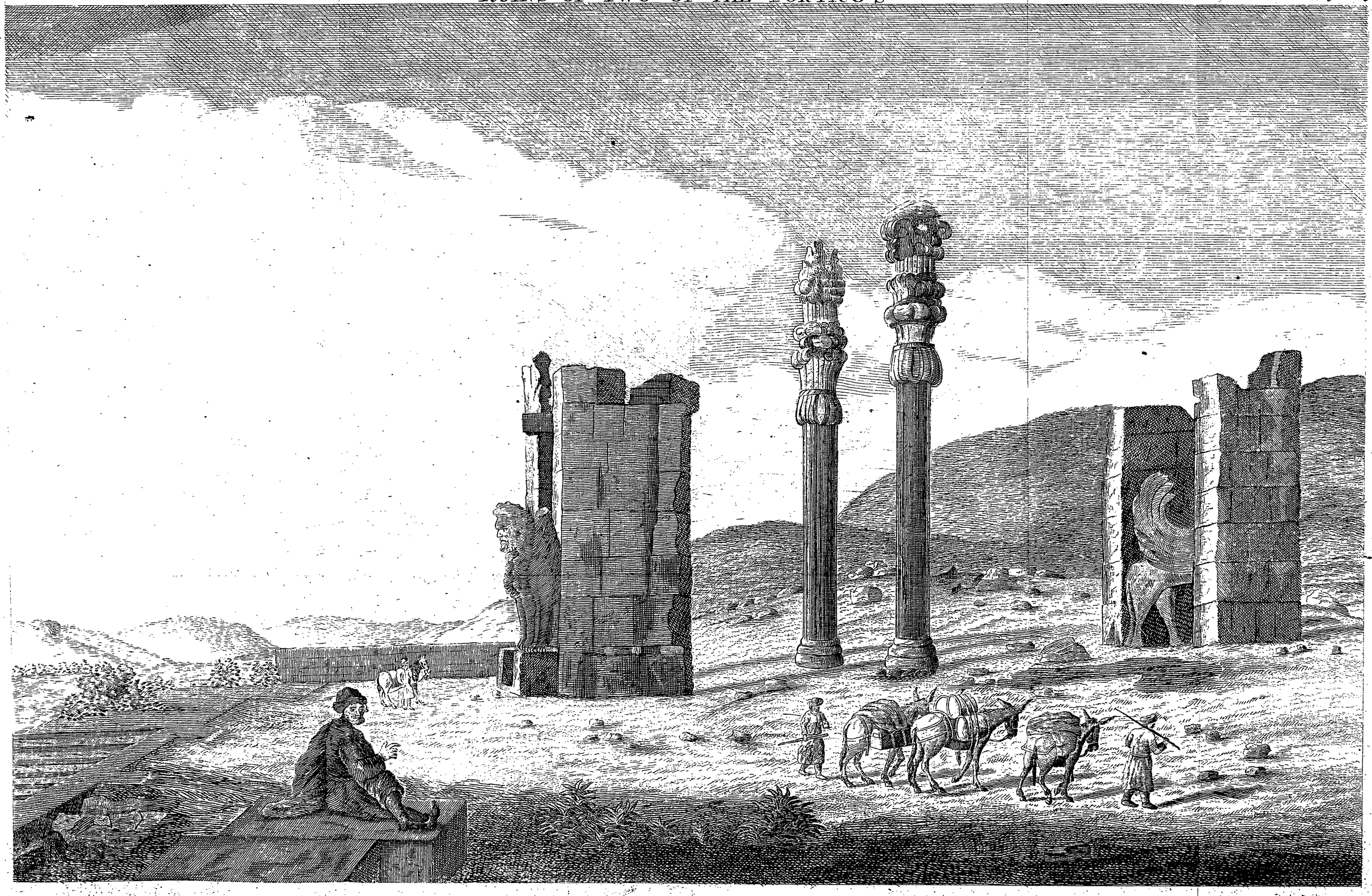
are ſeen on the ſide of the rock nine ſmall figures, much damaged by time, and only half of them appearing above-ground; and on the north-weſt a ſtone of prodigious magnitude repreſenting a caſk or tun. All the ground thereabouts is covered with ſtones, and moſt of the pilaſters are out of their places, which could not poſſibly have happened but by an earthquake; the cornice, however, of the middle one is very little damaged: a quarter of a league farther, the ruins are ſeen of that wall, which antiently ſurrounded this moſque; and about a league from the moſque, the ſame gentleman tells us, that he ſaw ſeveral figures cut in the rock, divided into three tables. The firſt table contains three figures, one of which is repreſented leaning with its hand on a great ſword. The ſecond repreſents a man with ſomething not unlike a turban on his head. The third figure has a mitre on its head, and, like the firſt, leans its hand on the guard of a great ſword; they are very much broken and damaged, ſo that it is difficult to deſcribe them particularly [k]. For which

[k] Le Brun Voyag. vol. ii. p. 299.

hand, we know, that Joſephus (96) reports a mighty maſs of money to have been laid up in the ſepulchre of David. As we are writing here a note only, and not a diſſertation, we ſhall not expatiate further upon this ſubject, but confine ourſelves to theſe very tombs in the mountain of Nachs-Ruſtem. It is certain, that not only the common people, but people of diſtinction and learning, concur in believing that there are vaſt heaps of gold, ſilver, and other rich things, contained in theſe repoſitories of the dead, but at the ſame time they affirm this, they aſſert with equal confidence, that the paſſages within the tombs form a kind of labyrinth, out of which a man can hardly ever find his way, ſo that many have periſhed in ſearch of theſe ſuppoſed mountains of riches. Sir John Chardin, however, tells us a ſtory of one who actually found and bore away ſome of theſe ſhining ſpoils; he had it from the mouth of the bailiff of Mirkaſkoun, a little town in the neighbourhood of Perſepolis. This man informed him, that about two hundred years before, when this country was ſubject to a prince of its own, who reſided at Schiras, the farmer of his revenues in this part of the country,

(96) Antiq. lib. vii. c. 15.

RUINS OF TWO OF THE PORTICO'S



which reaſon we may ſuppoſe the author has omitted the deſcriptions of the other two tables. If we may be allowed to found any thing on the repreſentations given us in his prints by this accurate traveller; we may with ſome aſſurance, that the figures are neither ſo old, nor executed near ſo well as thoſe on the mountain of Nachs-ruſtem, which they reſemble much more than any thing which is to be ſeen at Perſepolis. Mr. Le Brun ſpeaks frequently of the traditions of the inhabitants relating to ſuch things as theſe; but there is no neceſſity of examining their accounts here, ſince we ſhall be obliged to give an ample account of theſe matters, when we ſpeak of the Perſian hiſtory, as has been written by oriental authors. In the mean time the reader will be pleaſed to obſerve, that the foregoing relation is a direct proof of the opinion we advanced,

country, having diſſipated his effects, and not being in a condition to pay what was due from him to the royal treaſury, was under the greateſt dejection of mind, on the receipt of a meſſage from the grand-vizier, threatening him, in caſe he did not make a ſpeedy payment, with a cruel death, and with the ſelling his wife and children for ſlaves, in order to produce the ſum he was in ar ar. The poor man, diſtracted with fear, and knowing not whic ay to turn him, thought of laying violent hands on himſelf, but checking this thought on a ſudden, he ſaid in his mind, Why ſhould I deſtroy myſelf without attempting to throw off this load of misfortunes by ſome other means? in yon houſe of idols (ſo the Mohammedans call all places where there are figures in baſs-relief) every body agrees there are vaſt quantities of wealth concealed, why ſhould not I go look for it? If I ſucceed, I ſhall not only pay the king, but have wherewithal to live ſplendidly myſelf all the reſt of my days; and on the other hand, if I periſh, I periſh, death is the ſame thing in thoſe tombs or here. Having taken this reſolution, he provided himſelf with lights and with ſome proviſions, and then aſſayed to enter the tombs; in this exploit he was ſo lucky, that he fell into a path which led him to a large ſquare room full of pieces of gold, of which he took as many as he could carry away, and returned home on the fourth day. But as the ſum he brought back was not quite ſufficient to pay his debts, he determined to make another experiment, which proved as unfortunate as his firſt had been happy; for, by ſome means or other loſing his way, he periſhed in the mountain, and was never heard of more.

vanced, that, on a ſtrict enquiry, other fragments of antiquity might be found in Perſia, than thoſe hitherto deſcribed and magnified ſo much.

more. Many travellers have taken great pains themſelves, and where their ſpirits have failed, have hired others to attempt the finding out the rooms which are ſaid to be in this mountain, but moſt of them have toiled in vain, though not all; for Pietro della Valle, an author worthy of credit, affirms, that he ſaw a ſquare room, built up in the form of a tower cloſe on all ſides except a door which was almoſt at the top, and altogether inacceſſible; this he took to be a ſepulchre. Sir John Chardin could find nothing like it, but he declares, he does not doubt the fact, and tells us farther of his own knowledge, that theſe ſubterraneous paſſages are really very perplexed, frequently croſs each other, and are full of a moiſt vapour which quickly extinguiſhes lights (95).

(95) Chardin. voy. vol. ii. p. 171.

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AN

UNIVERSAL

HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

COMPILED FROM

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological,
And other TABLES.

VOL. V.

Ἱσορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ ναλανόει, ἐν ἀυταῖς γὰρ ευρήσεις ἀκόπως
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SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Cuſtoms, Arts, learning, and Trade of the Antient Perſians.

The origin of the Perſians.

THE Perſians were, without all doubt, a very antient nation. Their country was firſt peopled by Elam, or as Joſephus calls him[a] Elymus, the ſon of Shem; whence Perſia is conſtantly called by the ſacred writers Elam; nor does it appears, that it was known to the Jews before the captivity by any other name. The deſcendants of Elam ſettled firſt in that province, which from them was called Elymais, and by degrees, as their numbers increaſed, ſpread themſelves into Suſiana and other adjoining provinces; as appears from Daniel, who places Suſa, the metropolis of Suſiana, in the province of Elam[b] (A). All the Greek interpreters

[a] Joſeph. antiquitat. c. 8. [b] Daniel viii. 2.

(A) *And I ſaw in a viſion,* ſays the prophet, (*and it came to paſs, when I ſaw that I was at Shuſham in the palace, which is in the province of Elam*) *and I ſaw in a viſion, and I was by the river Ulai.* Shuſham is without doubt the city of Suſa in Suſiana, which ſtood on the river Eulæus, or, as the prophet ſtiles it, Ulai.

terpreters by Elam understand Persia, and in the Acts the Persians are called Elamites [c]. Whence it is probable, that they were descended from Elam, of whom both the country and inhabitants borrowed their name. How this name was changed into that of Persia we have shewn already.

Their government.

THE government of Persia was monarchical, and the crown hereditary. The kingdom of Elam seems to have been pretty powerful even in the time of Abraham; for Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in scripture to have invaded the Zumzummins and Emims, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of Sodom aud Gomorra; tho' he was at last overthrown by Abraham, who came to the rescue of Lot, whom the Elamite had taken prisoner [d]. In the time of Jeremiah Elam must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where he foretells the increase of Nebuchadnezzar's dominions, and particularly, that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris (B).

The majesty of their kings

BUT to speak here of Persia, as the second of the four great empires (for of the kings who preceded Cyrus, we shall have occasion to give some account hereafter); the Persian monarchs were under no controul, but governed by their own arbitrary will and pleasure. They were revered by their subjects like deities on earth, none daring to appear before their throne, without prostrating themselves on the ground with a kind of adoration. Sperchies and Bulis both Lacedœmonians refused, as Justin informs us [e], to comply with this ceremony, as did also Conon the Athenian; and Ismenias the Theban declined it, as we read in Ælian [f], by letting his ring drop from his Finger, and then throwing

[c] Act. ii. 9. [d] Deut. ii. 20, 31. Gen. xiv. 5. [e] Justin, l. vi. [f] Ælian. var. hist. l. i.

(B) *Behold I will break the bow of* Elam, *the chief of their might, and upon* Elam *will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of the heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds, and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of* Elam *shall not come. For I will cause* Elam *to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life; and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the lord, and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them. And I will set my throne in* Elam, *and I will destroy from thence the king and his princes, saith the lord* (1).

(1) Jerem. xlix. — 35, 38.

ing himself on the ground to take it up. Timagoras, as we read in Valerius Maximus [g], was put to death by the Athenians for paying this veneration to a Persian monarch. In the time of Apollonius none were allowed to appear before the king, who had not done the same honours to his image. While they were in the king's presence, they were to hold their hands, so long as their audience lasted, within their sleeves; for neglecting this ceremony Antosaces and Mitræus were put to death, as we read in Xenophon, by Cyrus the younger. None were suffered to enter the royal palace without the sovereign's leave, except the princes who slew Smerdis; all others, of what rank soever, before they set foot in the palace, were obliged to acquaint the king by a messenger that they desired to attend him, and wait his royal pleasure. What respect and obedience his vassals pay'd him we learn from Herodotus, who tells us, that Xerxes being once in danger by sea, many at the king's desire strove who should be the first in leaping over-board, to lighten the vessel, and save their prince's life, at the expence of their own [h]. They all lived in no less dread of the king's wrath, than of the anger of the gods; whence they lookt upon the incurring of his displeasure as the greatest misfortune that could befal them in life, and were ready, at the least intimation given them by their prince, to become their own executioners. The crown was hereditary, and bestowed on the eldest of the deceased king's lawful children. In long or dangerous expeditions, to avoid all contests, the heir apparent was named by the reigning king before he set out on his journey or march. The new king was crowned at Pasargada, or as Pliny calls it Pasagarda [i], by the priests, who bore a great sway in the court of Persia. This ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war; where the king used first of all to cloath himself with the garment, which Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy, had wore before he was raised to the throne. Being thus attired, he used to eat some figs with a small quantity of turpentine, and drink a cup of sour milk, then * the tiara or crown was placed on his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary, and deemed, all over Persia, the greatest honour a subject could enjoy. The king's tiara was by a peculiar name called Cidaris, being a kind

[g] Valer. Maximus, l. vi. c. 3. [h] Herodot. l. viii.
[i] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. * Plut. in Artaxerx.

kind of turban riſing up with a ſharp point without bending; whereas the other Perſians wore turbans bending, in token of ſubjection, down to their foreheads. However, the deſcendants of thoſe, who with Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes ſlew the uſurping Mage, were allowed to uſe a tiara bending to the middle of their head, and not, as that of the other ſubjects, reaching down to their eye-brows. Round the tiara the king wore a purple and white band or diadem; for nothing elſe is meant by the word Diadem in the antient writers, but a band of this nature wreathed round the forehead [k]. This tiara with the purple and white band is the only enſign of royalty we find among the Perſian kings of the firſt dynaſty. The king's birth-day was kept as ſacred, and celebrated with public ſports and the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. His death was bewailed by ſhutting the tribunals of juſtice for five days, and that fire, which was worſhiped in private families as a houſe-hold-god, was on that occaſion alone extinguiſhed [l]. The king's abode was according to the ſeaſon, ſeven months at Babylon, three at Suſa (C), and two at Ecbatan [m]. Whence they are compared by Elian [n] to cranes, and by Ariſtotle to the Scythian Nomades, who, by often ſhifting their abode, always enjoyed a temperate ſeaſon. They likewiſe removed ſometimes to Paſargada, and ſometimes to Perſepolis, which at laſt became their ordinary reſidence. The king's court or palace had many gates, and each gate

a

[k] Drus. obſervat. l. xii. c. 12. Bris. l. i. p. 44. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l. viii. [m] Zonar. Annal. l. i. [n] Ælian hiſt. natur. l. ii. c. 3.

(C) Suſa, called in ſcripture Shuſham, was the metropolis of the province Suſiana. It was built on the banks of the river Eulæus, called by Daniel Ulai, by Memnon, as ſome ſay, the ſon of Tithonus, who was ſlain by the Theſſalians in the Trojan war (2). Strabo (3) and Pauſanias (4) compare the walls of Suſa even with thoſe of Babylon. Caſſiodorus tells us, upon what authority we know not, and therefore give him no credit, that the walls of this city were cemented with gold. Polycletus, as we read in Strabo (5), would make us believe, that it had no walls, which is no leſs improbable, conſidering the kings of Perſia reſided there three months in the year, and that great part of the royal treaſures were lodged in it, as Diodorus informs us (6). It

(2) Strabo, l, xv. p. 500. (3) Strabo, ubi ſupr. (4) Pauſ. Meſſen. c. 31. (5) Ubi ſupra. (6) Diodor. Sic. l. xvii. c. 66.

a body of guards, whoſe duty it was, not only to defend the king's perſon, but to give him notice of whatever they ſaw, or heard, done in any part of the kingdom; whence they are called, ſome *the king's ears*, others, as Ariſtole[n] informs us, *the king's eyes*. To theſe meſſengers were ſent from the moſt remote provinces of the empire, when any thing happened worthy of the king's knowledge; and beſides, they received immediate intelligence of any ſudden commotion by means of fires, which were always ready at ſmall diſtances from each other, and lighted when occaſion required; ſo that they could in one day receive notice of any tumult, rebellion, or invaſion, in what part ſoever it happened of that vaſt empire.

The king's palace was deemed holy, and reſpected as a temple. It was extremely magnificent, and furniſhed with utenſils of an ineſtimable value. The walls and roof of the rooms were all covered with ivory, ſilver, amber, or gold. The throne was of pure gold, ſupported by four pillars richly ſet with precious ſtones. The king's bed was likewiſe of gold, and Herodotus[o] mentions a plane-tree and vine of gold preſented to Darius by Pythius (D) a Lydian,

[n] Ariſt. l. de mundo. [o] Herodot. l. vii.

It was called Suſa from the many lilies which grew in that neighbourhood, ſays Stephanus, and in the Perſian language bore that name. It is alſo called Memnonia by Herodotus (7) and others from its founder Memnon. In ſcripture it is conſtantly named (8) the palace; but beſides the king's palace there was, without all doubt, a city, as is plain from all the prophane writers. The city was ſheltered by a high ridge of mountains from the northern winds, which rendered it very agreeable during the winter; but in ſummer the heat was ſo parching, that the inhabitants were forced to cover their houſes, as Strabo writes, with earth two cubits deep (9). Suſa was in antient times a wealthy and magnificent city; Alexander found in it 50000 talents of gold, beſides jewels of an ineſtimable value, and an immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver veſſels. Here Ahaſuerus kept his great feaſt, which laſted 183 days. It lies now in ruins, and is known, as Tavernier informs us, by the name of Schouſter or Suſter.

(D) Pythius, if we believe Herodotus (10), entertained at Celæne in Phrygia Xerxes and all his army, as he was marching againſt Greece, and moreover offered him towards the charges of the war two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions nine

(7) Herodot. l. v. c. 54, (8) Dan. viii. 2. Nehem. i. 1. Eſth. i. 2. (9) Strabo l. xv. (10) Herodot. l. vii.

an, who after the kings of Perſia was accounted the richeſt man in the world. The body and branches of this vine, ſays Athenæus [p], were enriched with jewels of great value, and the cluſters of grapes were all precious ſtones. It hung over the king's head as he ſat on the throne. At his beds-head ſtood always a cheſt or coffer containing five thouſand talents, which was called the king's bolſter, and another at his feet with three thouſand talents [q], and joining to the king's palace were large gardens and parks ſtocked with all ſorts of game for his diverſion. Tully tells us out of Xenophon [r], that Cyrus planted and cultivated one of theſe delicious gardens with his own hand. Alexander enriched them with trees and plants out of Greece. The Perſian kings drank no other water but that of the river Choaſpes, which was carried about with them in ſilver veſſels whitherſoever they went (E). [s] They drank only Calybonian wine made at Damaſcus in Syria, and touched no bread but what was of the wheat of Aſſos in Phrygia, and their ſalt was brought from Egypt. The magnificence of their publick feaſts exceeds, as appears from holy writ [t], what we read of in hiſtories of other nations. Their table was daily ſerved with ſomewhat of the product of each nation

p Athen. l. xii. vide But. de aff. l. iv. q Budæus ubi ſupra.
r Cic. de ſenect. s Herodot. l. i. c. 159. t Eſther i.

nine hundred ninety-three thouſand pieces of gold, all bearing the ſtamp of his father Darius. Xerxes with no leſs generoſity not only refuſed the treaſures offered him, but ordered ſeven thouſand Darien pieces or Darics to be given to Pythius, as a reward of his affection and good will, nor did he leave Celæne till the ſum was paid.

(E) It is matter of diſpute among geographers, whether the Choaſpes and the Eulæus be one and the ſame, or two different rivers. Pliny (11) diſtinguiſhes them, and ſays, that they both riſe in Media, but that the Choaſpes diſcharges itſelf into the Paſitigris, and the Eulæus into the lake Characenus. Polycletus likewiſe, as we read in Strabo (12), ſuppoſes them to be two different ſtreams, though he makes them diſembogue themſelves into the ſame lake. On the other hand, Salmaſius (13) takes them to be one and the ſame river under different names; for the Choaſpes riſing in Media buries itſelf under ground, and again appears not far from Suſa; in Media he thinks it is called Cho-

(11) Plin. l. vi. c. 27. (12) Strabo, l. xv. p. 501.
(13) Salmaſ. in Solin. p. 493.

nation ſubject to them [u]. Among the priſoners taken by Parmenio at Damaſcus were, as Athenæus [w] informs us, 277 cooks, 29 who took care of the diſhes, 17 who miniſtered water, 70 who had in charge the wine, 40 employed about ointments, and 66 whoſe province it was to prepare garlands uſed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, in banquets. During their repaſt their ears were feaſted with the harmony both of vocal and inſtrumental muſick, and 300 women, of the ſweeteſt and moſt melodious voices, were in conſtant attendance to divert the king at his unbending hours. It was likewiſe their province to lull him aſleep with the melody and variety of their notes, and recreate his mind as ſoon as he awaked in the morning [x]. Moſt of the Perſian king's were ſo diſſolved in pleaſures, that they ſcarce minded any thing beſide their own ſatisfaction. Xerxes was not aſhamed to propoſe, by a publick edict, an ample reward to any one that ſhould deviſe a new pleaſure [y]. The king ſeldom admitted others to his table, beſides his wife and mother; ſuch as received this honour were ſo placed as not to ſee, but only be ſeen by, the king; for they thought it was, in ſome degree, a degrading of their majeſty to appear ſubject to the ſame neceſſities with other mortals. This deſire of appearing above the level of other men was what confined them within their palaces, and ſcarce ever ſuffered them to appear abroad. Their luſt and voluptuouſneſs ſufficiently appears from the book of Eſther, and Tully [z] adds, that the

[u] Athen. l. viii. [w] Idem, l. xii. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Cic. Tuſc. quæſt. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [z] Cic. in Ver. act. v.

Choaſpes, and in the province of Suſiana Eulæus. This ſeems agreeable to what we read in Ptolemy (14), who mentions two ſprings of the Eulæus (for he no where names the Choaſpes) one in Media and the other in Suſiana. Beſides, Herodotus tells us (15), that the Choaſpes waſhed the walls of Suſa, and that the Perſian kings drank no other water; whence it is manifeſt, that the Choapſes and Eulæus are one and the ſame river at leaſt at Suſa, and even Pliny (16) and the other writers, who diſtinguiſh them, place the city of Suſa on the banks of the Eulæus, and all the interpreters take the river Ulai mentioned by Daniel (17) to be the Eulæus. Nor is there any thing more common, than that the ſame river ſhould be known in different places by different names; thus the Danube was called by the Latines Danubius and Iſter, the Weſer Vierra and Viſurgis, the Po Padus and Eridanus, &c.

(14) Ptol. vi. c. 3. (15) Herodot. l. i. c. 153. (16) Plin. ubi ſupra. (17) Dan. viii.

the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of some of their favourite concubines, one city being obliged to supply them with ornaments for their hair, another for their necks, &c. Nay Socrates [a] mentions an embassador, who being sent into Persia spent a whole day in travelling through a country, which was called the Queen's Girdle, and another day before he reached the borders of a rich territory stiled the Queen's Head-dress.

The king's children.

THE king's children, more especially the eldest, were presently after their birth committed to the care of eunuchs. At seven years old they learned under experienced instructors to ride and hunt, which were looked upon as the most manly exercises: at the age of fourteen they were put under the discipline of four learned preceptors, of which one was to teach them prudence, another justice, the third temperance, and the fourth fortitude[b].

The king's guard

THE king's ordinary guard consisted mostly of Persians. Curtius mentions a guard which attended the king's person, consisting of 15000 men, who were called the king's relations; there was also a body of 10000 choice horse-men, all Persians, who accompanied him in all his expeditions, and were called immortal. His guards received no pay, but were very plentifully provided with all necessaries of life.

The manners of the Persians.

BUT the grandeur and magnificence of the Persian kings apeared no-where greater than on occasion of the public sacrifices, at which they often assisted, as we shall have occasion to take notice in the next section, as also of their funerals and other religious ceremonies in use among the Persians.

How they educated their children

NOW to say something of the customs and manners of the antient Persians, they had a particular care of the education of their children above any other nation. A son was not admitted to the presence of his father, but was brought up by women of the best characters, till he attained the age of five years, least if he should die before that time his father might be too much grieved at his death. At five years old the children of such as could afford it were commited to the tuition of learned masters or Mages, who carefully taught them, more by examples than precepts, the practice of justice, patience, sobriety, abstinence, and all other virtues. They took great pains to implant in their breasts an aversion to all manner of vice, especially to lying and contracting debts. They learnt also to ride, to shoot

[a] Socrat. in Plat. Alcibiad. [b] Xenoph. l. i. c. 11. Brisson. Polit.

ſhoot with bows, and fight on horſe-back. This was their education till ſeventeen years of age, when the children of men of rank were admitted among the king's guards, and attended him at home when he went to hunt, or abroad in his warlike expeditions. They were brought up with ſuch an awful reſpect to their parents, that they never offered to ſit down in their preſence. Every father had power of life and death over his own children, but was reſtrained by the laws from exerciſing ſuch ſeverity for ſmall faults, or for one crime alone.

The miſcellaneous cuſtoms of the Perſians.

THE Perſians were antiently all trained up to military exerciſes, but more eſpecially to handle the bow, which they did with great dexterity, whence it is, that we find the bow of Elam mentioned by the prophet Jeremiah [c], and the quiver of Elam by Iſaiah [d], as the arms peculiar to this nation. From the age of five years to that of twenty they taught their ſons chiefly three things, as Herodotus informs us [e], to manage a horſe, to uſe with dexterity the bow, and to ſpeak truth. A numerous iſſue was looked upon by them as the greateſt bleſſing which the gods could beſtow, and ſuch as could ſhew a numerous offspring received yearly preſents from the king [f]. They celebrated their birth-days with great pomp and magnificence, furniſhing their tables on ſuch occaſions in a very plentiful manner, tho' at other times they lived very ſparingly, at leaſt under their firſt kings. In their diet they were very temperate, but were always inclined to drinking; they uſed even to debate the moſt important matters in their cups; but the maſter of the houſe, where they met to conſult, propoſed the ſame ſubject the next day before they taſted any liquor, when the reſolutions taken the day before were approved or rejected [g]. When they met they ſaluted with a kiſs on the mouth, if they were equal; on the cheek, if one was ſomewhat inferior to the other, but thoſe who were of a much lower rank uſed to proſtrate themſelves on the ground, when they met or accoſted their ſuperiors. They ſhewed moſt value for thoſe that lived next to them, and very little to ſuch as lived at a great diſtance, as if men were more or leſs worthy, in proportion as they lived at a greater or ſmaller diſtance from them [h]. No nation was ever more ready to adopt foreign cuſtoms. They no ſooner conquered the Medes, but they aſſumed their dreſs; in war they uſed the Egyptian

[c] Jer. c. xix——35——38. [d] Iſa. c. xxii. 6. [e] Herodot. l. i. [f] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [g] Herodot. ibid. [h] Idem ibid.

Egyptian armour after they had ſubdued that kingdom; and imitated the Greeks, as ſoon as they became acquainted with them, in the worſt of vices, as Herodotus himſelf owns[i]. They were indulged many wives, and beſides as many concubines as they were able to maintain, thoſe who had many children, being looked upon as heroes, of as great proweſs, as thoſe who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in military exploits. They bore ſuch reſpect to their parents that they thought it impoſſible a man ſhould ever put to death his father or mother, whence no puniſhments were inflicted by their laws on ſuch offenders, and if any one was indicted for committing ſo heinous a crime, he was always declared by the judges ſpurious or ſuppoſitious. To affirm a falſhood was accounted the utmoſt infamy, and next to that the being in debt, becauſe it expoſed a man to the neceſſity of lying. If any among them happened to be infected with a leproſy, or any other diſtemper of that nature, he was not permitted to ſtay within the city, nor to converſe with the others, having, as they believed, drawn this puniſhment upon himſelf by committing ſome offence againſt the ſun. All ſtrangers that were ſubject to this diſtemper were expelled the country. Theſe cuſtoms, and ſome others relating to their funerals, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the next ſection, we have learnt of Herodotus, who tells us, that he can with certainty affirm them to be true.

Their puniſhments

THE moſt ſevere puniſhment in uſe among the Perſians was that of ſhutting them up between two boats, which was done in the following manner. They made two boats on purpoſe ſo even, that the one was neither broader nor longer than the other, then they laid the offender in one of them on his back, and covered him with the other, his hands, feet, and head being left uncovered, and appearing thro' an opening made for that purpoſe. In this poſture he was ſupplied with victuals and drink by the executioners, who even forced him, by thruſting ſharp iron-tools into his eyes, to eat what was neceſſary to ſupport nature, leſt he ſhould ſtarve himſelf, and thereby put an end to his pain. On his face, that was placed full in the ſun, they poured honey, which inviting the flies and waſps, they tormented him no leſs than the ſwarms of worms that were bred by his excrements, and devoured his body to the very entrails. Under ſuch a complication of unrelenting torments the unhappy offender lived many days; for Plu-

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

Plutarch, who deſcribes this cruel manner of putting to death [k], tells us, that Mithridates, whom Artaxerxes condemned to this puniſhment for killing his brother Cyrus, lived ſeventeen days in the utmoſt agony, and that the uppermoſt boat being taken off at his death, they found his fleſh all conſumed, and ſwarms of worms gnawing his very bowels. Such as were convicted of high treaſon were condemned to have their head and right hand ſtruck off, which ſentence was, by order of Artaxerxes, executed even on the dead body of his brother Cyrus [l]. But by the ancient laws of Perſia the king was reſtrained from putting any man to death for a ſingle crime; and beſides, the judge was to examine narrowly into the actions of the delinquent, and if his faults were found to over-ballance his former ſervices, the king was allowed to puniſh him at pleaſure, if not, he was either pardoned, or puniſhed leſs ſeverely [m]. Poiſoners were preſſed to death between two ſtones, which puniſhment we find inflicted upon Gigis, a woman greatly favoured by Paryſatis, mother to Artaxerxes, for having conſpired with her to poiſon queen Statira [n].

The Perſians were beyond any other people jealous of their wives and concubines. It was death to touch any of the king's women, to ſpeak to them, or even to come near them or their coaches as they travelled. They were allowed to marry their own ſiſters and daughters; thus we are told, that Artaxerxes married two of his daughters, Ameſtris and Atoſſa, though he had promiſed them to others. Minutius Felix [o] reproaches them with marrying, or criminally converſing with, their mothers; and Euſebius quotes a ſaying of Bardeſanes, which ſhews, that they were indulged by law to marry their ſiſters, daughters, and mothers. This inceſtuous cuſtom they obſerved alſo in other countries, namely in Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as Euſebius witneſſes [p], where they were on that account abhorred by the inhabitants, and nick-named Maguſſæi, or addicted to magick [q]. They were the firſt that introduced thoſe amphibious animals called Eunuchs, which Petronius Arbiter [r] and Seneca [s] impute to their inſatiable lechery.

THE

k Plutarch. in vita Artaxerxis. l Plutarch. ibid. m Herodot. ubi ſupra. n Plutarch. ubi ſupra. o Arnob. contra gentes. p Euſeb. de præpar. evangelic. l. vi. c. 8. q Idem. ib. r Petron. Arb. Satyr. s Seneca, controver. 4. l. x.

Their money.

THE first that caused gold and silver to be coined in Persia was Darius the son of Cyaxares, or as he called in scripture Darius the Mede, the founder of the Medo-Persian monarchy (F). In his reign were coined the famous pieces of gold called Darics, which for many ages were preferred, being of pure gold, to all other coins throughout the east. They were stamped on one side with an archer, clothed in a long robe, and crowned with a spiked crown, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right; on the other side was the effigies of Darius [t]. To these pieces alluded Agesilaus, when finding himself obliged to quit Asia in order to suppress the tumults, which Artaxerxes had by dint of gold stirred up in Greece, he said, that the king of Persia had driven him out of his dominions, with thirty thousand Archers [u]. The Darics were of the same weight and value with the Attic Stater. Darius seems to have learnt the art and use of money of the Lydians, for the Medes had no money before they conquered Lydia [w]; whereas Crœsus king of Lydia had coined innumerable pieces of gold, called Crœsei; As it was not reasonable that the coin of Lydia should continue current after the downfal of the kingdom, we may suppose, that Darius recoined the Crœsei with his own effigies, without altering their weight or value [x]. All these pieces of gold, that were afterwards coined of the same weight and value, by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian, but also of the Macedonian, race, were called Darics from this Darius, in whose reign they were first coined (G).

THERE

t Plutarch. in Artaxer. u Plutarch. ibid. w Herodot. l. i. c. 71. x Sir Isaac Newton's chronolog. p. 320.

(F) We are told by Suidas, Harpocration, and the scholiast of Aristophanes (18), that the first pieces of gold were coined not by Darius the father of Xerxes, but by a more antient Darius, who must necessarily have been Darius the son of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, since we know of no other Darius reigning so early in the east.

(G) In those parts of scripture that were wrote after the Babylonish captivity (19), these peices are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim, and by the Talmudists are called (20) Darkomoth, both from the Greek Δαρεικὸι, that is Darics, They were proba-

(18) Harpocr. Scholiast. Aristoph. p. 741, 742. Suidas in Δαρεικὸς (19) 1 Chron. xxix. 7. Ezra, viii. 27. (20) Buxtor. Lexic. Rabbinic. p. 577.

THERE was, it ſeems, no great learning among the Perſians before the time of Zoroaſtres, whom the Perſians called Zerduſht, or Zaratuſh, who flouriſh'd in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, and was the greateſt mathematician and philoſopher of the age he lived in. The Mages, being inſtructed in the mathematicks, aſtronomy, and natural philoſophy, partly by him, and partly by Hyſtaſpes the father of Darius, were reputed above all others ſkilled in thoſe arts. Hyſtaſpes had travelled into India, and lived there ſometime among the Brachmans, in order to learn their myſteries and ſciences, for which they were famed at that time, and on his return communicated to the Mages what he had learnt, improving that ſect not only in religion, but in all natural knowledge[y]. But this ſubject ſhall be treated more at length in the following ſection, we ſhall only add here, that this knowledge was lockt up among the prieſts, and ſeldom communicated to any, except thoſe of the royal family, whom they were bound to inſtruct[z]. Their arts, ſciences &c.

THE poverty of the antient Perſians, and their contempt of riches, ſhews them to have been quite ſtrangers to trade and commerce, which are carried on with a proſpect of gain. Before the conqueſt of Lydia they had no money, nor any cloathing but ſkins; they uſed water for drink, and had neither wine nor any other thing, but what their barren country produced, as appears from the ſpeech of Sandanis diſſuading Crœſus from invading Perſia[a]. After they ſubdued Lydia, and were maſters of ſo many rich provinces, they very likely applied their minds to trade and navigation, to ſupply themſelves with thoſe commodities which their country wanted, and at the ſame time diſpoſe of their own productions. But, as we can advance nothing with reſpect to their trade, warranted by good authorities, we ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject, and haſten to their military diſcipline. Their trade and navigation.

THE Perſians learnt from their childhood to ride and handle their bow, as we have hinted above, and by the manly exerciſe of hunting inured themſelves to the toils of war[b]. They never parted with their ſwords, quivers, and Their ſoldiery.

y Ammian. Marcell. l. xxiii. z Plato in Alcibiad. i. Stobæus 496. Clem. Alexandr. in Pædagogo. a Herodot. l. i. c. 71. b Strabo, l. xv.

bly coined by Darius during the two years he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was abſent on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeditions. According to Dr. Bernard a Daric weighed two grains more than one of our guineas.

and bows, even in time of peace, but when they went to repose, and had them even then always ready at hand [c]; which customs the Romans, who never used any weapons but in the field, look'd upon as unbecoming a civilized nation [d]. As soon as they were able to bear arms they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but received no pay till the age of twenty [e]. In time of war they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age, to appear under their respective colours, and attend the king in his expeditions [f] (H). They used no mercenaries in the time of Herodianus [g], nor maintained a standing army, but were all obliged, when occasion required, to repair to their colours, returning to their respective homes when the war was at an end, without any other pay or reward, but their share of the plunder.

Their armour and discipline.

In war they wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all kinds of offensive arms; on the body a coat of mail wrought in likeness of scales, and embellished with sleeves of various colours; their

[c] Ammian. Marcell. l. 23. [d] Ovid. Trist. l. 5. [e] Strabo. l. xv. [f] Herod. l. iv. [g] Herodian. l. iii. & 5.

(H) Herodotus tells us, that while Darius was marching from Susa with his forces against the Scythians, OEobazus, a noble Persian, who had three sons in his army, begged, that one of his sons might be left at home to comfort him in his old age. The king received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and told him, that he would grant him more than he asked, for he designed to leave him all his sons. This answer gave the old man great joy, for he did not doubt, but the king would be as good as his word. OEobazus was scarce departed, when Darius commanded the officers appointed for such purposes to put all his sons to death, and sent their dead mangled bodies home to their father's house (21). We have another still more dreadful instance of the Persian severity on such occasions, Pythius the Lydian, as we have hinted above, entertained with great magnificence Xerxes and all his army, and offered him two thousand talents of silver, and three millions nine hundred ninety three thousand pieces of gold to defray the expences of the war which he was carrying on against Greece. The king was so taken with his zeal and affection, that he promised to grant him whatever he should ask. Pythius had then no request to make; but some time after being frightened with an

(21) Herodot. l. iv. Seneca, l. iii. de ira c. 16.

their thighs were defended with cuiſſes; their ſhields, or rather targets, were of wicker, their javelins ſhort, their bows of an uncommon length, their arrows of reeds; they wore ſhort ſwords (I) hanging from a belt on the right ſide [h]. Their horſes were likewiſe covered with armour or thick hides, as we read in Xenophon [i], Curtius, and Ammianus Marcellinus, &c. They were ſure markſmen, and quicker than any other nation in diſcharging, eſpecially on their flight, which was peculiar to them and the Parthians; however, in the time of Procopius, their arrows did but ſmall execution, which he aſcribes to the ſlackneſs of their bows; whereas no ſhield or armour was proof againſt the Roman arrows [k]. The number of their dead they knew only when the campaign was at an end, and in the following manner. Before they took the field they paſſed before the king or commander in chief, each man throwing an arrow into a baſket; theſe baſkets were ſealed up with the royal ſignet till they returned from the campaign, when they paſs'd muſter in the ſame manner, every one taking an arrow out of the ſame baſkets; when they were all paſt, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they reckoned the number of their dead. This antient cuſtom continued even in the time of Procopius [l]. They wore over their armour great-coats

h Herodot. l. vii. Xenoph. l. vii. i Xenoph. l. viii. c. 190.
(k) Procop. l.i. de Bell. Perſ. c. 11. (l) Procop. ubi ſupra.

an eclipſe of the ſun, and confiding in the merit of his liberal offer and the king's unlimited promiſe, entreated him to diſcharge the eldeſt of his five ſons who were all in his army, that he might have ſome body to take care of himſelf in his old age and of his eſtate. He had no ſooner uttered this requeſt, but the king tranſported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promiſe and the former merits of Pythius, commanded the body of his eldeſt ſon to be cut aſunder, and one part laid on the right hand of the way, and the other on the left, that the army might paſs between both (22). So heinous a crime it was, according to the Perſian diſcipline, to except one's ſelf from the ſervice, or even aſk an exemption for others.

(I) They were rather daggers than ſwords; for Joſephus (24) compares them to the poignards uſed by ruffians, and Darius, finding in his firſt engagement with Alexander, that the length of

(22) Herodot. l. vii. Seneca, l. iii. de ira. c. 17. (24) Joſeph. Antiquitat. l. xx. c. 7.

coats of purple, but the king's was white, by which badge he was known and often aimed at by the enemies [l]. They excelled all nations in horsemanship, being accustomed thereunto from their very infancy; among them it was disreputable ever to appear in publick but on horseback; on horse-back they transacted all their private and publick affairs, held their assemblies, visited their friends, &c [m]. This custom in process of time began to degenerate into luxury, the Persians striving to out-do each other in the richness of their caparisons, their very horses, as Dionysius expresses it [n], champing the purest gold. They fought not only on horse-back, but likewise from chariots drawn by four, six, and sometimes eight, horses [o]. They were the first, if we believe Xenophon [p], that introduced the use of chariots armed with scythes (I). When they went on any expedition, their wives, mothers, children, &c. followed the camp [q], which custom was observed amongst all the eastern nations; their pretence, they thought, inspired them with courage, since they were to lose at once whatever was dear to them in the world, if they did not behave as they ought. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers being loaded with no other burden but that of their armour [r]. In what manner they marched we learn from

[l] Herodot. l. ix. Xenoph. l. vii. p. 136. Plut in Artaxerxe.
[m] Xenophon. l. iv. p. 81. & l. viii. p. 190. Justin. l. xii. c. 3.
[n] Dionys. de situ orbis.
[o] Xenoph. l. vi. p. 124.
[p] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem.
[q] Curt. l. iii. 8. 12. Xenoph. l. iv. p. 75.
[r] Herodot. l. viii:

of the Macedonian swords did not coutribute a little to the victory caused the Persian swords, or Acinaces as the Latines call them, to be considerably lengthned (25).

(I) Xenophon ascribes toCyrus the invention of chariots armed with scythes (26). But Diodorus tells us out of Ctesias, that Semiramis, in the war which she waged with the Bactrians, had in her army 700 chariots armed with scythes (27), and seems to make the Assyrian kings the first inventors of them. Whence it is plain, both from Xenophon and Diodorus, that Hesychius was mistaken, when he ascribed this contrivance to the Macedonians.

(25) Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.
(26) Cyropæd. l. viii. prope finem.
(27) Diodor. Sicul. l. iii.

from Herodotus, who deſcribes the march of Xerxes's Army thus [s]. The baggage, whether carried by ſervants or beaſts of burden, appeared in the front, and was followed by men of all nations, formed into a body without diſtinction. Between theſe and the reſt of the army was left an interval, that they might not mix with that part where the king was. Before him marched a thouſand horſe-men, and the like number of ſpear-men with their ſpears pointing downwards. After theſe came ten great horſes, bred in the plains of Media called the Niſean plains (K), capariſoned with rich furniture, being conſecrated to Jupiter. The chariot of that god immediately followed, drawn by eight white horſes, the driver on foot, holding the reins, no mortal being allowed to mount the ſeat. After Jupiter appeared the king in a chariot drawn by Niſean horſes: a thouſand choſen ſpear-men, all Perſians, marched next to the king, and were followed by another body of horſe, conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men of the ſame nation. After the horſe ten thouſand Perſian foot advanced, and of theſe two thouſand armed with javelins, which, inſtead of the common ornaments, were embelliſhed with pomegranates of gold. The other nine thouſand had pomegranates of ſilver. The ten thouſand foot were followed by ten thouſand Perſian horſe, and at the diſtance of two ſtades. The reſt of the forces advanced promiſcuouſly. They computed the number of their forces in the following manner. Ten thouſand men were crowded into as narrow a piece of ground as they poſſibly could, and a kind of furrow being drawn round them, they cauſed the like number to enter the ground, and continued ſo doing till the whole army was computed [t]. When they intended to make war upon any nation they ſent heralds or embaſſadors to demand of them earth and water; that is, to command them to ſubmit and acknowledge the king of

Their reviews, manner of declaring war, &c.

[s] Herodot. l. vii. [t] Herodot. l. viii.

(K) The Miſean or Niſean fields in Media are celebrated by all the ancients for the large, ſtrong, and fleet horſes that were bred there (28), and which alone the Perſian monarchs uſed after they were maſters of that country.

(28) Herodot. l. vii. Ammian. Mar. l. xxiii. Themiſtius Orat. v. &c.

Perſia as the ſovereign lord of their Country [u] (L). This manner of declaring war they borrowed of the Medes, as Plutarch informs us, and the Medes ſeem to have imitated in that, as in many other things, the Aſſyrians, who, as appears from the book of Judith [w], uſed in that manner to require an entire ſubmiſſion. In time of action the king was always in the center [x], and uſed to encourage his men with a ſpeech [y], the ſignal was given with the ſound of trumpets, and followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army [z]. The watch-word was in uſe even among them, for Xenophon, ſpeaking of Cyrus, tells us, that his was, Jupiter our leader and protector [a]. The royal

u Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Herod. l. iv.
x Xenoph. l. i. Ἀνάβας.
z Curt. l. ii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.
a Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 137.
w Judith. c. 2.
y Stobæus. ſer. xlii. Curt. &c.
h Pauſanias. in Eliac.

(L) Some have erroneouſly imagined, that by this demand nothing elſe was meant, but that thoſe to whom it was directed ſhould furniſh the Perſian army with ſuch a quantity of proviſions. But the contrray is plain from all the antients, eſpecially from Herodotus, who tells us, that Darius diſpatched a meſſenger to Indathyrſus king of Scythia, commanding him *to own the king of* Perſia *for his ſovereign. and to preſent him with earth and water in token of his ſubmiſſion.* To this meſſage the Scythian returned anſwer, that he acknowledged no other lords but Jupiter his progenitor and Veſta queen of the Scythians, and that, inſtead of preſenting him with earth and water, he would ſend him ſuch a preſent as he deſerved, and perhaps might make him repent of his inſolence in aſſuming the title of his maſter. And accordingly he ſent him ſome time after a meſſenger to preſent him on his part with a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, which Darius would fain have interpreſited as a tacit ſubmiſſion, and a giving him poſſeſſion of the land and water; for, ſaid he, the mouſe is bred in the earth, and lives on the ſame food as man; a frog lives in the water; a bird may be compared to a horſe, and by the arrows, they ſeem to deliver their whole force into my hands. But Gobryas was of opinion, that the king of Scythia gave them to underſtand by ſuch a preſent, that unleſs the Perſians could aſcend into the air like a bird, or conceal themſelves in the earth like mice, or plunge themſelves into the fens like frogs, they ſhould inevitably periſh by thoſe arrows (29).

(29) Herodot. l. iv.

royal banner was a ſpread-eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long ſpear [b]. They reckoned thoſe happy who died in the field, and inflicted exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as abandoned their poſts, or fled from their colours [c]. They uſed no ſtratagems, nor cared for any advantages that were not owing to their valour [d], or, as Ammianus Marcellinus expreſſes it, thought it unfair and baſe to ſteal a victory [e]. They never fought in the night, unleſs attacked by the enemy, nor marched before the riſing of the ſun [f]. Duels or ſingle combats were in uſe among them, as is plain from the ſtories of Darius [g] and Polydamas [h]. This is what we have been able to gather, from unqueſtionable authorities, relating to the military diſcipline of the antient Perſians.

As to their laws, they are greatly commended by Xenophon, who prefers them to thoſe of any other nation whatſoever [i], and obſerves, that other law-givers only appointed puniſhments for crimes committed, but did not take ſufficient care to prevent men from committing them; whereas the main deſign of the Perſian laws was, to inſpire men with a love for virtue and abhorrency of vice, ſo as to avoid the one and purſue the other, without regarding either puniſhments or rewards. To attain this end, parents were not by their laws allowed to give their children what education they pleaſed; but were obliged to ſend them to publick ſchools, where they were educated with great care, and never ſuffered, till they had attained the age of ſeventeen, to return home to their parents. Theſe ſchools were not under the care of common mercenary maſters, but governed by men of the firſt quality and beſt characters, who taught them by their example the practice of all virtues; for theſe ſchools were not deſigned for learning of ſciences, but practiſing of virtue. The youths were allowed no other food but bread and creſſes, no other drink but water [k], at leaſt from the age of ſeven to ſeventeen. Thoſe who had not been educated in theſe ſchools were excluded

Their laws.

b Xenoph. cyropæd. l. vii. p. 136. Philoſtrat Iconum. l. ii. c. 32. c Plutarch in Artaxerx. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxiii. d Juſtin. l. xi. e Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. f Curt, l. v. 12. 6. g Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. h Pauſanias, in Eliac. i Xenoph. cyropæd. l. i. k Xenoph. ibid. Juſtin. l. xli. Cic. l. 5. Tuſculan. quæſt.

from all honours and preferments l (M). There were particular laws againſt ingratitude, and whoever had done any one a good office, if he did not meet with a ſuitable return, could bring an action againſt the ungrateful perſon, who, upon conviction was puniſhed with great ſeverity m (N). When any one went to give advice to the king, either of his own accord, or by the prince's order, in propoſing his opinion he ſtood upon an ingot of gold, which he was rewarded with, if his advice was found wholſome, if otherwiſe, he was publickly whipt n.

BEFORE we cloſe this ſection, we ſhall add ſome particulars, relating to the Perſian kings, gathered from the beſt authors. The kings of Perſia were above all others the moſt arbitrary and abſolute, and looked upon their ſubjects, however diſtinguiſh'd by birth or fortune, as the meaneſt of ſlaves. None, their own children not excepted, durſt addreſs them with any other title, but that of Lord, great king, king of kings o; which high-ſounding titles they ſeem to have borrowed from the Aſſyrians; for Daniel p in ſpeaking to Nebuchadnezzar, gives him the title of king of kings. As the Perſians imitated in this the haughtineſs of the Aſſyrians, ſo did the Parthians that of

l Xenoph. ibid. m Xenoph. ibid. Ammian. Marcel. l. iii. 5. Themiſtocles orat. 3. n Ælian var. hiſtor. l. xii. c. 12. o Dio. Chrys. orat. 3. de regno. Arrian. l. vi. Strabol. xv. Ezra. l. i. c. 7. p Dan. ii. 37.

(M) Theſe ſchools the Perſians call Liberal markets; for they allowed no publick place for buying or ſelling, as appears from Cyrus's anſwer to the Lacedemonians, telling them, that he was not afraid of thoſe who in the midſt of their cities have a place of publick reſort, where they cheat one another by mutual oaths; which words, adds Herodotus, (30) were levelled at all the Greeks, who in every city had ſome publick place for buying and ſelling, whereas the Perſians allow of no ſuch placs, nor any place at all of publick reſort.

(N) Seneca therefore was miſtaken when he ſaid, that laws againſt ingratitude were to be found among the Macedonians alone; *excepta Macedonum gente*, ſays he, *non eſt in ulla data adverſus ingratos actio* (31), that is, in no nation, except the Macedonian, ingratitude is actionable; where ſome read *Medorum* inſtead of *Macedonum*, but all the ancient copies have *Macedonum*.

(30) Herodot. l. i. (31) Seneca l. iii. de Benefic. c. 7.

of the Perſians [q], and continued this ſtile even to the time of the emperor Conſtantius, to whom Sapor king of Parthia wrote himſelf, king of kings, partaker of the ſtars, brother of the ſun and moon, &c. But to return to the Perſian kings, as they aſſumed high titles to themſelves, ſo they beſtowed no other on their ſubjects, by what dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, but that of ſlaves [r]; and treated them, not in words only, but in all other reſpects, as arrant ſlaves. To this ſpirit of ſlavery, which is inconſiſtent with true courage, Plato aſcribes the downfal of the Perſian monarchy [s]. This ſpirit of ſlavery prevailed to ſuch a degree among the Perſians, that even thoſe who were by the king's order publickly whipt, uſed to return him thanks for vouchſafing to remember them [t]. Whoever betrayed the leaſt reluctancy to put in execution the king's commands, how difficult ſoever, was ſure to forfeit his head and right arm [u]. The cuſtom of adoring their kings, and putting them on the ſame level with the gods, is by Juſtin [w] fathered upon Cyrus the great. None durſt appear before the king without proſtrating themſelves on the ground; nay, they were all obliged, at what diſtance ſoever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. Nor did they exact it only of their own vaſſals, but alſo of foreign miniſters and embaſſadors, the captain of the guard being charged to enquire of thoſe, who aſked admittance to the king, whether they were ready to adore him; if they refuſed to comply with that ceremony, they were told, that the king's ears were open to ſuch only as were willing to pay him that homage, and obliged to tranſact the buſineſs they were charged with, by means of the king's ſervants or eunuchs [x]. Nor did their pride and ambition ſtop here; they ſometimes ordered the ſame reverence to be paid to their favourites, as appears from the hiſtory of Haman and Mordecai [y]; nay, even to their ſtatues and images, for Philoſtratus acquaints us, that in the time of Apollonius a golden ſtatue of the king was preſented to all thoſe that entered Babylon, and that ſuch only as adored it were admitted within the gates [z]. When

q Plutarch. in Pomp. & Lucullo. r Xenoph. l. i. Ἀνάβασ, Q. Curt. l. v. Ariſtot. de Mundo. Ezra, l. iv. c. xi. s Plato. lib. iii. de Legib. t Stobæus ſerm. xii. u Strabo l. xv. p. 733. w Juſtin. c. iv. l. xi. x Plutarch. in Themiſt. y Eſther iii. 2. z Philoſtrat. l. i. de vita Apollonii.

they appeared before the king, their common ſalutation was, Live for ever[a], Let the king live for ever. To ſit in the king's chair or throne (O), to wear any part of the apparel which he had uſed, (P) to look into the litter wherein his concubines were conveyed from their habitation to the palace (Q), to ſhoot in hunting, or ſtrike at the

[a] Ælian. var. hiſtor. l. i. c. 32. Nehem. c. ii. iii. Daniel. c. iv. 6.

(O) Q. Curtius tells us (32), that when Alexander marched his army thro' a certain province called Gabaza, one of his ſoldiers arrived at the place, where they were to encamp, ſo benumbed with the exceſſive cold of the ſeaſon and climate, that he had almoſt loſt the uſe of both his limbs and ſenſes. The king, who had likewiſe ſuffered greatly by the cold, and was then ſitting by a fire which they had kindled in the open fields, no ſooner ſaw the ſoldier in that pitiful condition, but ſtarting up, and with his own hands pulling off his armour, placed him in the chair where himſelf was ſitting. The ſoldier by degrees recovered, but was very near fainting away again when he found himſelf ſeated in the royal chair and the king ſtanding by him. But Alexander encouraged him to lay aſide all fear, ſaying, *Do not fear, O fellow ſoldier, but reflect how much happier is your condition under me, than that of the* Perſians *under their king; had you reſted in the* Perſian *king's chair, it had coſt you your life; to have reſted in mine has ſaved it.* Hence it was, that Artabanus, as we read in Herodotus (339), tho' uncle to Xerxes, ſhewed ſo great reluctancy to comply with his orders, when he commanded him to put on the royal robes, ſit on the throne, and repoſe in his bed.

(P) Plutarch tells us (34), that one Tiribazus, who was very familiar with Artaxerxes, whom he uſed to divert with his wit and humour, having one day begged of him an old gown, obtained what he demanded, but with this condition, that he ſhould not wear it, that being contrary to the laws of Perſia. Tiribazus, not minding the king's prohibition or the laws of the realm, ſoon after appeared in it at court, which the Perſians reſenting as an affront againſt the majeſty of their king, were for puniſhing him according to the rigor of the law. But Artaxerxes ſaved him by telling them, that he had commanded Tiribazus to appear in that garb as his fool.

(Q) In one of theſe litters Themiſtocles, who was deſirous to have a private conference with Axtaxerxes, was conveyed to the king's apartment, without being obſerved by the Perſians, who began to be jealous of him (35).

(32) Q. Curt. l. viii. (33) Herodot. l. vii. (34) Plutarch, in Artax. (35) Plutarch. in Artaxerx.

the game before the king (R), were all capital crimes [b]. Such as betrayed any secret, which they had been trusted with by the king, or gave intelligence to the enemies of his designs, were punished with great severity; whence Alexander, as his historian tells us [c], could never have any notice before-hand of their designs, the captives chusing rather to suffer death than betray the designs of their prince. No-body, of what rank soever, appeared before the king without a present, which custom prevails among the orientals to this day. When he went on his progress or marched out with his army, all the inhabitants of the countries or provinces through which he passed were obliged to declare their vassalage by some present or other; even the inhabitants of the villages and fields flocked to him with their donatives, some offering sheep, oxen, corn, wine, &c. others milk, cheese, dates, &c. every one according to his ability [d] (S).

How they administered justice.

The Persian kings frequently heard causes themselves, both civil and criminal, and though transcendently vitious in other respects were nevertheless very tender in point of justice and equity. After hearing the merits of the cause with great attention, they took several days to consider and advise with such as were conversant in their laws, before they gave sentence [e]. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life, and condemned or cleared him according as his crimes or deserts prevailed

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Val. Maxim. l. v. c. 16. Q. Curt. c. xviii. Frontin. Stratagem. c. vi. Plutarch. in Artaxerx. & Themist. [c] Q. Curt. l. iv. & Ammian. Marcell. l. xxi. [d] Ælian. var. histor. l. i, c. 31. [e] Philostrat. l. i, de vita Apollon. Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis.

(R) This law was abrogated, as we read in Plutarch, by Artaxerxes Macrochir (36) or Longimanus.

(S) We read in Plutarch (37) and Ælian (38) of one Sineta a Persian, who meeting by chance Artaxerxes at a great distance from his poor cottage, and having nothing else to present him with, ran to the river Cyrus, and filling both his hands with water, made an offering of that to the king, which was by him graciously received.

(36) Plutarch. in Apophthegmat. (37) Plutarch. in Artaxer. & apophthegmat. (38) Ælian. var. hist. l. i. c. 32.

ed[f] (T). Their humanity and good nature even towards thoſe, who, according to the laws, deſerved death, is very remarkable. Thus Artaxerxes Longimanus ordered, that the turbans of the condemned perſons ſhould be ſtruck off inſtead of their heads, that the ſtrings, with which they tied them, ſhould be cut inſtead of their ears, and their garments whipt inſtead of their perſons[g]. Beſide the king there were ſeveral other judges, all men of unblemiſhed characters, and well ſkilled in the laws of the kingdom. Theſe were called royal judges, adminiſtered juſtice at ſtated times in different provinces, and ſome of them attended the king whither-ſoever he went[h]. The king often adviſed with them, and in matters concerning himſelf referred the whole to their judgment[i]. They were nominated by the king, who, as that employment was for life, took great care to prefer ſuch only as were famed for their integrity (U).

THE

[f] Epiphan. l. ii. c. de Manichæis, Joſeph. Antiquitat. l. xi. c. 3. Herodot. l. i. [g] Plutarch in Artaxer. & apophthegmat. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxx. [h] Ælian var. hiſtor. c. xxxiv. [i] Herodot. l. iii.

(T) To this purpoſe Herodotus tells us (39), that Darius having pronounced ſentence of death againſt a corrupt judge, and afterwards finding that his former deſerts over-ballanced his preſent crime, ordered him to be taken down from the croſs and ſet at liberty. This does not agree with what we read in Diodorus Siculus, who tells us, that the ſentence of death, once pronounced, could not be repealed even by the king himſelf; for after relating how Darius pronounced ſentence of death againſt Charidemus, he adds, that the king immediately repented, as if he had been over-haſty in a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, but it was not in his power to undo what he had done (40). Perhaps he means nothing elſe but that the king could not reſtore him to life again; for, as both he (41) and Xenophon (42) inform us, the ſentence was no ſooner pronounced, but the criminal was hurried away to execution.

(U) Artaxerxes raiſed one to that dignity, as Ælian (43) informs us, who was not a Perſian but a Mede by birth, for having condemned his own ſon to death, according to the power which parents had in thoſe days over their children. And Cambyſes

(39) Herodot. l. vii. (40) Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. (41) Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. (42) Xenoph. l. i. Ἀνάβασ, p. 205. (43) Ælian. l. i. var. hiſtor. c. xxxiv.

THE Perſian kings had ſeveral wives, beſides what number of concubines they pleaſed. Darius maintained as many as the days of the year [k]. Artaxerexes had by his concubines 115 children [l]. The concubines were introduced to the king, each in their turn [m], whence ſome have concluded, that the antient Perſian year conſiſted of 360 days, ſeeing that ſeveral of the Perſian monarchs had the like number of concubines, who went to their kings in conſtant courſes [n] (W). Their concubines.

WE ſhall end this ſection with ſome account of their revenues. Each province had its peculiar treaſure and treaſurer, as is plain from all the antient writers, both ſacred and profane; and from the great ſums, which Alexander found in ſeveral particular provinces or cities, we may judge of the immenſe treaſures they poſſeſſed. In the city of Damaſcus he found 2600 talents, and ſilver Their revenues.

[k] Diodor. Sic. l. xvii. [l] Juſtin. l. x. [m] Eſther, ii. 12—15. [n] See Whiſton's theory of the earth, Book II. p. 149.

byſes being informed, that one of the judges had received a bribe, cauſed him upon conviction to be flayed alive, and having covered the ſeat, on which he pronounced the unjuſt ſentence, with his ſkin, appointed his ſon in his room, ordering him to ſit in the ſame chair when he pronounced ſentence (44). Theſe judges, according to Joſephus (45) and Zonaras (46), were ſeven in number, which they gather from the commiſſion of Artaxerxes to Ezra, who was ſent of the king and his ſeven counſellors (47).

(W) This conjecture is not altogether groundleſs: but we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the ſame writer ſhould alledge the authority of Q. Curtius to prove, that the antient Perſian year contained but 360 days, when that author tells us, in expreſs terms, that the Perſian year conſiſted of 365 days; his words are, Magos trecenti & ſextaginta quinque juvenes ſequebantur—diebus totius anni pares numero; quippe Perſis quoque in totidem dies deſcriptus eſt annus (48); that is, the Mages were followed by 365 youths, anſwering in number to the days of the year; for among the Perſians too the year is divided into 365 days. But Curtius in this, as in many other particulars, was certainly miſtaken, ſince Herodotus, whoſe authority

(44) Herodot. l. v. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 3. (45) Joſeph. Antiquit. l. xi. c. 6. (46) Zonar. tom. I. (47) Ezra c. vii. v. (48) Q. Curtius iii. 3. 8. & ſeqq.

silver uncoined to the value of 500 more; in Arbela 4000 talents, in Susa 40,000 and 9000 Darics, in Persepolis 120,000, in Pasargada 6000, in Ecbatan 180,000[o]. These immense sums arose from the tributes which each province was yearly obliged to pay according to the assessment of Darius Hystaspes. For, during the reigns of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, no tributes were imposed, the people voluntarily contributing for the maintenance of the king and his army, what they thought fit; from the imposing of these taxes, and other things of the like nature, the Persians gave Darius the nickname of Merchant. The sum total of the king's revenues, according to the computation of Herodotus[p], amounted to 14560 Euboic talents[q], beside other smaller sums. These revenues were gathered from the provinces of Asia only, but in process of time the islands and several provinces of Europe, with Egypt, Syria, &c. were likewise taxed, which encreased the king's revenues to such a degree, that, if we believe Justin[r], Alexander, after the conquest of Persia, received yearly from his subjects the sum of 300,000 talents. The Persian kings preserved their treasures in the following manner; they caused the gold and silver to be melted down and poured into earthen vessels, which they broke, when occasion required, and took such a quantity as seemed necessary[s]. The lands of the Persians were free from all taxes, but other provinces, besides money, were obliged to contribute considerably, each something of their proper product, towards the maintenance of the king, and, in time of war, of his army[t]. Thus the provinces of Cyrene and Barca were, besides the ordinary taxes, assessed at such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply 120,000 men; the Satrapæ of Babylon maintained the king and his court

[o] Curt. l. v. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Arrian. l. iii. c. 16. Plutarch in Alexand. [p] Herodot. l. iii. [q] See the preface to the first volume. [r] Justin. l. xiii. [s] Herodot. ubi supra. [t] Herodot. ubi supra. Strabo, l. xv. Xenoph. l. iv. Ἀνάβασ, p. 261.

thority is of more weight, in speaking of the tributes which Darius Hystaspis laid on the provinces subject to the Persian empire, says, that the Cilicians were obliged to furnish Darius with 360 white horses, that is, one for every day of the year (49).

(49). Herodot l. iii.

court for four months, and moreover paid him a yearly tribute of 500 young eunuchs. The Ethiopians and adjoining people made a preſent every third year of two Chœnixes (X) of gold, two hundred bundles of ebony, five Ethiopian children, and twenty elephants teeth of the largeſt ſize. The Colchians or Colchi preſented the king every fifth year with a hundred boys, and the like number of young women; the Arabians with a quantity of frankincenſe, anſwering the weight of 1000 talents, &c. [u]. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and haſten to the moſt entertaining and important part of the Perſian hiſtory, their religion and religious ceremonies.

[u] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(X) Chœnix was a Greek meaſure containing ſuch a quantity of wheat as ſerved a man one day.

SECT. III.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

THERE is hardly any ſubject, which hath employed the pens of authors ancient or modern, that deſerves to be treated with greater accuracy, or to be read with more attention, than this which we are now about to diſcuſs. The religion of the Perſians, if we may credit the moſt learned and induſtrious writers[a], is venerable from its antiquity, and worthy of admiration from its having ſubſiſted now ſome thouſand years, in as great or greater purity, than any other religion known to us at this day. But the accounts, which are ſtill extant of the religion of the ancient Perſians, are far from correſponding exactly, and the deſcriptions, which modern travellers have given us of thoſe who

The importance of this ſubject, and the difficulties which occur in treating of it.

[a] Vid. Hiſt. Relig. Veter. Perſar. per Thomam Hyde, 4to, Oxon, 1700. The religion of the Perſees by Hen. Lord, 4to, London, 1630. Relation de l' Etat. preſent de Perſe par Sanſon, Paris, 1695. Hiſt. of Chaldaic Philoſophy by Thomas Stanley, Book ii. p. 67. London, Folio, 1662. Philoſ. General per Theoph. Galeum, lib. i. c. 5. 8vo, London, 1676. Connection of the hiſtory of the old and new Teſtament, by Dean Prideaux, Vol. I. p. 299. 8vo, London 1729. Herbert's, Della Valle's, Tavernier's travels, &c.

who profeſs this religion in Perſia and India, even in our time, differ ſo widely, though not indeed in eſſential articles, that it requires no ſmall degree of patience to ſeparate the ore from the droſs, and to preſent the reader with what is worthy of being known and believed among heaps of fables and miſrepreſentations (A).

If

(A) The accounts, we have of the Perſian religion, are, as we have ſtated them above, of two ſorts; firſt, ſuch as have been collected from books; and theſe again may be divided into two claſſes, one extracted from the Greek and Latin writers, the other from Oriental hiſtorians; the ſecond conſiſts of what travellers deliver from their own knowledge, concerning the doctrines and practices of the preſent Perſians, who themſelves affirm, and are allowed by others, to practiſe the religion of their anceſtors with little or no variation. As to ſuch as have drawn their materials from books, they have been, as we ſhall frequently have occaſion to ſhew, prodigiouſly miſled in their opinions, confidently enough delivered on this ſubject. For as to the Greek writers, ſuch as Herodotus, Strabo, &c. they delivered what they had from others, and that likewiſe under this diſadvantage, that being polytheiſts themſelves, they of courſe conceived, that other nations had variety of gods as well as their own, and therefore reported, that the Perſians worſhipped the fire, becauſe they prayed before it; the air, becauſe in their devotions they lifted up their eyes towards it; and the ſun, becauſe they profeſſed to reverence it (1); nor was this all, they forged, for the ſake of making their hiſtories uniform, ſuch ſacrifices and other religious rites, as ſeemed to them correſpondent with the notions which they had framed of the Perſian religion, and attributed them to the Perſians. Thus Herodotus, ſpeaking of the paſſage of Xerxes into Greece, relates impoſſible things of the Magi, with as much boldneſs as if he had been eye-witneſs of them. "The country (ſays he) that lies about the "mountain Pangæus is called Phillis, on the weſt ſide extend-"ing to the river Angites, which falls into the Strymon itſelf. "At their arrival the Magi offered a ſacrifice of white horſes "to this river; and after they had thrown them into the ſtream "with a compoſition of various drugs, the army broke up, and "marched to the nine Ways of the Edonians, where they found "bridges prepared for their paſſage over the Strymon. But be-"ing informed that this place was called by the name of the "Nine Ways, they took nine of the ſons and daughters of the "inhabitants, and buried them alive, as the manner of the "Perſians is. And I have heard, that Ameſtris, the wife of "Xerxes,

(1) Herodotus, Clio, p. 25. Strab. Geograph. lib. xv. Diog. Laertius in Prœem.

If we had ſtill any conſiderable collection of the antient Perſian records, we ſhould doubtleſs find in them what would ſatisfy us as to the primitive doctrines of their wiſe men; but as theſe are either moſt of them long ſince deſtroyed, or at leaſt are hidden from us, we muſt be content to follow ſuch lights as yet remain, and where we cannot make the reader underſtand things as clearly as we would, it is our duty to make them, however, as clear as we can. This is certain, that the Perſians have preſerved the worſhip of one God, and other eſſential articles of true religion [b], through a long courſe of ages, without ſuffering themſelves to be drawn over by fraud, or ſubmitting through force, to any new faith, though they have often changed their maſters; a thing ſingular, and in ſome ſort commendable, if we conſider how much they have been depreſſed, ſince the death of Yezdegherd, the laſt king of their own religion, and the opprobrious treatment they have met with from the Mohammedans, who are wont to call them and chriſtians, with like contempt, infidels. Though the principles of the former, as well as the latter, are far more reaſonable than the ill connected legends of the Arabian impoſtor; and though the modern Perſians (taking that proper name in a religious not a civil ſenſe) are unanimouſly acknowledged to be as honeſt, as charitable,

[b] Hiſt. relig. veter. Perſ. c. xxxiii. Connection of the Old and new Teſtament, Vol. i. p. 303.

" Xerxes, having attained to a conſiderable age, cauſed four-
" teen children of the beſt families in Perſia to be interred alive,
" for a ſacrifice of thanks to that god, who, they ſay, is be-
" neath the earth (2)" We have ſhewn in the text, that the Perſians were indeed reverencers of water as well as fire, but that they ſacrificed to it, or threw any thing into a running ſtream, is a flat contradiction to this very notion of theirs, which conſiſted in preſerving the purity of thoſe elements, and not in polluting them with blood and dead carcaſſes; and in reſpect to ſacrifices, Herodotus himſelf in another place acknowledges as much (3), Q. Curtius with like hardineſs deſcribes the chariot of Darius, in which he appeared in the field againſt Alexander; " it was adorned (ſays he) with images of their gods in ſilver
" and gold, the axle-tree thereof glittered with precious ſtones;
" upon

(2) Herodotus Polymn. p. 183. (3) Clio, p. 25.

charitable, and inoffenſive a people as any upon earth. So that, in God's due time, we have juſt reaſon to believe, they will at laſt acknowledge the truth of the goſpel diſpenſation

" upon it were two images of gold, the one repreſenting Ninus, " the other Belus, of a cubit ſtature each; between them was " an eagle of gold diſplaying her wings over both, &c (4)." All this is downright fiction; Ninus and Belus were never worſhipped by the Perſians; they were not wont to erect images, or to worſhip them; what makes it probable, that Curtius was the inventor of this whole ſtory, is this; that Arrian (5), an author of great accuracy, and who wrote from excellent materials, ſays not one word of all this; nor indeed does any other ancient hiſtorian: but Curtius was ſo great a rhetorician that he could not write plainly, but, on the contrary, loaded all his deſcriptions with ornaments, without any regard to probability or truth. As to the relations of travellers, we need not wonder that they differ about the religious opinions, rites, and ceremonies of the Perſians, or as ſome call them Perſees, ſince they very ſeldom agree exactly, even in their deſcriptions of leſs intricate things than theſe. As for Henry Lord, whoſe ſmall treatiſe in relation to theſe people has been received as a kind of oracle, merely becauſe he ventured to talk very authoritatively therein; it is ſcarce poſſible to determine from what he ſays, whether they are idolators or no; he calls them ſo, it is true, and ſpeaks of their worſhipping the fire in an idolatrous manner; yet the better part of his book, which conſiſts of what he heard from one of their prieſts, contains nothing which can juſtify his opinion (6). On the whole, we have thought it neceſſary to peruſe, and ſhall on occaſion make uſe of, what-ever is related by Herbert, Ovington, Tavernier, Thevenot, Chardin, or other travellers concerning the Perſees, their tenets, and cuſtoms; but it is our happineſs to follow a more capable guide than any of theſe; the very learned and judicious doctor Thomas Hyde, who, from the mighty ſtores of various learning which he poſſeſſed, as well as from the curious obſervations he in his travels had made, compoſed his valuable hiſtory of the religion of the antient Perſians, wherein every thing he lays down is ſupported by antient monuments, or by the expreſs authority of that law which this people profeſſed to have received from Zerduſht, a compendium of whoſe writings contained in the book Sad-der, the Enchiridion of the modern Perſees, is annexed to the doctor's treatiſe (7).

(4) Q. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 3. (5) lib. ii. cap. 11.
(6) Lord's hiſtory of the Perſees, p. 10. 44. (7) Magorum liber Sad-der Zoroaſtris Præcepta & Canones continens: In uſum Eccleſiæ Magorum & Fidelium eorum omnium.

penſation, and be included within the pale of the chriſtian church (B).

We

(B) Since the introduction of the Mohammedan religion into Perſia, the antient inhabitants have been expoſed to various perſecutions on account of their religion; for the Mohammedans being generally ſpeaking bigots, they are not content with giving theſe unhappy men always ill language, but on every occaſion are ſtirring up their princes to oppreſs and deſtroy, under colour of religion, theſe relicts of the ancient Perſians. It is true, the Mohammedan Perſians have in all ages had among them ſome men of learning and genius; yet few or none have ever enquired thoroughly into the doctrine of theſe poor people; on the contrary, they are as ready as any to load them with opprobrious names, and ſuch as they no way deſerve; thus they call them Noguſha, i. e. Zabian, or deſerter of the true faith; Ghebri, i. e. infidel; this word is as differently ſpelt as it is differently pronounced, the moſt uſual way of writing it is Ghaur; they likewiſe ſtile an ancient Perſian Ateſh-pereſt, i. e. fire worſhipper Philiv or Caliv, i. e. fool or madman; the moſt gentle term they make uſe of is Mogh, that is, Magian, but then they frequently ſay that a Mogh is Ateſh pereſt and Zindik, that is a fire worſhipper and a Sadducee; for among other calumnies with which they load theſe poor men, that of denying a future ſtate is one; however, though they may amongſt themſelves deſtroy their good name, yet with ſtrangers their aſperſions do the Perſians no hurt; for they, looking on the innocence and integrity of theſe poor peoples lives, cannot avoid affording them both pity and eſteem: it would be an eaſy matter to ſupport all that has been advanced in this note, by quotations from the beſt accounts we have of Perſia and the Indies; but inſtead of fatiguing the reader, it may perhaps anſwer the ſame end, if we here ſet down the five precepts which theſe Perſians acknowledge as the rule of life, which every Behedin or Lay-man is bound to obey, as they are reported by Mr. Lord.

I. "To have ſhame ever with them, as a remedy againſt all "ſin; for a man would never oppreſs his inferiors, if he had any "ſhame; a man would never ſteal, if he had any ſhame; a man "would never bear falſe witneſs, if he had any ſhame; a man "would never be overcome with drink, if he had any ſhame. "But becauſe this is laid aſide, men are ready to commit any "of theſe, and therefore the Behedin or Lay-man muſt think "of ſhame.

II. "To have fear always preſent with them, and that every "time the eye twinkled or cloſed his lids together, they ſhould "ſtand in fear at thoſe times of their prayers, leſt they ſhould "not go to heaven; the thought of which ſhould make them "fear to commit ſin, for that God ſees what manner of ones "they are, that look up towards him.

III. "That

Origin of the Persian religion.

We have heretofore shewn, that the original inhabitants of Persia descended from Elam the son of Shem [c], and from those two patriarchs, it is most probable, they derived the true religion, which at first flourished amongst them with the utmost purity, but in process of time was corrupted by an intermixture of superstitious rites and heretical opinions, at such time as the rest of the oriental nations were overspread with that deluge of false religion, which generally goes under the name of Zabiism. From which some affirm they were thoroughly recovered by the patriarch Abraham, who, they say, undertook the reformation of their religion, and having freed it as well from the pernicious doctrines they had inbibed, as from the superfluous doctrines they had adopted, left it them once more pure, and in the same condition, wherein he transmitted it to his own descendants [d]. But if this were so, they were a second time corrupted and engaged, if not in idolatrous practices, yet in superstitious acts of reverence to the heavenly bodies, and in practices inconsistent with the true faith (C).

The Persians pretend to derive their religion from Abraham.

However

[c] Vol. 1. p. 459. [d] Hist. Relig. vet, Persar. c. ii. & iii. Connection of the old and New Testament, vol. 1. p. 313.

III. "That whensoever they are to do any thing, to think "whether the thing be good or bad that they go about, whether "commanded or forbidden in the Zundavastaw; if prohibited, "they must not do it; if allowed by the book of religion, they "may embrace and prosecute the same.

IV. "That whosoever of God's creatures they should "first behold in the morning, it should be a monitor to put them "in mind of their thanksgivings to God, that had given such "good things for mens service and use.

V. "That whensoever they pray by day they should turn "their faces towards the sun, and whensoever they prayed by "night they should incline towards the moon; for that they are "the two great lights of heaven, and God's two witnesses: most "contrary to Lucifer, who loveth darkness more than light."

(C) That the Persian religion, as well as other religions, receded by degrees from its first principles, and suffered by the introduction of some superstitions, cannot seem strange to any considerate person. The Persians themselves confess it, and acknowledge, that their famous law-giver Zerdusht came to restore their primitive doctrines, and to purge away those errors which time and the industry of Zabian heretics had introduced. In what these errors consisted, the superstitious ceremonies which attended them,

HOWEVER the ſplendor of their religion might be darkened with theſe ſpots, yet it was never ſo far obſcured as to admit any degree of compariſon between it and the worſhip of neighbouring nations (excepting the Jews); for the Perſians continued zealous adorers of one all-wiſe and omnipotent god, whom they held to be infinite and omnipreſent, ſo that they could not bear, that he ſhould be repreſented by either molten or graven images, or that the creator and lord of the univerſe ſhould be circumſcribed within the narrow bounds of temples[e]; on this account they overturned the ſtatues and places of public worſhip among the Greeks, as unworthy of the deity, and not from any ſacrilegious contempt of the gods of other countries. In the decline indeed of the antient Perſian empire, the worſhip of Venus was introduced by one of their princes; but it was condemned by the Magi[f], who remained firm to this great article of their faith, There is one God, and took care to tranſmit it religiouſly to their poſterity.

They were always zealous in the ſervice of one God.

THE only objection, to which the ancient and modern Perſians have rendered themſelves liable, flows from the reſpect which they have conſtantly paid to fire and to the ſun: yet if this matter be ſeriouſly and impartially conſidered, it will be found, that there is nothing of idolatry in this reſpect of theirs, but that they only worſhip God in the fire, and not fire as a God. That they ſhould have an extraordinary veneration for the element of fire, and make choice rather of it than any of the reſt, to be the ſymbol to them of the divine nature, will appear leſs extraordinary, if we conſider, that a never-dying fire was kept on the altar of burnt-offerings at Jeruſalem[g], that God revealed himſelf to Moſes by a flame in a buſh[h], and

An account of the nature of that reſpect ſhewn by them to fire and to the ſun.

[e] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 3. Herodotus, Clio, p. 25. [f] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſar. p. 90. [g] 2 Chron, vii. 1. Levit. x. 1. [h] Exod. iii. 2. Acts vii. 30.

them, and the pains it coſt this reſtorer of magiſm to root theſe fooliſh ſuperſtitions out, will be delivered in the life of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht, which we ſhall give the reader at large in the hiſtory of the Perſians from the Oriental writers, under the reign of that monarch in whoſe days he flouriſhed; for to have inſerted ſo long a digreſſion here, muſt have rendered this chapter very prolix, and at the ſame time obliged us to frequent recapitulations in the ſubſequent hiſtory.

choſe to teſtify his preſence in the hoſt of Iſrael by a pillar of fire, which went before them in the night, and which appeared only as a column of ſmoke in the day [i]. As to their veneration of the ſun, it is founded in their belief, that he is the nobleſt creature of the Almighty viſible to us, and that his throne is placed therein. Nor need we wonder, either at the miſtakes of antient writers, or at the ſtories told us by ſome Mohammedan authors on this head, ſince it was very difficult for them to get a true knowledge of the religious cuſtoms and tenets of this people, becauſe they were forbidden by their legiſlator Zoroaſter or Zerduſht, as appears from the book Sad-der, to teach either their antient language, or its character, to ſtrangers, or to inſtruct them in their religion [k]. If any farther regard had been had to the ſun in ancient times, it would certainly have deſcended with the other parts of their religion to the modern Perſians; but that it never reached them, the learned and judicious doctor Hyde aſſures us; for an intimate friend of his being by him requeſted to enquire concerning the worſhip of Mithra, (ſo the Perſians call the ſun) he accordingly aſked ſome of the prieſts of the Perſians ſettled in India, at what ſeaſons, and with what ceremonies, they adored the ſun? They anſwered, That they never adored the ſun, or paid any ſort of divine honours to that luminary, to the moon, or to the planets, but only turned themſelves towards the ſun when praying, becauſe they looked on it to come neareſt to the nature of fire. The ſame excellent author obſerves, that among the precepts of Zoroaſter, his diſciples are directed to pay daily to the ſun certain Niyâiſh, i. e. Salutations, conſiſting only in words (and thoſe too addreſſed to God) without any mention of Preſtiſh, i. e. Worſhip, by bowing of the body. Yet if any cuſtom of this ſort prevails, it ought not to be interpreted as a mark of religious adoration; for the Perſian Mohammedans, who are zealous deteſters of that impiety, and the Armenians, who dwell in Perſia, are wont to pray in like manner, the latter making the ſign of the croſs, and bowing profoundly low at the ſight of the riſing ſun [l]. To ſay the truth, adoration, that is, proſtrating or

[i] Exod. xiii. 21. Numb. xiv. 14. Neh. ix. 9. Pſalm lxxviii. 14. 1 Cor. x. 1. [k] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. p. 5. [l] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. p. 5 & 6.

or bowing of the body, was even among the Hebrews a civil, as well as a religious, rite, or to ſpeak more properly, the ſame word, viz. השתחויה Hiſhtahhavaah was uſed to expreſs this act of reverence, when applied to God or man. An eminent rabbin ſays, that this as an act of devotion was not to be performed out of the ſanctuary, that is, out of the temple [m]; it is forbid by the 2d commandment to be paid to idols; but as a civil rite, the Jews were at liberty thus to teſtify their reſpect to angels, and to perſons of very high dignity. On the whole therefore, there can be no more reaſon to ſuſpect theſe Perſians of idolatry on this account, than any other of the Oriental nations, ſince the ſun is no more than the Kibla of the Perſians, as the temple of Jeruſalem is to the Jews, and that of Mecca to the Mohammedans, who in this reſpect are ſo ſcrupulous, that they have tables to determine the bearing of Mecca [n] from whatever place they are in (D).

The Mithra of the Perſians never eſteemed a deity.

As to the notions which the Perſians have of the ſun, they are not, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, perfectly agreed in them; ſome believing the throne of God placed therein, and that it is the ſeat of paradiſe; others entertaining a different opinion as to paradiſe, but praying nevertheleſs towards the ſun, as a ſymbol of the deity on account of its purity. It is farther certain, that the Perſians never called Mithra a god, or aſcribed to it any name of the divinity; and ſo far from directing any petitions thereto

[m] Iarchi ſup. Levit. xxvi. 1. [n] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. p. 95.

(D) It may ſeem ſtrange how ſo odd a notion as this of the peculiar ſanctity of one point of the compaſs ever eſtabliſhed itſelf in the world, and much more, that it is become an opinion ſo univerſally received as it is at preſent. If the inquiſitive reader would have a more exact account of this matter, than it is proper in ſuch a note as this to give him, he may have recourſe to the works of the learned Mr. John Gregory of Oxford (8), who, in treating of two texts of ſcripture which ſeem to have ſome relation to this point (9), hath ſhewn a conſummate knowledge in various kinds of literature, as well as a genius perfectly well turned for ſuch intricate and abſtruſe inquiries. For us it is ſufficient, that the fact is as we have ſtated it, ſince, whether it be right or wrong, the Perſians muſt be as much in the right, or as little in the wrong, as any other nation which hath fallen into this way of thinking.

(8) 4to London. A. D. 1684. p. 83. (9) Zac. iii. 8. vi. 12.

thereto, they conſtantly begin and end the ejaculations pronounced before the ſun with the praiſes of the moſt high God, to whom alone their prayers are addreſſed [o]. As to the fire, before whom the Perſians worſhip, taking that word in an extended ſenſe, they acknowledge nothing of divinity therein, but, eſteeming it a ſymbol of the deity, they firſt proſtrate themſelves before it, and then ſtanding up they pray to God. Thus among the ruins of the ancient palace at Perſepolis there are ſeen many marble ſtatues of kings, ſtanding praying to God before the figures of the ſun and fire, which are alſo placed on the wall before them, only one figure is ſeen kneeling with the ſame ſymbols before it as the reſt. As the fire in the temple was reputed ſacred among the Jews, ſo the Perſians might from them take this cuſtom of praying before ſacred fires; which is the more likely, ſince it was the manner of God's choſen people to proſtrate themſelves before the altar, and then to offer up their petitions. It was alſo a cuſtom among the Perſians to tender oaths before the fire upon the altar; in which alſo they agreed with the Jews, as they did farther in offering victims thereby, and in preſerving it from being polluted by impure fuel, in which laſt caſe the Perſians went ſo far as to puniſh offenders with death. Their kings alſo and principal perſons were wont ſometimes to feed the ſacred fires with precious oils and rich aromatics, ſtiling theſe Epulæ ignis or fire dainties [p]; but ſtill all things done to or by fire were performed to the honour of God, and terminated ſolely in him; at leaſt, if we may credit the concurrent teſtimony of Perſic writers yet remaining, and the conſtant aſſeverations of thoſe who ſtill profeſs this religion (E).

THERE

[o] Hiſt. Relig. vet. Perſ. c. v. [p] Hyde, c. xxii. p. 290.

(E) When we conſider the point in diſpute, which is plainly this, Whether the antient Perſians had rational or irrational notions of the deity or not? and what degree of evidence there is on each ſide, it may ſeem ſurprizing, that it is yet made a matter of diſpute among the learned. Herodotus, who elſewhere tells us ſtrange ſtories of the religious ceremonies of the Perſians on hear-ſay, ſpeaking expreſly on this head, ſays all that can be wiſhed or deſired in their favour; for he owns that the ancient Perſians had neither temples, altars, nor images, and therefore we

There is yet another point in which the Perſians are to be vindicated, before we can leave the learned reader ſatisfied, that they never were idolaters. It is this: they had amongſt them, after the time of Zoroaſter's reformation of their religion, certain caves, adorned not only with figures of the ſun, but of the planets and other heavenly bodies, which ſymbolical repreſentations were called Mithriac figures, and were afterwards introduced into other nations, where they became objects of idolatrous worſhip; but they were far from being ſo among the Perſians, who were a wiſe and well-inſtructed people; for with them they ſerved only as mathematical ſymbols

we ought rather to regard this than the other parts of his book, wherein he manifeſtly relates what other Greek writers, full of ſpleen againſt Xerxes and his ſucceſſors, had written of their inhuman ſacrifices, and other acts of religious cruelty (10). Xenophon's authority would be of great weight in the preſent caſe, if he had wrote deciſively, and ſpoken things of his own knowledge; but the high commendations he has given the Perſians, and the mighty character he hath afforded their laws, hath begot a doubt in the minds of the learned, whether he did not mingle his own ideas with the accounts he gives us of the cuſtoms and manners of the Perſians (11). Plutarch, in a paſſage hereafter more fully cited, ſpeaks very reſpectfully of Zoroaſter, and aſcribes nothing to him unworthy of a very wiſe man. There were ſome, he tells us, of the ancients who aſſerted two ſupreme beings, the one the author of all good, the other of all evil. Others who admitted but one God, the father of good, but who acknowledged there was a demon from whom all evil proceeded; this, ſays he, was the doctrine of Zoroaſter, who flouriſhed four thouſand years before the Trojan war (12). The ſame author then proceeds to a ſuccinct account of the doctrine of the Magi, which we ſhall have occaſion to inſert in our text. Dr. Hyde has produced an authentic relation of the ſentiments of the antient Perſians on this ſubject, as collected from their ſucceſſors the Perſees ſettled in India, an abſtract of which will likewiſe be inſerted in our text (13), and the curious reader may peruſe the whole of it in the treatiſe of the excellent author above-mentioned. In the ſame place may be found the teſtimony of Shariſtan, who wrote in Arabic an account of the Religions of the eaſt, and who, in ſpeaking of the faith of the Perſians, does them all the juſtice that can be (14); but what is of far greater conſequence to us, than

(10) Herodot. Clio. (11) Vid. Cyropædia. (12) De Iſid. & Oſir. (13) Relig. veter. Perſar. c. xxii. p. 292. (14) ibid.

for preſerving the true ſyſtem of the univerſe; for which end, and to no other, they were uſed, and perhaps invented, by Zoroaſter himſelf, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to prove at large, when we come to ſpeak of the life, doctrines, and writings of that famous man [q].

HAVING thus ſhewn in general the nature of the Perſian religion, and that it was far preferable to any of the ſyſtems received in other nations, either in the eaſt or in the weſt, we ſhall proceed to ſhew what the Perſians themſelves have taught concerning the eſtabliſhment of their religion, as well as what are the doctrines, as to eſſential points, univerſally received amongſt them.

THE great fame of Abraham, which from a concurrence of various cauſes had diffuſed itſelf throughout the whole eaſt, induced the Perſians, as well as the Zabeans, to aſcribe the ſyſtem of doctrines received by them to that venerable patriarch, ſtyling their faith at all times Kiſh-Abraham. They likewiſe aſcribe the books which they hold ſacred to this father of the faithful, and as much believe him to be the author of their Sofh or bible, as we believe the goſpel to have come to us from Chriſt, or the Mohammedans, that God revealed to Mohammed his Koran [r]. In attributing books to Abraham, they agree with the Jews and with the Mohammedans, the latter aſcribing to him no leſs than ten treatiſes, perhaps all with the like reaſon. The Perſians ſay farther, that Abraham, while he reſided amongſt them, dwelt in the city of Balch, which they from thence ſtyle the city of Abraham. But though it muſt be allowed, that the old Perſian religion agreed in many great points with the religion of Abraham, and though it ſhould be admitted, that his fame might even in his life-time be with very advantageous circumſtances publiſhed throughout all Perſia, yet it is ſo far from being evident than any authority of friends or enemies whatſoever, the book Sad-der, containing the canon of the Perſian faith, is not only extant among the Perſees, but even amongſt ourſelves, and every page therein affords us inſtances of Zoroaſter's wiſdom, and of the rectitude of the religion he eſtabliſhed, as to fundamental points, and eſpecially as to the belief of one infinitely wiſe, eternal, ſelf-exiſtent being (15).

[q] Hyde, c. iv. p. 118. Sect. v. of this Vol. [r] Hyde, c. ii. p. 28.

(15) Vid. Sadder liber magorum ap. Hyde Relig. vet. Perſar.

dent, that it is ſcarce probable, he went himſelf into that country, much leſs that he executed the office of a prophet there, and reſided at Balch. On the contrary it is far more credible, that this notion took riſe from the ſuggeſtion of Zoroaſter, who had his learning and his divinity out of the books of Moſes and other ſacred books among the Jews, and that the city of Balch received the appellation of the city of Abraham from Zoroaſter, on account of his making it the reſidence of the archimagus or high-prieſt of the religion of Abraham, and not from the patriarch's being ſuppoſed to live there at all in antient time [f].

THOUGH fire was held the ſymbol of the divinity among the Perſians, yet the other elements were alſo highly honoured by them, inſomuch, that the Greeks and other foreigners, who knew not their religious principles, called them Cultores elementorum or worſhippers of the elements, a flagrant calumny, ſince all the reſpect they paid them, aroſe from their conceiving them to be the firſt ſeeds of all things, wherefore they ſtudied, by every method poſſible, to preſerve each of them in its primitive purity. On this account they prevented, as much as they could, the air from being infected by ill ſmells; and, for their officiouſneſs on this head, Herodotus, according to his uſual cuſtom, repreſents them as believing the air a deity. They hold (ſays he) the whole expanſe to be Jupiter [t]. That they might in like manner preſerve the earth from impurities, they would not bury their dead therein, but ſuffered them to be devoured by birds and wild beaſts, that finding a tomb in their bowels they might not infect the air; in fine, the preſerving all the elements pure was by them eſteemed an act of high piety, and as ſuch meriting the divine favour, in this world and in the world to come; for in all things they were great affectors of cleanlineſs, and ſtudious, in an eſpecial manner, in avoiding whatever might pollute them. Fire and water, however, were in a peculiar manner the objects of their care, becauſe they were moſt liable to be contaminated, and hence the Greeks, miſtaking the degree of reverence they paid them, declared them, without ſcruple, worſhippers of thoſe elements, and tells us formal

[f] Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. 11. p. 318. [t] Hyde, c. iii. D' Herbelot, Art. Balkhe.

mal ſtories of the ſacrifices offered to both. It is very true, that kings often do extravagant things, and ſuch as are contrary to the civil and religious laws of the countries they govern; ſo that it is not impoſſible, that ſome of the Perſian princes might be guilty of what is laid to their charge, but it is not likely, becauſe the Perſians univerſally held, that whoever willfully polluted either fire or water deſerved death in this world, and everlaſting puniſhment in that to come, and that whoever threw the bones of dead creatures into waters were certainly damned. For theſe reaſons the Magi, where-ever they were, took care to have all the waters in their neighbourhood watched, aſſigning them keepers, whoſe ſole office it was to look carefully to this matter, and to ſee that no filthy thing was thrown or dropped into them, and for this they had ſtated and well-ſettled ſalaries. For abhorring, as they did, the repreſenting of the almighty lord of heaven and earth, by artificial images of ſtone or metal, they choſe to preſerve fire and water in their utmoſt purity, that they might ſerve for ſymbols of the divine nature, and put them in mind of the infinite purity of God. As they held the miniſtration of angels, ſo they believed, that one of theſe celeſtial guards was appointed to watch over the waters in general; this angel they called Ardiſûr or Arduiſûr, for whom a particular Niyâiſh or ſalutation was preſcribed, the title of which in their antient books runs thus, Hymn to Ardiſur, for the benefits received from the ſea, rivers, wells, and fountains. In this hymn they praiſed him for taking care of all theſe places, and prayed, that he might continue ſo to do, returning God thanks for the various uſes made of water, and the mighty advantages reſulting to mankind from his wiſe diſpoſition thereof throughout the earth; they were of opinion, that in paradiſe ſuch people were peculiarly bleſſed, as had been careful of defiling water, and had in this ſenſe preſerved a reſpect for that element during their lives, for which cauſe they recommended the care of this element, as well as fire, to their women, that is their private fires and the water uſed in their houſes; for it does not appear, that they ever admitted women to miniſter in religious matters, except in the myſteries of Venus, which, as we obſerved before, was a hereſy, and as ſuch deteſted by the orthodox magians. In their love to purity and their eſteem of water, the practice of the Jews, and the pre-

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cepts in their law for corporal purification, may very well be urged in their defence, eſpecially if we conſider, that in waſhing the hands, and putting on the girdle, ſolemn forms of prayer were enjoined the antient Perſians, as indeed there were ſet ejaculations to be uſed in the performance of the moſt ordinary actions of human life [u].

With reſpect to the uſe they made of fire in their notional religion, the prieſts who attended it by no means deſerved the appellation of Igniarii Sacerdotes, i. e. fire-prieſts, for they were truly Sacerdotes Dei, prieſts of the almighty, who though, like the Jewiſh prieſts, they waited on, and took care to preſerve, the ſacred fire from being extinguiſhed; yet this was far from being their only duty; for theſe, as well as thoſe, read every day public prayers, and did other ſacerdotal offices, as we ſhall hereafter declare more largely. Yet ſuch has been the hard fate of theſe people, that, becauſe their principles were not known, and their ceremonies ill underſtood, they have been branded with the name of Ateſh-pereſt, i. e. fire-worſhippers, ſo dangerous a thing it is to carry to any exceſs even innocent ceremonies. They never confeſſed their ſins to any but to God, nor beſought a remiſſion of them from any but from him; yet they inclined to perform theſe publick acts of devotion before the ſymbol of the deity, that is, before fire, or before the ſun, as the witneſs of their actions; in like manner the Jews confeſſed their ſins to God in the temple, the fire flaming on the altar near them, ſo that there was nothing of idolatry in this, though it might not be altogether free from ſuperſtition (F).

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[u] Hyde. c. vi. p. 137.

(F) If we were to undertake a critical review of what modern authors have written about theſe people and their opinions, it would require a far larger treatiſe than this whole number; this is a bold aſſertion, but I will venture to give an inſtance of it, which I am poſitive will prove the truth of my obſervation. Mr. Tavernier has ſpent about fifteen pages in his account of theſe people, in which there are at leaſt fifty capital miſtakes, which any man may diſcover who is at all verſed in Oriental literature. In his ſection of the original and prophets of this ſect, he confounds Zerduſht with Abraham, in ſuch a manner, that it would coſt a great deal of time to determine what part of the ſtory belongs to the one, and what to the other. He tells

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In the moſt antient times the Perſians had no temples at all, but rear'd altars, whereon they preſerved their ſacred

us of a king, whom he calls Newbrout, probably Nimrod, and aſcribes to him things that no body ever heard of before; nay the very name he has given the prophet is ſufficient to ſhew, how much he was confuſed on this ſubject, and conſequently how little credit is due to what he relates of the religion of the Gaurs or Gubres, as he calls them. Their prophet's name, as ſet down by him, was Ebrahim zer-Atencht; he tells us of books he received from heaven, that they contain the religious precepts of theſe people, and that he himſelf has ſeen a great book which was attributed to him. But I muſt deſire the reader to take notice, that I do not arraign Mr. Tavernier's ſincerity as to facts which lay within the compaſs of his judgment; on the contrary, we are perſuaded that he wrote nothing which he did not take to be true, as appears by the following account of their worſhip of the fire, which is the title of one of his ſections: "The Gaurs render no ſuch honours to the fire as agree "with this term of worſhip, they are not idolaters, they ac- "knowledge one God the creator of the heaven and of the "earth, and him only they profeſs to worſhip". In the reſt of his ſections he ſpeaks diſtinctly enough of what he ſaw; but he relates what he heard in ſuch a manner, that a perſon, who knew as little of the matter as he, could not fail of being deceived (16). Sir John Chardin, whom we have often commended, and who, without all queſtion, was one of the moſt intelligent men that ever obliged the public with an account of his travels, ſpeaks very contemptibly of theſe people, and would have us believe there is no ſort of learning amongſt them, but a little aſtrology; he ſays, their prieſts talk confuſedly of their religion, and that they were not poſitive themſelves as to the place where their ſacred fire was kept (17). But though this gentleman was not ſo happy as to meet with intelligent perſons of this religion, others have; and the accounts they have written are clear and ſatisfactory, nay and ſupported by undeniable evidence. M. Le Brun, by the interpoſition of the Engliſh agent, had a converſation with one of their prieſts, from whom he learned many things exactly conformable to what we have delivered. It would therefore be needleſs to inſert that converſation here, but it may not perhaps be amiſs to give the anſwer of the prieſt to M. Le Brun's firſt queſtion, what he thought of the creation of the world and the power of God? He ſaid, he believed God to be the being of beings, a ſpirit of light, above the comprehenſion of human underſtandings, infinite, in all places, almighty, from whom

(16) Tavern. lib. iv. c. viii. p. 480. (17) Chardin, tom. ii. p. 179.

cred fires, on the tops of mountains, and other ſolitary places [x]. It was Zoroaſter, who perſuaded them, for the ſake of preſerving theſe fires more conveniently, to erect over each of them a pyreum, or fire-temple, but this had no relation to Mithra or the ſun, towards whom they could better teſtify their reſpect in the open air, neither did it ſubvert their antient principle, that the lord of the univerſe ought not to be incloſed within walls, for their pyrea did not circumſcribe what they eſteemed an image or ſemblance of the divinity, but only the ſymbol of his purity, and as it were a ſhadow of his nature. The overturning therefore of the Greek temples by Xerxes, and other acts of a like nature, were perfectly conſiſtent with their reverence for fire, and their reſpect for the ſun. Of this though many Greek and Oriental writers were entirely ignorant, and were conſequently prone to miſrepreſent them, yet authors, of great candor and more extenſive knowledge, have acknowledged as much, and teſtify'd to the honour of the Perſians, that they worſhipped only one god, without repreſenting him by any image or picture whatſoever [y].

THE Perſians in early times acknowledged one eternal and omnipotent being, the creator and preſerver of all things; him they called Yezad, Izad, or Izud, alſo Ormuzd,

x Herod. Clio. y Shahriſtan, &c. ap. Hyde, c. iii. p. 105.

whom nothing could be hid, and againſt whoſe will nothing could be done. This conference happened in the month of January 1707 (18). As to the pyrea or fire-temples, they were formerly frequent as pariſh churches in other countries; but ſince the deſtruction of the antient Perſians theſe ſtructures are by no means common. The Perſees content themſelves with ſaying their prayers before their common fires, and their prieſts officiate before them likewiſe. They have, however, fire-temples or fire-chapels ſtill in ſome places, and the chief of them is ſuppoſed to be in the province of Kirman, where there are more Gaurs than in any other part of Perſia. Antiently their temples were ſplendid, and were dedicated not only to the ſun, but to the reſt of the planets, in which, however, there was no more idolatry, than there is in our dedicating churches to this or that ſaint (19).

(18) Le Brun, tom. ii. p. 387. (19) Hyde Relig. veter. Perſ. c. xxix. p. 253.

Ormuzd, Hormuz, or Hormizda; joining this with the modern name they ſay Hormizda Chodâ, O ſupreme god. They acknowledge alſo an evil created being whom they ſtiled Ahariman, Ahreman, or Ahriman and in verſe Ahrimanan, which ſignifies amongſt them the devil. To ſhew their deteſtation of thiswicked being, his name in the antient Perſian books was thus wrote, Ahariman, to intimate, that as he was the implacable and perpetual enemy of mankind, ſo they maintained an everlaſting emnity againſt him and all his works. The modern Perſians call the devil Div [z].

SOME have aſſerted, that the antient Perſians held a co-eternity of theſe two principles, but writers, better acquainted with the true tenets of this nation, agree, that Ahariman was created out of darkneſs, and that Oromaſdes firſt ſubſiſted alone, that by him the light and darkneſs were created, that in the compoſition of this world good and evil are mixed together, and ſo ſhall continue till the end of all things, when each ſhall be ſeparated and reduced to its own ſphere. Plutarch, who was a very ingenious and a very inquiſitive man, hath given us a long account of the doctrines of Zoroaſter, very conformable to what has been already ſaid, and agreeing perfectly well with the religion of the antient patriarchs, except in a few ſtrokes of fable, which were either inſerted by the miſtake of the reporter of that abſtract, or were invented by Zerduſht, to account for thoſe things which ſurpaſs human underſtanding [a]. Some have endeavoured to account for the origin of the prince of darkneſs thus. Oromaſdes, ſay they, ſaid once within his mind, how ſhall my power appear if there be nothing to oppoſe me? this reflection called Ahriman into being, who thenceforward oppoſed all the deſigns of God, and thereby in ſpite of himſelf contributes to his glory. The ſouls of man, according to them, were at firſt unbodied ſpirits, but the almighty, reſolving to make uſe of them in warring againſt Ahriman, clothed them with fleſh, promiſing them, that the light ſhould never forſake them till Ahriman and all his Servants were ſubdued; after which the reſurrection of the dead is to follow with the ſeparation of the light from the darkneſs, and the coming of

z Hyde, c. xi. xiii.

a Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſir.

of the kingdom of peace. To ſay the truth, the notions they have of the beginning of things, the ſtate of our firſt parents, the attempts made on them by the prince of darkneſs, the laſt judgment, the ſalvation of the good and the puniſhment of the bad, differ very little from what is delivered to us in the ſcripture on theſe heads. Only they have a long account of the war between God and the author of evil, which they ſay ended in a complete victory gained over the latter and his adherents, who were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. That the almighty did not annihilate his enemies, becauſe without oppoſition his attributes could not have appeared with ſuch luſtre as they now do. That the world had exiſted three thouſand years before this deciſive battle, the whole of its duration being fixed to twelve thouſand. That after this defeat, God, by holding up three fingers, gave the evil one leave to chuſe which three thouſand years of the nine thouſand yet to come he would pleaſe to take, wherein to trouble and vex mankind; whereupon he choſe the middlemoſt. Before, ſay they, this power was given to Ahriman, man lived in a ſtate of innocence; but that ſince his fall, war, and all other evils, have been introduced; that theſe, however, ſhall in time paſs away, and man live again for a certain ſpace in peace and glory. They place the day of judgment at the end of twenty thouſand years; and as to the demand, they aſſert, that they ſhall be puniſhed according to the heinouſneſs of their crimes, two angels being appointed to be the inſpectors of their ſufferings: at laſt, however, even theſe are to be pardoned, but never to be admitted to the joys of the bleſſed, but to remain in a certain place by themſelves, and to wear in their foreheads a black mark, as the badge of that ſtate from whence through the mercy of God they were freed [b] (G).

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[b] Hyde. c. ix.

(G) In the courſe of ages it is not to be wondered, that falſe notions crept into their religion in ſome places; as among the Magi of Cappadocia, who not only worſhipped with idolatrous circumſtances their ſacred fires, but alſo introduced images in their temples. But that hereſy, which of all others threatened the religion of Zoroaſter moſt was Manecheiſm; for Manes that arch-heretick reſided long in Perſia, and there broached his abſurd notion of two eternal ſelf-exiſtent beings, and by mingling

THE point in which the Perſians differ moſt from us is, as to the manner of God's creating the world, which, they ſay, happened not in ſix days, but in ſix ſeaſons, each ſeaſon containing many days; the firſt of theſe they ſtyle Mid-yuzeram, containing forty-two days; in this, they ſay, the heavens were created with all things belonging to them. The ſecond they ſtile Mid-yuſham, containing ſixty days, wherein the waters were created. The third is by them named Pitiſhahim, including ſeventy five days, in this the earth was made. The fourth they called Iyaſeram, including thirty days, wherein were made the trees. The fifth goes under the name of Midiyarim, containing eighty days, in which all living creatures received being. The laſt they ſtyle Hameſpitamidim, comprehending ſeventy-five days, wherein was made man [c].

IT is now time for us to ſpeak of the rites and ceremonies of the Perſees, antient and modern, in the exerciſe of their religion, and every thing relating thereto. They have a regular clergy, and are very zealous in aſſerting an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of perſons inſtructed in their ſacred myſteries, from the time of Zerduſht to this day. Their ordinary prieſts are obliged to live according to certain rules, much more ſevere than thoſe given to the laity, as the reader will perceive in the note of the next page.

Their

[c] Lord's Religion of the Perſees, c. viii. p. 41.

ling the doctrines of Magiiſm and Chriſtianity, made up a monſtrous ſyſtem of incredible doctrines, attended with very ridiculous practices (20). However, theſe notions were rooted out, as will be hereafter ſhewn, by the authority of the civil magiſtrate, ſo that the preſent Perſees have amongſt them none of theſe whimſical chimeras, but retain the doctrine of their anceſtors in all its purity, and are a religious, as well as a moſt inoffenſive, people, tenacious of their own principles, but complaiſant to other people, though very reſerved, from whence proceed the many miſtakes that have been made about them. When they do ſpeak they never fail to expreſs themſelves in ſuch a manner as fully purges all ſuſpicion of their being idolaters; but they cannot help ſhewing on ſuch occaſions an inveterate diſlike againſt two perſons celebrated by the greateſt part of mankind as heroes and conquerors, but looked on by them as murderers and robbers. Theſe are Alexander the Great and Mohammed, both capital enemies of their country and nation (21).

(20) Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxi. p. 275. (21) Chardin, tom. ii. p. 180.

Their high-prieſts were under ſtill ſtricter obligations, and all of them were bound to diſcharge their ſacerdotal offices with mighty exactneſs and devotion [d]. As to their public worſhip, it was, and is ſtill, thus performed: in every pyreum, or fire-temple, there ſtood an alter, on which burnt the ſacred fire, which was always kept alive by the prieſt. When the people aſſembled in order to their devotion, the prieſt put on a white habit, and a mitre, with a gauſe or cloth paſſing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element: thus he read certain prayers out of the Liturgy, which he held in one hand, ſpeaking very ſoftly, and in a whiſpering ſort of tone, holding in his left hand certain ſmall twigs of a ſacred tree, which, as ſoon as the ſervice was over, he threw into the fire. At theſe times all who were preſent put up their prayers to God, for ſuch things as they ſtood in need of, and when prayers were finiſhed, the prieſt and people withdrew ſilently, and with all other tokens of awful reſpects. All theſe rites are ſtill obſerved. But to prevent, as far as poſſible, the people from falling into idolatry, the prieſt now informs them, when they are going from their devotions, of the reaſons why they worſhip before the fire, and all the obligations they are under to treat it with reverence. This exhortation runs uſually in theſe words: "Foraſmuch as fire was delivered to Zerduſht "by the almighty, as the ſymbol of his majeſty, where-"fore it was required that we ſhould eſteem it holy, and "reſpect it as an emanation from the fountain of light, "and that we ſhould love all things which reſemble it, "eſpecially the ſun and moon, the two great witneſſes of "God, the ſight of which ſhould put us in mind of his "Omniſcience; therefore let us, without ſuperſtition, "keep the command given us, ever more praiſing God "for the great uſefulneſs of this element, and beſeeching "him to make us always bear in mind the obligations "we are under to do our duty towards him, which is as "neceſſary to the health and happineſs of the mind, as "light and fire are to the eaſe and welfare of the "body" [e]. (H) They

[d] Hyde, c. xxviii. Lord's account of the Perſian religion.
[e] Beauchamp's eſſays on important ſubjects, Sect. iii.

(H) Among the antient Magi there were three degrees of prieſts; ordinary prieſts, overſeers of theſe, and an archimagus like our archbiſhop, or rather a metropolitan, who was ac-

THEY keep yearly six festivals, each of five days continuance, in memory of the six seasons, wherein all things were created; after each of these feasts they keep a fast of five days in memory of God's resting five days, as they believe, at each of those seasons. As often as they eat either flesh, fowl, or fish, they carry a small part of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him, that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures in order to their own subsistence. They have none of those out-of-the-way notions relating to cleanness and uncleanness in meats, which expose some religions to ridicule; but as they are a very compliant, as well as inoffensive, people, they abstain from swines-flesh, and from the flesh of kine, that they may neither offend the Mohammedans nor the Banians, among whom they are obliged to live. They eat alone, for the sake of purity and cleanliness; they likewise drink every man out of his own cup [f].

WHEN

[f] Lord's religion of the Persees, p. 40. Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxix.

knowledged for the successor of Zoroaster, and held the supreme head of their church. These in the old Persian language were stiled Mugh, i. e. Magus, Mubad, i. e. superintendant, and Mubad Mubadan, or High-priest (22). Lord, in his account of the religion of the Persians, calls them by other names, viz. Daroos, Herboods, and Distecoos, the last he makes equivalent to Mubad Mubadan, and says there is never any more than one at a time; the chief of the clergy of the Persees. As to the duty of their priests, the same writer tells us that it is comprised in the eleven rules following, viz. 1. The observing of the rites prescribed in the liturgy of Zoroaster, because God is best pleased with that form of prayer which he has prescribed. 2. To keep his eyes from coveting that which is another's; for God having given to every man what seems meet for him in his eyes, to desire that which is another's, is not only shewing a dislike of God's providence, but is likewise affronting him, by challenging that for our due which he hath denied us. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth, for all truth cometh from God, all lies from the devil; all priests therefore should speak truth, because they are the servants of the God of truth, and as such are credited in what they say. 4. To keep close to his business, and not meddle with worldly matters, for it belongs to the layman to see the priest

(22) Hyde, R. V. P. c. xxviii. p. 348.

When their children are initiated into their religion they ſend for a prieſt, and this is uſually done as ſoon as the child is born. The prieſt calculates its nativity; afterwards he aſks what name is to be given it. This being agreed on by the father and its relations, the prieſt telleth it to its mother, who then ſays, my child is called ſo or ſo, with which the ceremony ends at that time. The child is afterwards carried to the Pyreum, where the prieſt firſt pours ſome water into the rind of a holy tree, and thence into the mouth of the child, beſeeching God to cleanſe the tender infant from whatever ſeeds of corruption it may have received from its father, and from the impurities derived from its mother. At ſeven years of age the child is led to church to be confirmed there, the prieſt teaches him ſome prayers, and inſtructs him in the firſt principles of religion. Theſe are repeated daily, till he is well acquainted with the articles of his faith; then he is permitted to pray for the firſt time before the holy fire, after which the prieſt gives him water to drink, and a pomegranate leaf to chew; then he cauſes the lad to waſh his body with clean water, after which he puts on a linen caſſock next his ſkin, which deſcends below his waiſt, and is girt with a girdle of camel's hair, woven by the prieſt's

prieſt wants nothing that is neceſſary, and to the prieſt not to deſire any thing which is ſuperfluous. 5. To get the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to inſtruct the poor layman, and that he may ſee juſt cauſe to reverence his prieſt. 6. To keep himſelf pure and undefiled, becauſe God loves the pure and undefiled, and this way only one man can excel another. 7. To be ready to forgive all injuries, ſhewing himſelf a pattern of meekneſs, that he may be thought one come from God, for we offend God every day, yet he giveth us things that are good, though we deſerve that he ſhould pour on us evil for evil. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, to go and pray with them for public benefits when they deſire it, and to perform conſtantly the known duties of his function. 9. To give licence for marriage to join the man and woman together, and to take care that parents do not marry their children without his approbation. 10. To ſpend the greateſt part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to aſſiſt all who come to him, becauſe thereto God hath appointed him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by Zerduſht, to add nothing thereto, nor to take any thing from it, ſeeing to this end it was revealed (23).

(23) Lord's religion of the Perſees, p. 32.

own hand. Theſe ceremonies over, the prieſt bleſſes him, bids him be a true Perſee all the days of his life, to beware of falling into idolatry, or breaking any of the precepts given by Zerduſht [g] (I). Of their marriages we are told

[g] Lord's religion of the Perſees, p. 45. Hyde, R. V. P. c. XXXIV.

(I) As to the high prieſt, he, over and above the duties enjoined the prieſts in general, is directed to obſerve the following thirteen precepts (24): 1. He muſt have a care of polluting himſelf in any manner, becauſe God hath choſen him to be holy. 2. In order to this he muſt do all things for himſelf, to preſerve himſelf from being contaminated by the uncleanneſs of others, as alſo to ſhew his humility in ſo high a ſtation. He is to take the layman's tythe, i. e. the tenth of all that he has, but not to his own uſe, for he is to conſider himſelf as the almoner of God, who makes uſe of him only to diſpenſe to the poor the tribute paid by the rich. 4. That this may appear to be fairly done, he muſt avoid all pomp and ſuperfluity, and at the year's end muſt give away the laſt farthing, ſince his revenue is ſettled, and always paid with good will. 5. His houſe muſt be near the temple, and he muſt give a good example to his flock, by ſtaying much at home, and by giving himſelf up to prayer. 6. As in his public, ſo in his private, life, he muſt be extremely frugal and temperate in all things. 7. He muſt not only be acquainted with the law, but with all the ſciences, ſeeing he is to inſtruct all others of his religion, clergy and laity. 8. He muſt keep a low diet, becauſe high eating or ſtrong liquors diſturb the faculties of the mind, and diſcompoſe that ſerenity of diſpoſition which ſhould be always found in the man of God. 9. He muſt fear only God, and hate nothing but ſin. 10. As he is ſupreme in all ſpiritual cauſes, he muſt reprove ſinners without any regard to their rank, and they muſt hear him patiently, ſince he ſpeaks not in his own cauſe but God's. 11. He muſt above all things ſtudy to diſtinguiſh truth from error. 12. Though, in conſequence of his high office, he may for his conſolation receive viſions and other manifeſtations from God, yet he is not to publiſh them, for that would but confound the people who are to adhere to the written law. 13. He muſt preſerve the ever living fire brought by Zerduſht from heaven, that it may endure through all ages, till the world ſhall be deſtroyed by that element (25).

It is very poſſible, that the reader in the peruſal of this ſection may incline to wiſh, that in ſome things we had delivered

(24) Hyde, R. v. Perſar, c. xiii. (25) Lord's religion of the Perſees, p. 36.

told by a very intelligent author, that they have five sorts: First, that of children in their minority. Secondly, that of widowers with a second wife. Thirdly, of such persons as marry by their own choice. Fourthly, the marriage of the dead, which is occasioned by an opinion they have entertained, that married people are peculiarly happy in the other world; wherefore, when a young person dies in celibacy, they hire one to be married to him or her, which ceremony is performed a little after the burial. The last kind of marriage is where a person adopts either a son or a daughter, and then gives him or her in marriage, which is also founded on a religious opinion, that all men ought to leave heirs behind them, either natural or adopted. As to the ceremonies made use of on this occasion, they are very singular, but at the same time have nothing in them wild or irrational. The parties, designing to contract matrimony, are seated together on a bed, about midnight, opposite to them stand two priests, the one for the man, the other for the woman, holding rice in their hands, to intimate the fruitfulness which they wish the bridegroom. Things being in this situation, the bridegroom's priest lays his fore-finger on the woman's forehead, and says, Wilt thou have this man to be thy wedded husband? the woman assenting, her priest lays his fore-finger on the man's forehead, and asks the like question, which being answered in the affirmative, the parties then join hands, the man promises that he will provide her a suitable maintenance, the woman acknowledges that all she has is his; the priests then scatter rice over them, wishing that they may be fruitful, and beseeching God that they may have

vered ourselves more copiously, and therefore it may not be amiss to inform him, that in treating of the Persian history, as delivered by oriental writers, we shall take occasion to retouch various points relating to the religion of the antient Persians, because much of their history depends upon them as to inconsiderable customs, such as wearing this or that colour, this or that kind of cap; these we have purposely omitted as deeming them not worthy of being mentioned in so great a work as this. Let us, however, note one thing, that their priests at confirmation sell the youth a girdle, which he is bound to keep all his life long, and to use it constantly, because when he lays it aside, he no longer enjoys the benefit of the priest's benediction. D. Hyde is of opinion, that the English saying, ungirt, unblest, has some allusion to this (26).

(26) Relig. veter. Persar. c. xxxiii.

many ſons and daughters, that they may live in unity of mind, and arrive at a good old age, in poſſeſſion of all the joys of wedloc. The ceremony over, the woman's parents pay the dowry, and a feaſt of eight days is kept for joy of the marriage [h].

As to their burials two things are remarkable, firſt the place; ſecondly, the manner. Firſt, as to the place, they have a round tower erected, on the top of which the bodies of the dead are laid to be devoured by the fowls of the air, ſome affirm, that they have ſeparate towers for the good and for the bad; others, that men, women, and children, are placed on ſeveral towers, the reaſon of thus expoſing them we have elſewhere given, viz. the preſerveing the elements pure, for they conceive that by not intering the dead they avoid polluting the earth, and by leaving the corps unprotected from birds of pray, they provide in ſome meaſure againſt the infection of the air. However, this cuſtom was antiently eſteemed ſo barbarous by other nations, that one of the [i] apologiſts for the chriſtian faith, ſpeaking of the good effects it had on mens minds in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions this expreſly, that the Perſians, ſince they had received the chriſtian doctrines, no more expoſed the bodies of their dead, but afforded them a decent burial. Before we part with this ſubject, it may not be amiſs to obſerve what is practiſed among them, when a man is on his death-bed; a prieſt is in ſuch a caſe always ſent for, and he, drawing near the bed, prayeth thus in the ear of the ſick man; "O Almighty Lord, thou haſt commanded "that we ſhould not offend thee, this man hath offended; "thou haſt ordained that we ſhould do good, yet this "man hath done evil; thou haſt required that we ſhould "duly and exactly worſhip thee, which, however, this "man hath neglected. Now, O merciful God, at the "hour of death forgive him his offences, his miſdeeds; "and his neglects, and receive him to thyſelf!" When he is dead the prieſt comes near to him; but the corpes is put on an iron bier and carried to the place of interment, the bearers being forbid to ſpeak, as they go along, out of decency; and alſo becauſe in the grave there is an unbroken ſilence. The dead body being placed on the tower, the prieſt ſtanding at a diſtance performed the funeral

[h] Lord's religion of the Perſees, p. 48. [i] Theodor. de curand. Græc. affectib. Serm. 9. de Leg. p. 128.

funeral ſervice, which he concludes thus: "This our "brother, while he lived conſiſted of the four elements; "now he is dead, let each take his own; earth to earth, "air to air, water to water, fire to fire." They ſuppoſe, that the ſpirit wanders for three days after its departure from the body, and is in that ſpace purſued and tormented by the devil, till it is able to reach their ſacred fire, to which he cannot come. They therefore pray morning, noon, and night, during theſe three days, for the ſoul of their deceaſed brother, beſeeching God to blot out his ſins, and to cancel all his offences. On the fourth day, ſuppoſing his fate to be decided, they make a great feaſt, which cloſes the ceremonies on this occaſion[k].

UPON ſo copious a ſubject as this, it would have been an eaſy taſk to have taken up twice as much room as has been here employed about it, but the deſire we have of rendering the ſeveral parts of this work conſiſtent with each other, and not to introduce tedious diſſertations into a general hiſtory, induced us rather to run the hazard of being thought too brief, than, by a prolix account of ſo important a part of the Perſian hiſtory, to tire the reader's attention, and perplex what we intended to explain. The curious peruſer, however, may, from the pieces referred to in this account, collect at his leiſure an exact ſyſtem as well of the practical points as of the theoretical tenets of the Perſees, which would certainly prove an entertaining, as well as inſtructive, piece, tho' inconſiſtent with the deſign, in the execution of which we are now engaged.

[k] Lord's religion of the Perſees, p. 49.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Perſia.

AS we know but very little of the ſtate of Perſia before Cyrus's time, we ſhall not pretend to give an account of the kings who preceded that prince. We have already ſhewn[a], that Elam or Perſia was governed in the earlieſt times by its own kings, and thoſe very pow-

[a] Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 4.

erful. Chedorlaomer, the firſt king of Elam mentioned in ſcripture, extended his conqueſts over many provinces of Aſia. For Bera king of Sodom, Birſha king and Gomorrah, Shinab king of Admah, Shemeber king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela or Zoar, were his tributaries [b]. Theſe five princes lived twelve years in ſubjection to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13th uniting their forces made an attempt towards the recovery of their former liberty. The king of Elam no ſooner heard that they were up in arms, but entering into an alliance with Amraphel king of Shinar, Ariech king of Ellaſar and Tidal king of nations, he marched out againſt them, and haveing firſt reduced the Rephaims, the Zuzims, the Emims, the Horites, the Amalekites, and the Amorites of Hazezontamar, at laſt he fell in upon the revolters, put their army to the rout, killed the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and, having pillaged their cities, marched back towards Elam loaded with the ſpoils of the conquered nations. Lot, who, as Joſephus [c] informs us, aſſiſted the Sodomites, had the misfortune to be taken priſoner on this occaſion, and had been carried into captivity, had he not being timely reſcued by Abraham, who, purſuing the enemy with a ſmall body of choſen men, came up with them at Dan the fifth day after their victory, put them to flight, and returned in triumph with his brother and all his family, redeemed from the inſults of a victorious foe. By this overthrow Chedorlaomer loſt the ſovereignty of the Pentapolies, but retained his other conqueſts, which were very conſiderable. From the reign of this prince to that of Cyrus we know nothing to be relied on, but what we have already hinted at in the hiſtory of the Medes, viz. that the Elamites or Perſians were a great and powerful nation, that they were in all likelihood ſubdued by the Aſſyrians, but afterwards recovered their antient liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzer, when they were again brought under ſubjection by that great warrior and his ally Cyaxares king of Media. While they lived in ſubjection to the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Babylonians, the throne was ſtill filled with natives of Perſia, though tributaries to thoſe greater powers. The only royal family we find upon record is, that of Achæmenes, which

[b] Gen. xiv. 4 & Joſeph. antiquit. l. i. c. 10. [c] Joſeph. antiquit. l. ii. c. 10.

which muſt have been very conſpicuous, ſince Xerxes, when at the height of his glory, was proud to derive from thence his pedigree, which he does in the following manner [d].

Achæmenes.	Teiſpes.	Hyſtaſpes.
Cambyſes.	Ariaramne.	Darius.
Cyrus.	Arſames.	Xerxes.

Of this great family there were two branches; from the firſt was deſcended Cyrus the great, whoſe iſſue-mail failed in his two ſons Cambyſes and Smerdis. Some place the kings of this race in the following manner [e].

Perſes.	Cyrus.	Cambyſes.
Achæmenes.	Cambyſes.	Smerdis.
Darius.	Cyrus the Great.	

They will have Perſes, of whom, ſay they, Perſia borrowed its name, to be the firſt of this family that reigned in Perſia. We are told, that Achæmenes was nurſed by an eagle [f]; and of this fabulous eagle the no leſs fabulous wolf of Romulus was perhaps a copy. Darius is mentioned by Herodotus [g], and ſuppoſed by ſome to have coined the famous Darics or Stateres Darici, which ſuppoſition is diſproved by Herodotus [h], telling us, that the Perſians had neither gold nor ſilver before the conqueſt of Lydia. Cyrus had two children, Cambyſes and Atoſſa; Atoſſa married Pharnaces king of Cappadocia [i], and Cambyſes Mandane, the ſo much celebrated daughter of Aſtyages king of Media, by whom he had Cyrus the Great (A) But as nothing occurs worthy of notice in the hiſtory of the Perſian kings before Cyrus, we ſhall proceed

[d] Herodot. l. vii. [e] Reinecc. hiſt. jul. p. 37. [f] Ælian. de animal. l. xii. c. 21. [g] Herodot. l. i. [h] Herodot. l. i. c. 71. [i] Diodor Sicul. in Fragm. l. xxxi.

(A) Ovid. (1) mentions one Orchamus king of Perſia, and makes him the 7th after Belus,

Rexit Achæmenas urbes pater Orchamus, iſque.
Septimus a priſco numeratur origine Belo.

As this king is no where to be found but in Ovid's metamorphoſes, what is ſaid of him deſerves no more credit than they do.

(1) Ovid. Metam. l. iv.

ceed without dwelling on ſo barren a ſubject, to the reign of that great and glorious prince.

Cyrus. THE name of Cyrus is equally famous in ſacred and prophane hiſtory; in the latter his valour and conqueſts have rendered his memory immortal, as has in the former his kind treatment of the captive Hebrews, whom he reſtored to their antient ſtate, country, and temple, having been appointed for that by name [k] many years before he appeared in the world; an honour beſtowed upon none, but him and that excellent prince Joſiah [l] king of Judah. Profane hiſtorians are at no ſmall variance with each other touching the birth of this prince, his education and acceſſion to the crown. Herodotus and Xenephon are the only two origin authors, as we may call them, whom we can quote and follow, in what relates to the life and exploits of this prince; for other writers have copied after them, ſome adopting the accounts of the one, and ſome of the other. They are both very minute in their relations, and agree in ſome particulars, but widely differ in others. We ſhall in the firſt place hear Herodotus, the father of hiſtory as Tully calls him; but whether his accounts be genuine, or rather interwoven, and ſeaſoned to the Greek taſte, with ſeveral fabulous and ſurprizing incidents, is what we ſhall examine afterwards.

Account of the birth, education, &c. of Cyrus, according to Herodotus.

ASTYAGES, the laſt king of the Medes, being warned by a dream, that the ſon, who was to be born of his daughter Mandane, ſhould one day be lord of all Aſia, reſolved to marry her, not to a Mede worthy of her bed, but to a Perſian; and accordingly choſe one Cambyſes, ſprung from an antient family, but of a peaceable diſpoſition, and, as he thought, inferior in rank to a Mede, even of a midling condition. A year after they were married, Aſtyages was frightned by another dream portending anew, according to the interpretation of the Mages, the empire of Aſia to his grandſon (B). Hereupon Aſtyages ſends for his daughter then big with child, and upon her arrival in Media puts her under a guard, determined to deſtroy the child ſhe ſhould be delivered of; for the Ma-

ges

[k] Iſa. xliv. 28. & xlv. 1. [l] 1 Kings xiii. 2.

(B) His firſt dream was, that his daughter Mandane had voided ſo great a quantity of water as not only filled the metropolis of the kingdom, but overflowed all Aſia. In the other he ſaw a vine ſhooting from the womb of his daughter, and extending its branches over all Aſia.

ges had aſſured him, that the iſſue of his daughter was to fill his throne. Mandane, not long after her confinement, was brought to bed of a ſon, whom Aſtyages, mindful of the interpretation of the Mages, delivered to one Harpagus, enjoining him, as he tendered his own life, to take the new-born ſon of Mandane, to carry him to his houſe, and there diſpatch him with his own hands, in what manner he ſhould think beſt. Harpagus promiſed to put the king's orders in execution, and having received from the guards the infant richly dreſſed, went home under great concern, as ſeeing himſelf employed in ſo cruel and inhuman an office. He acquainted his wife as ſoon as he came home with what had paſſed between Aſtyages and himſelf, and reſolved not to execute the ſentence with his own hands, but to transfer his charge to another. With this deſign he immediately ſent for one of the king's herdſmen, who kept his cattle in paſtures lying at the foot of certain mountains, on the north of Ecbatan, towards the Caſpian ſea. The herdſman's name was Mitradates, and his wife's, in the language of the Medes, Spaco, which ſignifies a Bitch, and anſwers her Greek name Cyno. Mitradates, without delay, waited upon Harpagus, who commanded him, in the king's name, to take the infant and expoſe it in the moſt dangerous and abandoned part of the mountains, upon pain of dying in the moſt exquiſite tortures that could be invented. He added, that the king had charged him to ſee his orders put in execution. The herdſman not daring to make any remonſtrance againſt the king's commands, returned with the child to his cottage, where he found his wife juſt delivered of a ſon. During her husband's abſence, ſhe had been in great trouble and preplexity, on account of the meſſage from Harpagus, who had never before ſent for him; and therefore he no ſooner ſet his foot within the door, but ſhe aſked him in great ſurprize, why Harpagus had ſent for him in ſuch haſte? He told her that he had been in the city, where he had heard and ſeen ſuch things as grieved him beyond expreſſion; that when he arrived, the houſe of Harpagus was all in tears, and that as he went in, he was ſtruck with horror in ſeeing an infant, dreſſed in gold and the richeſt colours, panting and crying on the floor; that Harpagus had commanded him to carry away this child, and expoſe it on the mountains to the mercy of the wild beaſts, upon pain of incurring the king's diſpleaſure and undergoing the ſevereſt puniſhments that could be inflicted; that at firſt he had

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed the unhappy infant to belong to ſome perſon of the family of Harpagus, but that he had been afterwards informed by the ſervant that attended him out of the city, and delivered the babe into his hands, that it was born of Mandane the king's daughter, and ſon to Cambyſes of Perſia, and that Aſtyages had commanded it ſhould be put to death [l].

HAVING thus ſpoke, he diſcloſed the child to his wife, who no ſooner ſaw it, but being raviſhed with the innocent ſmiles of the infant, ſhe embraced her huſband, and with many tears entreated him not to execute the orders he had received. But he remonſtrating the abſolute neceſſity he was under of obeying or forfeiting his own life, ſince the ſpies of Harpagus would without fail keep a watchful eye over him, and ſee whither he performed what had been ſo ſtrictly enjoyned him, ſhe ſuggeſted to him to take their own child that was ſtill-born, to expoſe it inſtead of the other, and bring up the ſon of Mandane as their own; for, by that means, ſaid ſhe, we ſhall ſufficiently conſult our own ſafety without injuring others; the dead child will be honoured with a royal ſepulchre, and the ſerviving infant be preſerved from an untimely death [m].

MITRADATES approved of this expedient and delivering the infant he was charged to deſtroy into his wife's hands, dreſſed the dead child in the rich apparel of the living, and carried it in the ſame baſket, in which he had brought the other, to the moſt unfrequented part of the mountains. Three days after, he acquainted Harpagus, that, if he pleaſed, he could ſhew him the dead body of the infant, and he accordingly diſpatched ſome of his friends, in whom he moſt confided, to ſee that the ſentence had been put in execution, and to inter the royal infant. Thus was Cyrus, for ſo was the infant afterwards called, delivered from the ſnares of his grandfather, and educated by the herdſman's wife as her own [n].

WHEN he attained to the age of ten years, as he was one day playing in the paſtures with other children of his age, he was choſen king by his companions, and in virtue of that dignity having diſtinguiſhed them into ſeveral orders and claſſes, the ſon of Artembares, a lord of eminent

[l] Herodot. l. i. c. 107. & ſeq.
[m] Herodot. ubi ſupra.
[n] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

nent dignity among the Medes, who was one of his companions in the play, refuſed to obey his orders. Whereupon Cyrus commanded him to be immediately ſeized and whipt very ſeverely. The boy with many tears complained to his father of what he had ſuffered from the herdſman's ſon, and the father highly reſenting the affront, haſtened with his ſon to the king's palace, and ſhewing the prince in what a cruel and ignominious manner his ſon had been abuſed by the ſon of a ſlave, entreated him to avenge, by ſome very exemplary puniſhment the indignity offered to him and his whole family. Aſtyages promiſed to give him full ſatisfaction, and commanding both the herdſman and his ſon to be brought before him, aſked Cyrus how he, who was the ſon of ſo mean a man, had dared to abuſe the ſon of one of the chief lords in the kingdom? Cyrus replied that he had done no more than he had a right to do, for the boys of the neighbourhood having made him their king, becauſe they thought him the moſt worthy of that dignity, and performed what he, veſted with that character, had commanded, the ſon of Artembares alone had ſlighted his orders, and for his diſobedience ſuffered the puniſhment he deſerved. As the boy was pleading his cauſe with an eloquence far ſuperior to his years and education, Aſtyages took particular notice of his mein and features, and thinking that he reſembled himſelf, began to reflect on the time that his grandſon was expoſed, which he found to agree with the age of the herdſman's ſuppoſed ſon. Being perplexed with this thought, he diſmiſſed Artembares, aſſuring him, that his ſon ſhould have no cauſe to complain, and commanded his guards to conduct Cyrus into the palace. Being then in private with the herdſman, he aſked whoſe boy Cyrus was, and from whoſe hands he had him? Mitradates affirmed, that he was his own child, and that the boy's mother, who was ſtill living, would come, if he pleaſed, to atteſt it. But Aſtyages, giving no credit to what he averred, commanded his guards to ſeize him, whereupon he diſcovered, without reſerve, the whole matter, and implored the king's mercy [o].

ASTYAGES was not ſo much incenſed againſt the herdſman, as againſt his favourite Harpagus, whom he ordered the guards to bring without delay to the palace. Upon his arrival, the king in a violent paſſion aſked him in what manner

[o] Idem, ibid.

manner he had put to death the son of his daughter Mandane. When Harpagus saw the herdsman, he thought he should but aggravate his crime, by attempting to elude the storm that threatned him, by any sort of falshood, and therefore openly confessed what he had done; adding, that he thought he had taken the most effectual means he could to put his orders in execution, and that he truly believed the child was dead, since the most trusty among his friends had assured him, that they had seen and interred the body [p].

Astyages, dissembling his resentment, acquainted Harpagus with what the herdsman had confessed, adding, that the child was still alive, and that he was very well pleased his orders had not been executed; for he had been under great concern ever since he issued that cruel command, and had not been able to bear the reproaches of his daughter. He then ordered Harpagus to send his son to wait on the young Cyrus, and to come himself that night to sup with him, since he intended to offer a sacrifice to the gods, in thanksgiving for the care they had taken of his grandson [q].

Harpagus, overjoyed at the king's speech, returned home, and acquainting his wife with what had passed, immediately sent his only son to attend Cyrus, as he had been commanded. His son, who was about 30 years old, no sooner entered the palace, but he was seized, barbarously murdered, and cut in pieces by order of Astyages, who gave directions that the mangled body, variously dressed and disguised, should be served up at supper. Harpagus and the rest of the guests repaired to the palace at the hour appointed; the others were splendidly entertained, but the table, where Harpagus supped, was served only with the flesh of his son. When he had done, the king asked him whether he had been pleased with his victuals; and Harpagus answering, that he had never tasted any thing more delicious, the officers appointed for that purpose brought in a basket containing the head, hands, and feet of his son, desiring him to uncover the basket and take what he liked best. He did as they desired, and beheld the remains of his only child, without betraying any sort of concern or resentment at so shocking a sight; such was the command he had of his passions. The king enquired whether he knew with what kind of meat he had been entertained?

Harpagus

[p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid.

Harpagus replyed, he knew very well, and was always pleaſed with whatever his ſovereign thought fit to ordain. Having thus replyed, with a ſurprizing temper, he collected the mangled parts of his innocent ſon, and went home, as our author conjectures, to inter them [r]

ASTYAGES, having thus vented his rage upon the unfortunate Harpagus, began to conſider with himſelf what he ſhould do with Cyrus; and having again conſulted the Mages, the anſwer was, that if the boy lived, he muſt of neceſſity be king. Aſtyages then acquainted them, that he was ſtill alive, adding, as a very material circumſtance, that he had been choſen king by the boys of the neighbourhood where he lived, and performed all the parts of a real king with the utmoſt rigor and ſeverity. Hereupon the Mages replied, that the prediction of his reign was already accompliſhed, in the choice which the boys had made of him for their king, and that he would never reign a ſecond time; for dreams, ſaid they, often end in things of ſmall importance, and are filled by trifling events. They adviſed him therefore to diveſt himſelf of all fear, and ſend the boy to his parents in Perſia [s].

ASTYAGES, well pleaſed with this anſwer, called Cyrus, and owning how much he had been wanting in the affection, which he ought naturally to have had for him, by reaſon of an inſignificant dream, deſired him to get ready for a journey into Perſia, where he would find his real father and mother, in circumſtances very different from thoſe of the poor herdſman Mitradates and his wife Spaco [t].

THUS Aſtyages, after many kind expreſſions, diſmiſſed his young grandſon attended by ſeveral lords of the firſt rank. Upon his arrival at his father's houſe, he was received by his parents with a tenderneſs and joy, which it is more eaſy to conceive than expreſs. As they had long given him over for dead, they aſked him in what manner his life had been preſerved. He then acquainted them, that he had lived in an entire ignorance of his condition, and had been unacquainted with his true birth, believing himſelf the ſon of the king's herdſman, till thoſe, who attended him on his journey into Perſia, informed him of all that had paſſed. He related how he had been educated by the herdſman's wife, and frequently repeating the name of Cyno, commended her on all occaſions. And this

[r] Idem, ibid. [s] Idem, ibid. [t] Idem, ibid.

this name his parents made use of, as our author informs us, to persuade the Persians, that the preservation of their son was in a very particular manner owing to the immortal gods, since he had been nourished, as they industriously spread abroad and was commonly believed, by a bitch [u].

When Cyrus attained to the age of manhood, and was become very popular in his own country, and famous in Media on account of his extraordinary parts, Harpagus, who had never forgot the inhuman murder of his son, began to court his friendship, with a design to join with him, who had been equally injured, in revenging so barbarous a treatment. At the same time, he solicited the leading men among the Medes, who were highly dissatisfied with the tyrannical government of Astyages, to take up arms, and redeem themselves and their unhappy country from the calamities they groaned under, by deposing Astyages, and advancing his grandson Cyrus to the throne. They all to a man shewed themselves disposed to second his designs; whereupon he thought it high time to discover his intentions to Cyrus, who was to act the chief part in this revolution. And accordingly, he acquainted him with them by a letter, which, as all the roads leading to Persia were guarded by the king's troops, he conveyed to him in the belly of a hare; the hare he delivered to one of his most trusty domestics, dressed in the habit of a hunter, enjoining him to desire Cyrus not to open the letter in the presence of any person whatsoever [w].

The messenger executed his orders, and Cyrus opening the hare with his own hands, found a letter, reminding him of the care which the gods had had of his preservation, against the wicked designs and barbarous attempts of his grandfather, and encouraging him to stir up the Persians to a revolt, and at the head of their forces to invade Media, where all the chief commanders were ready to join him, and determined, at all events, to advance him to the throne, instead of his unnatural grandfather. He took care to put him in mind of what he had suffered on his account, and how barbarously he had been punished for not executing the king's bloody orders. Cyrus having read the letter, began to consider what measures he should take to induce the Persians to revolt, and, after various schemes, fixed upon the following as the most proper. He feigned a letter from Astyages, appointing him comman-

[u] Idem, ibid. [w] Idem, ibid.

commander in chief of all the Perſian forces; this he read in a general aſſembly of the nation, and in virtue of his new commiſſion commanded them all to attend him, every man with a hatchet. He was obeyed, and being all met in purſuance to his orders, he enjoined them to clear in one day a ſpot of ground, containing 18 or 20 furlongs, over-grown with thorns and briars. This laborious piece of work being performed, not without ſome reluctancy, he diſmiſſed them with orders to attend him again the next day. In the mean time, he cauſed all his father's flocks and herds to be killed and dreſſed, provided wine, and bought all the dainties Perſia could ſupply him with. They all aſſembled the next day, expecting to be employed as they had been the day before. But, contrary to their expectation, Cyrus ordered them to ſit down on the green turf, and entertained them with a great feaſt. When they had ſolaced themſelves with dainties, which to that time they had been ſtrangers to, the young prince aſked them, whether they would chuſe to live always in that manner, or as they had done the day before? They all anſwered readily, that as they preferred mirth and pleaſure to toil and labour, ſo they did the condition of the preſent day to that of the precedent. Upon this anſwer Cyrus acquainted them, that if they hearkened to his advice they ſhould enjoy theſe and far greater pleaſures, without any kind of ſervile labour; but, if they refuſed to follow him, they muſt undergo innumerable hardſhips, like thoſe they had complained of the day before. He then diſcloſed to them his true deſign of delivering his country from the Median bondage, and encouraged his countrymen to join him in ſo great and glorious an enterprize, by telling them, that ſome divine power had brought him into the world, and miraculouſly ſaved his life, that he might be one day the author of their happineſs. The Perſians, who had lived for many years, with the utmoſt reluctancy, in ſubjection to the Medes, declared him with one accord their leader, and proteſted, that they would ſtand by him in ſo good a cauſe, even at the expence of their lives.

In the mean time, Aſtyages, being informed of what was doing in Perſia, diſpatched a meſſenger to Cyrus, enjoining him to repair forthwith into Media; but Cyrus by the ſame meſſenger returned this reſolute anſwer, That he would come ſooner than Aſtyages deſired. Whereupon the king drew together all his forces, and forgetful of his

cruelty towards Harpagus, appointed him general of the army. The two nations came to a general engagement; but the chief officers among the Medes paſſing over to Cyrus, with the bodies under their command, the reſt of the army was routed with great ſlaughter. When Aſtyages heard of this defeat, he flew into a violent paſſion, and vowing that Cyrus ſhould not long enjoy the pleaſure of his victory, he firſt cauſed the Mages, who had interpreted his dream, to be impaled, and then arming all the Medes, marched out himſelf at the head of them. Both armies came to a ſecond engagement, in which the Medes were again defeated, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. Aſtyages in this ſtate was reproached and inſulted by the revengeful Harpagus, who among other things aſked him, what he now thought of his tragical feaſt, when he compelled him to devour the fleſh of his own ſon, for which inhuman and barbarous action he had now fallen from the throne to a priſon. Aſtyages in return, fixing his eyes on Harpagus, aſked him whether he had been inſtrumental in bringing about this revolution. He anſwered, that is was chiefly owing to him, ſince he had the firſt encouraged Cyrus to this undertaking. Then, replyed Aſtyages, you are the weakeſt and moſt unjuſt of all men: the weakeſt, in giving the kingdom to another, when you might have ſeized on it yourſelf, ſince you have been able to effect this change; the moſt unjuſt, in inſlaving your country to revenge a private injury. For if you were determined to depoſe me and confer the kingdom for another without taking the power in your own hands, you might with more juſtice have advanced a Mede to that dignity than a Perſian. Whereas the Medes, who were before lords of Perſia, and noways concerned in the injury, are now by your means reduced to the condition of ſlaves, and the Perſians who were ſervants to the Medes, are now become their lords. In this manner, concludes our author, Aſtyages was deprived of the kingdom after he had reigned 35 years, and through his cruelty the Medes became ſubject to the Perſians, after they had ruled over all thoſe provinces of Aſia that lie on the other ſide of the Halys for the ſpace of 128 years, including the time of the Scythian dominion over that part of Aſia. As for Aſtyages, Cyrus kept him priſoner in his palace, till he died, without practiſing any farther ſeverity upon him [x].

THIS

[x] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

THIS is the account which Herodotus gives us, and every impartial and judicious reader must conclude to be an arrant romance, composed, perhaps, by some admirer of Cyrus, and adopted by our author as more agreeable to the depraved taste of his countrymen, who took more delight in surprizing, tho' fabulous, events, than in the relation of plain historical truths.

WHAT the same author relates of the death of this great hero, deserves, in our opinion, no more credit, than what he has told us of his birth, education, and advancement to the crown. This prince, according to him[y], invaded the Massagetes, and having in the first battle feigned a flight, left a great quantity of provisions, especially of wine, in the field. The barbarians did not fail to seize on the booty, and indulged themselves in drinking to such an excess, that they all fell asleep on the spot. In this condition Cyrus returned upon them, obtained an easy victory, and took a great many prisoners, among whom was Spargapises the son of queen Tomyris. This heroine, being informed of the defeat of her troops and captivity of her son, sent a herald to Cyrus, entreating him to release the young prince; which he refusing to do, Spargapises, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on himself. Whereupon his mother Tomyris, animated with an eager desire of revenge, gave the Persians battle a second time, which, says our author, was the most obstinate and bloody that ever was fought by the barbarians. many fell on both sides; but at last the Massagetes carrying the day, the greatest part of the Persian army was cut in pieces, and Cyrus himself killed in the field, after having reigned 29 years. Tomyris, having found his body among the slain, caused his head to be cut off, and thrown into a vessel filled with human blood, insulting the memory of the dead prince with these words, Glut thy self with the blood which thou hast so insatiably thirsted after.

WHAT the same historian relates of his childish revenge upon the river Gyndes (C), while he was on his march to besiege Babylon, is utterly repugnant to the idea we have of that wise and experienced commander. For he tells us, that one of the sacred horses of Cyrus being

[y] Herodot. l. i. c. 214.

(C) The river Gyndes rises on the hills of Matiene, and passing through Dardania falls into the Tigris.

drowned in that river, the prince, highly reſenting ſuch an affront, immediately cauſed the Gyndes to be cut by his army into 360 channels; a work which employed his army the whole ſummer, and obliged him to poſtpone the ſiege of Babylon to the ſpring enſuing. Who can imagine, that a commander of ſo great experience and ſuch an extraordinary moderation, as Cyrus is, even by Herodotus himſelf, repreſented to have been, while he was marching to the conqueſt of Babylon, ſhould ſo idely waſte his time, and ſpend the ardour of his troops, in ſuch an unprofitable piece of work?

We ſhall now give what we look upon as the true hiſtory of Cyrus, being extracted out of Xenophon, whom we chuſe to follow in what concerns that great conqueror and excellent prince, ſeeing his accounts are far more agreeable to holy writ, the ſtandard of truth, than thoſe of Herodotus. We are told, for inſtance, in ſcripture, that the Babylonians were reduced by the united forces of the Medes and Perſians, and this is what we read in Xenophon: whereas Herodotus raiſes the Perſian empire on the ruins of that of the Medes, which is repugnant to ſcripture. It is true, that moſt of the ancients have choſen to follow Herodotus rather than Xenophon; but that we can eaſily account for. The relations of the former are interwoven with events far more ſtrange and ſurprizing, and conſequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader; whence they were preferred to thoſe of the latter, in which we find nothing calculated to raiſe admiration. This natural inclination in a writer to adopt ſuch accounts as he thinks will prove moſt agreeable to the reader, has been greatly countenanced by Plato [z], who, in giving a character of Xenophon's Cyropædia, tells us, that he rather deſcribed in that work what a worthy and juſt prince ought to be, than give us a true hiſtory of what that prince really was. From this paſſage Diogenes Laertius concludes [a], that Plato looked on the inſtitution of Cyrus as a fiction. Tully paſſes the ſame judgment on this performance, ſaying [b], that Xenophon's Cyrus was not intended for a true hiſtory, but to ſerve as a model of a juſt empire. Moſt of the modern critics have declared themſelves of the ſame opinion; and we muſt own, that as Xenophon was both a great commander and philoſopher he has woven into that hiſtory ma-

ny

[z] Plato de legib. l. iii. [a] Diog. Laer. in vit. philoſoph. [b] Epiſt. i. ad quintum fratrem.

ny of his own maxims of war and policy. But it does not follow from hence, that the ground-plot of the work, and the moſt material tranſactions he relates, may not be called a true hiſtory. That he intended it for ſuch, is plain; for in the very beginning of the work he acquaints us, that he had taken great care and pains to inform himſelf of Cyrus's birth, education, and character; and that it is really ſuch, its conformity with holy writ ſufficiently ſhews. Wherefore bating his military and political deſcants and digreſſions, the remaining part, bare matters of fact, is to be looked upon as a true hiſtory. He was eſteemed by the ancients [c] a writer of great judgment and penetration, and, having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote concerning that great prince, than Herodotus could have; and as he confined himſelf to this ſubject alone, no doubt but he examined all matters relating to it, with more care and exactneſs than the other, who wrote of ſo many different ſubjects and nations. And theſe are the motives that have induced us to follow Xenophon in what relates to Cyrus, rather than Herodotus or thoſe who have copied after him (D).

The true hiſtory of Cyrus. Year of the Flood 2400. Before Chriſt, 599.

Cyrus was the ſon of Cambyſes, king of Perſia, and of Mandane, the daughter of Aſtyages king of the Medes (E). He was born a year after his uncle Cyaxares the brother of Mandane. He lived the firſt twelve years of his life with his parents in Perſia, where he was educated after the Perſian manner, and inured to hardſhips and ſuch exerciſes as might enable himto go through the toils and fatigues of war (F). When he was twelve years old his mother Mandane took him with her into Media to his grandfather

[c] See Diog. Laert. in vit Xenophon.

(D) Scaliger thinks, that the Cyropædia contains nothing but fables and fictions, if we except two or three events, which are related alſo by Herodotus; and Eraſmus will not even allow Xenophon to have given us an exact model of a juſt government, but rather to have drawn a cunning and deceitful prince: ſo fond are they of the ſurprizing incidents related by his antagoniſt Herodotus.

(E) Both Herodotus and Xenophon agree in this, viz. that the mother of Cyrus was Mandane daughter to Aſtyages; but Cteſias would have us believe, that Cyrus was no ways related to Aſtyages, or Aſtigas as he is pleaſed to call him.

(F) The name of Perſia at that time extended only to one province of that large empire, which was afterwards known by the

Aſtyages, who, from the many things he had heard of that young prince, had a deſire to ſee him. During the time of his reſidence at this court, the ſweetneſs of his temper, his generous behaviour, and conſtant endeavour to oblige all, gained him the affections of the Medes, and ſuch an intereſt among the leading men of that nation, as did afterwards much contribute to the erecting of the great empire he founded [d].

When Cyrus was about ſixteen years of age, Evil-merodach, the ſon of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, being abroad on a hunting-match a little before his marriage, to ſhew his bravery, made an inroad into the territories of the Medes, which drew out Aſtyages with his forces to oppoſe the invader. On this occaſion Cyrus attending his grandfather firſt entered the ſchool of war, and behaved ſo well, that the victory, which the Medes gained over the Babylonians, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year he returned to his father in Perſia, where he remained till he was forty years of age, when he was recalled to the aſſiſtance of his uncle Cyaxares [e].

Astyages king of the Medes was ſucceeded, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of that people, by his ſon Cyaxares brother to Mandane Cyrus's mother. This prince was ſcarce warm on his throne, when he was informed, that Nerigliſſar king of Babylon was preparing a powerful army to invade Media, that he had already engaged ſeveral princes on his ſide, and amongſt others Crœſus king of Lydia, and that he had diſpatched ambaſſadors into Cappadocia, Phrygia, Caria, paphlagonia, Cilicia, and even to the Indies, to inſtil jealouſies into the ſeveral princes of theſe countries, and to ſtir them up againſt the Medes and Perſians, as aſpiring to an univerſal monarchy. Cyaxares therefore called Cyrus out of Perſia to his aſſiſtance, and, upon his arrival with a body 30000 Perſians, appointed him commander in chief both of the Medes and Perſians [f] (G).

He

[d] Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 36. [e] Idem, ibid. p. 44, 45, &c. [f] Idem, ibid. p. 58.

the name of Perſia. For the whole Perſian nation could at that time raiſe but 120,000 men (2). But after the conqueſts of Cyrus, it took in that vaſt tract, which extended eaſt and weſt from the Indus to the Tigris, and north and ſouth from the Caſpian ſea to the ocean.

(G) This army conſiſted of 30,000 men, all infantry, for the Perſians had yet no cavalry; but they were all choſen men, and raiſed

(2) Cyropæd. l. 1.

He had not been long in Media before Cyaxares had occaſion to employ him. The king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in ſubjection to the Medes, looking upon them as ready to be ſwallowed up, by the powerful alliance formed againſt them, thought fit to lay hold of that opportunity and ſhake off the yoke. Accordingly he refuſed to pay the uſual tribute, and to ſend his quota of auxiliaries, which he was obliged to furniſh in time of war. As this was a matter of dangerous conſequence, and which might prompt other dependant ſtates to do the ſame, Cyrus thought it neceſſary to cruſh this revolt with the utmoſt expedition, and therefore marching immediately with a choſen body of horſe, and covering his deſign, as if he intended only to hunt on the hills of Armenia, he entered that country, before the inhabitantst had any intelligence of his march, ſurprized the king and all his family, and having obliged him to pay the uſual tribute and ſend his quota of auxiliaries, reſtored him to his kingdom, and returned in triumph to his army in Media [g].

Both parties had now been employed three years together in forming their alliances, and making preparations of war. In the beginning of the 4th year the confederate armies on both ſides took the field, and being come in ſight of each other, the Babylonians under Nerigliſſar their king encamped and fortified themſelves with ſtrong intrenchments, while the Medes and Perſians under the command of Cyrus covered themſelves with the neighbouring hills and villages. In this poſture they continued for ſome days, till at length the Babylonians leaving their

[g] Idem lib. 3. p. 62——76.

raiſed after a particular manner. Firſt of all Cyrus choſe out of the nobility 201 officers: each of theſe was ordered to chuſe four more of the ſame rank which made a thouſand in all; and theſe were called ὁμότιμοι or men of the ſame dignity, and eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves on all occaſions. Every one of theſe was ordered to raiſe among the people ten pike-men lightly armed, ten ſlingers, and ten bow-men; which amounted in the whole to 31000 men (3). From the year in which Cyrus, arriving in Media at the head of theſe troops, was veſted with the command of the confederate army, thoſe begin their computation, who will have this prince to have reigned thirty years. For from this time he was looked upon by all foreign nations as king of Perſia and Media, though the regal power was ſolely in Cyaxares, and Cyrus was only general of the united forces,

(3) Idem. Ibid.

intrenchments, and drawing themſelves up in battle-array, Cyrus advanced to attack them. On the ſide of the Aſſyrians, the bow-men and ſlingers made their diſcharge before the enemy was within reach. But the Perſians, animated by the preſence and example of Cyrus, immediately cloſed in with the enemy, and broke through their battalions. The Babylonians, notwithſtanding all the efforts uſed by Crœſus and their own king, were not able to ſtand ſo rude a ſhock, but immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. At the ſame time the, cavalry of the Medes fell upon the enemies horſe, which was likewiſe put to the rout. Cyrus purſued them cloſe to their intrenchments, but, not thinking himſelf in a condition to force them, ſounded the retreat, In this battle Nerigliſſar king of the Babylonians was killed; whereupon Crœſus king of Lydia, as being in dignity next to him, took the command of the conquered army, and made as good a retreat as he could. But the next day Cyrus returned to the charge, drove the Babylonians from their camp, and with the aſſiſtance of the Hyrcanians, who had revolted to him the night before, took a great many priſoners and the baggage of the whole army [h]. Cyrus reſerved all the horſes that were taken for himſelf, in order to form a body of cavalry for the Perſian army, which hitherto they had wanted. The richeſt and moſt valuable part of the booty he ſet apart for Cyaxeres; and as for the priſoners, he allowed them to return home to their reſpective countries, without impoſing any other condition upon them, than that they ſhould deliver up their and engage no more againſt him and his allies [i].

Babylonians defeated.

Nerigliſſar killed.

THE death of Nerigliſſar was a great loſs to the Babylonians; for he was a prince of great courage, conduct, and wiſdom, the preparations he made for the war ſhewed his wiſdom, and his dying in it his valour. But nothing made the Babylonians more ſenſible of the loſs they had ſuffered, than the tyrannical government of his ſon and ſucceſſor Laboroſoarchod, who was in every thing quite the reverſe of his father, being addicted to all manner of wickedneſs, cruelty, and injuſtice. Two acts of his cruelty towards two Babylonian lords, Gobrias and Gadates, are particularly mentioned, as having provoked them to join Cyrus, and be very inſtrumental in the ſubverſion of the Babylonian empire. The only ſon of the former

[h] Idem, l. iv. p. 87—104. [i] Idem, ibid.

former he ſlew at a hunting match, to which he had invited him, for no other reaſon, but that he pierced with his dart a wild beaſt which the king had miſſed. The other he cauſed to be made an eunuch, becauſe one of his concubines had commended him as an handſome man. Theſe acts of tyranny drove the two noblemen, with the provinces they governed, over to Cyrus, and haſtened the conqueſt of Babylon. For Cyrus, encouraged hereby, determined to penetrate into the very heart of the enemy's country, and having taken poſſeſſion of the provinces, caſtles, and ſtrong-holds, which the two injured princes had been truſted with, he got a footing in Aſſyria, which greatly contributed to the reduction of Babylon itſelf. The king took the field againſt Gadates, but being met by Cyrus he was put to flight, and obliged to retire with great ſlaughter to his metropolis. Cyrus, having thus ſpent the ſummer in ravaging the enemy's country, and ſhewn himſelf twice before the walls of Babylon, in order to provoke the king to battle, marched back into Media, and on his march took three ſtrong-holds on the frontiers [k].

As ſoon as Cyrus was retired, Loboroſoarchod, being now in no dread of the enemy, gave looſe to all the wicked inclinations that were predominant in him, inſomuch, that his own ſubjects, not being able to bear any longer his tyrannical government, conſpired againſt him, and murdered him in the ninth month of his reign[l]. Nabonadius, who had the chief hand in the murder, was placed on the throne, and had he been left to himſelf, the Babylonians would not have bettered their condition by the change. But his mother, who was a woman of extraordinary parts, took the main burden of public affairs upon herſelf, and, while her ſon followed his pleaſures, did all that could be done by human prudence to preſerve the tottering empire. She perfected the works which Nebuchadnezzar had begun for the defence of Babylon, raiſed ſtrong fortifications on the ſide of the river, and cauſed a wonderful vault to be made under it, leading from the old palace to the new, 12 foot high and 15 wide. This ſhe did to maintain a communication between the two palaces, which were ſtrong fortreſſes and ſeparated by the river[m], that in caſe one of them ſhould be diſtreſſed by the

[k] Idem. l. v. p. 123——140. [l] Beroſus apud Joſeph. contra. Apion. l. i. Megaſth. apud Euſeb. præpar. de evang. l. ix.
[m] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. Philoſtrat. l. i. c. 18.

the enemy, or either of them taken, there might be relief from, or a ſafe retreat to, the other.

WHILE the queen was thus taking all poſſible precautions againſt the enemy, Cyaxares came to Cyrus's camp, and after ſeveral conſultations they determined to alter their method; and, inſtead of contenting themſelves only with ravaging the enemies territories, they thought it was neceſſary to employ their troops in taking of towns and fortreſſes, that ſo they might make themſelves maſters of the country, and diſtreſs the city of Babylon by intercepting their proviſions [n]. Accordingly they took many cities, and brought under ſubjection entire provinces, without meeting with any conſiderable reſiſtance from the Babylonians. The progreſs Cyrus made in thoſe conqueſts rouſed at laſt Nabonadius, who taking along with him great part of his treaſures, left Babylon and repaired to Crœſus king of Lydia, by whoſe aſſiſtance and intereſt he concluded a formidable alliance with the Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of the Leſſer Aſia. Theſe various nations under the conduct of Crœſus, who was by the king of Babylon appointed chief commander of all his forces, aſſembled near the river Pactolus, and from thence advanced to Thymbra, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous. Cyrus, being informed of theſe vaſt preparations by one of his intimate friends, who by his order had fled over to the enemy as a deſerter, put himſelf into a condition to oppoſe them; and having increaſed the number of his forces by new levies, he took leave of Cyaxares, who remained in Media with a third part of the troops, that the country might not be left entirely defenceleſs, and marched forwards to meet the confederate forces in their own territories, in order to conſume their forage, and diſconcert their meaſures, by the quickneſs of his march and boldneſs of his undertaking. After a long march he came up with the enemy at Thymbra, a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, the metropolis of that country. Cyrus's army was 196000 ſtrong, horſe and foot, beſides theſe troops he had 300 chariots armed with ſcythes, each chariot drawn by four horſes abreaſt, covered with trappings that were proof againſt all ſorts of miſſive weapons: he had likewiſe a great number of other chariots of a larger ſize, upon each of which he placed a tower about 18 or 20 feet high, and in each tower was lodged

[n] Cyropæd. l. vi. 156. &c.

lodged 20 archers. Theſe chariots were drawn by 16 oxen yoked abreaſt. There was moreover a conſiderable number of camels, each mounted by two Arabian archers, the one looking towards the head, and the other towards the hinder part of the camel. The army of Crœſus was twice as numerous as that of Cyrus, amounting in the whole to 420,000 men. Both armies were drawn up on an immenſe plain, which gave room for the extending of their wings to the right and left; and the deſign of Crœſus, upon which alone he founded his hopes of victory, was to ſurround and hem in the enemy's army. He placed the Egyptians, who alone made a body of 120,000 men and were the main ſtrength of the army, in the center [o].

Bartle of Thymbra. Year of the flood 2455. Before Chriſt 544.

WHEN the two armies were in ſight of each other, Crœſus, obſerving how much the front of his army exceeded that of Cyrus, made the center halt, and the two wings advance with a deſign to incloſe Cyrus's army, and begin the attack on both ſides at the ſame time. When the two detached bodies of the Lydian forces were ſufficiently extended, Crœſus gave the ſignal to the main body, which marched up to the front of the Perſian army, while the two wings attacked them in flank, ſo that Cyrus's army was hem'd in on all ſides, and, as our author expreſſes it, incloſed like a ſmall ſquare drawn within a great one [p].

THIS Motion did not at all alarm Cyrus, who, giving his troops the ſignal to face about, attacked in flank the enemies forces that were marching to fall upon his rear, and put them into great diſorder. In the ſame moment a ſquadron of camels was made to advance againſt the enemies other wing, conſiſting moſtly of cavalry. The horſes upon the approach of the camels were ſo frightened, that moſt of them threw their riders and trod them under foot, which occaſioned a great confuſion. While they were thus in diſorder, Artageſes, an officer of great experience, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, charged them ſo briſkly, that they could never afterwards rally, and at the ſame time the chariots armed with ſcythes being furiouſly driven againſt them, they were entirely routed. Both the enemy's wings being put to flight, Cyrus commanded Abradates his chief favourite to fall upon the center with the chariots we have mentioned above. The firſt ranks, conſiſting moſtly of Lydians, not being able to ſtand ſo violent

[o] Idem. l. vi, p. 167—172.

[p] Idem, p. 173.

lent a charge, immediately gave way; but the Egyptians being covered with their bucklers, and marching ſo cloſe that the chariots had not room to penetrate their ranks, a great ſlaughter of the Perſians enſued. Abradates himſelf was killed, his chariot overturned, and moſt part of his men cut in pieces, after having ſignalized themſelves in a very extraordinary manner. Upon his death the Egyptians advancing boldly obliged the Perſian infantry to give way, and drove them back quite to their engines. There they met with a new ſhower of arrows and javelins diſcharged upon them from the towers, and at the ſame time the Perſian rear advancing ſword in hand obliged their archers and ſpear-men to return to the charge. In the mean time, Cyrus, having put to flight both the horſe and foot on the left of the Egyptians, puſhed on to the center, where he had the mortification to find his Perſians again giving ground, and judging that the only way to ſtop the Egyptians, who were purſuing them, would be to attack them in the rear, he did ſo, and at the ſame time the Perſian cavalry coming up to his aſſiſtance, the fight was renewed with great ſlaughter on both ſides, for the Egyptians facing about defended themſelves with incredible bravery. Cyrus himſelf was in great danger; for his horſe being killed under him, he fell in the midſt of the enemies, but being ſaved by the Perſians, who, alarmed at this danger, threw themſelves headlong upon thoſe that ſurrounded him, the battle became more bloody than ever. At length Cyrus admiring the valour of the Egyptians, and concerned to ſee ſuch brave men periſh, offered them honourable conditions, letting them know at the ſame time, that all their allies had abandoned them. They accepted the terms offered them, and, having agreed with Cyrus that they ſhould not be obliged to carry arms againſt Crœſus, in whoſe ſervice they had been engaged, ſurrendered themſelves to the conqueror, and from that time ſerved him with the utmoſt fidelity [q] (H).

THE

[q] Idem, l. vii. 172——178.

(H) Xenophon obſerves here (4), that Cyrus gave them the cities of Lariſſa and Cyllene on the ſea-coaſt, and other lands within the country, which were inhabited by their deſcendants in his time; and adds, that theſe places were called the cities of the Egyptians. This obſervation, and many others he makes in his

(4) Idem. l. vii. p. 179.

THE engagement laſted till night, when Crœſus retired with his troops to Sardis, and the other nations made the beſt of their way to their reſpective countries. Cyrus did not think fit to purſue them, but the next morning advanced towards Sardis. Crœſus hearing of his approach marched out with his Lydians, for the auxiliaries were already retired, to give him battle. Their principal ſtrength conſiſted in cavalry, which Cyrus being ſenſible of, made his camels advance againſt them, whoſe ſmell the horſes not being able to endure, they were immediately put in diſorder. However, the Lydians, who at that time were one of the moſt warlike nations of Aſia, diſmounting, fought on foot, but, after having kept their ground very obſtinately for ſome time, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where they were immediately cloſely beſieged by Cyrus[r] (I).

THE night after he inveſted the city he made himſelf maſter of the citadel, being conducted to it in the dead of the night by a Perſian ſlave, who had been a ſervant to the governor of that place. At break of day he entered the city, where he found no reſiſtance, the Lydians having diſperſed at the news of the citadel's being taken. Cyrus's firſt care was to ſave the town, which was the moſt wealthy of all Aſia, from being plundred. With this view he acquainted the inhabitants, that their lives Sardes taken

[r] Herodot. l. i. 79—84.

his Cyropædia, in order to prove the truth of the things he advances, ſhew plainly, that he wrote that piece as a true hiſtory of Cyrus, at leaſt with reſpect to the ſubſtance of it, and greateſt part of the tranſactions.

(I) While Cyrus lay encamped before Sardis he performed the exequies of Abradates and Panthea his wife. Abradates was prince of Shuſham under the Babylonians, and had revolted to Cyrus, about two years before, being induced thereto by his wife, a woman of extraordinary beauty, whom Cyrus had taken priſoner in his firſt engagement with the Babylonians, and treated in a moſt obliging manner. This kind treatment drew over her huſband to Cyrus, and he being killed in the engagement with the Egyptians, as we have mentioned above, Panthea out of grief ſlew herſelf upon his dead body, and Cyrus cauſed them both to be interred with great pomp, and a ſtately monument to be erected over them near the river Pactolus, where it was to be ſeen many ages after (5).

(5) Idem, l. v. & vii.

should be spared, and neither their wives nor children touched, provided they brought him all their gold and silver. This condition they readily complied with, and Crœsus himself, who was taken and brought to Cyrus, set them an example by delivering his immense treasures up to the conqueror. Cyrus, touched with compassion at the king's misfortune, and admiring his constancy in so great a change, treated him with great clemency, suffering him to enjoy both the title and authority of king, under the sole restriction of not having power to make war. From that time he took him with him in all his expeditions, either out of esteem for that prince, or out of policy, that he might be more secure of his persons (K).

Cyrus

[s] idem. l. vii. p. 181—184.

(K) The taking of Crœsus is differently related by Herodotus, and those who have copied after him (6). According to these, Crœsus being shut up in Sardis dispatched ambassadors to all his allies, intreating their assistance. But in the mean time Cyrus pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city, before any succours could arrive, and the king in it, whom he condemned to be burnt alive. And accordingly placed him on a great pile of wood, accompanied by fourteen young Lydians. The design of Cyrus in so doing was, according to Herodotus, to offer this sacrifice to some God as the first fruits of his victory, or to perform a vow, or perhaps to see, as he had heard of his piety towards the gods, whether any of them would save him from the fire. When Crœsus had ascended the pile, notwithstanding the weight of his misfortunes, he recollected the words of Solon, who had told him, no man could be called happy before his death. Revolving these words in his mind, he cried out with a great sigh three times, Solon, Solon, Solon. Which when Cyrus heard, he commanded his interpreter to ask him, whose assistance he implored. Upon this Crœsus acquainted him, that Solon, an Athenian philosopher, having formerly visited him, and viewed his immense treasures, had despised all, and plainly told him, instead of applauding his happiness, that he could not pronounce any man happy so long as he lived, because no man could foresee what might happen to him before his death; of the truth of which being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, he called upon the name of Solon. This raised in Cyrus such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and compassion for Crœsus, that he commanded the fire to be presently extinguished, and the unfortunate king taken down.

Accordingly

(6) Herodot. l. i. c. 85.

CYRUS after the conqueſt of Lydia continued in Leſſer Aſia, till he had ſubdued the ſeveral nations inhabiting that great continent, from the Ægean ſea to the Euphrates. From thence he marched into Syria and Arabia, and having brought thoſe nations likewiſe under ſubjection, he again entered Aſſyria, and marched towards Babylon, the only city in all the eaſt that now held out againſt him. Nabonadius, or, as, Herodotus calls him, Labynitus, hearing that he was advancing to his metropolis, marched out to give him battle, but being without much ado put to flight, he retreated to Babylon, where he was immediately blocked up and cloſely beſieged by Cyrus. The ſiege of this important place was no eaſy enterprize. The walls were of a prodigious height, the number of men to defend them very great, and the city ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions for twenty years. However, theſe difficulties did not diſcourage Cyrus from proſecuting his deſign. But deſpairing to take the place by ſtorm, he cauſed a line of circumvallation to be drawn quite round the city with a large and deep ditch, reckoning that if all communication with the country

Accordingly all endeavours were uſed to execute his orders, but the fire could not be maſtered. In this diſtreſs Crœſus being informed that Cyrus deſigned to ſave his life, but ſeeing his Perſians attempted in vain to extinguiſh the flame, burſt out into a flood of tears, and with a loud voice invoking Apollo, beſought that god to deliver him from the preſent danger, if any of his offerings had ever been agreeable to him. He had ſcarce ended his prayer when clouds were ſeen gathering in the air, which before was ſerene, and a violent ſtorm of rain enſuing quite extinguiſhed the flame. Cyrus underſtanding by this miraculous event that Crœſus was a pious prince and greatly favoured by the gods, not only ſpared his life, but allowed him a very honourable maintenance, and made uſe of him ever after as one of his chief councellors, and at his death recommended him to his ſon Cambyſes, as the perſon whoſe advice he would have him chiefly to follow.

The ſame writer tells us, that, upon the taking of the city of Sardis, a certain Perſian, not knowing Crœſus, advanced to kill him. As he, not caring to ſurvive that diſaſter, did not attempt to avoid the blow, his ſon, who was born dumb, ſeeing the ſoldier ready to ſtrike, was moved with ſuch fear and tenderneſs for the life of his father, that in that inſtant he cried out, Soldier ſpare the life of Crœſus. Theſe were the firſt words he ever uttered, but from that time he continued to ſpeak readily till his death (7).

(7) Herodot. ibid.

country were cut off, the more people there was within the city, the ſooner they would be obliged to ſurrender. That his troops might not be over-fatigued, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and appointed each body its month for guarding the trenches. The beſieged, thinking themſelves out of all danger by reaſon of their high walls and magazines, inſulted Cyrus from the ramparts, and looked upon all the trouble he gave himſelf as ſo much unprofitable labour [t].

Cyrus, having ſpent two entire years before Babylon, without gaining any conſiderable advantage over the city, at laſt reſolved upon the following ſtratagem, which put him in poſſeſſion of the place. He was informed, that a great annual ſolemnity was to be kept in Babylon, and that the Babylonians on that occaſion were accuſtomed to ſpend the whole night in drinking and debauchery. This he thought a proper time to ſurpriſe them in, and accordingly ſent a ſtrong detachment to the head of the canal leading to the great lake, which we have elſewhere deſcribed [u], with orders, at an appointed time, to break down the great bank, which was between the lake and the canal, and to turn the whole current into the lake. At the ſame time, he poſted one body of troops at the place where the river entered into the city, and another where it came out, ordering them to march into the city by the bed of the river, as ſoon as they ſhould find it fordable. Towards the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both ſides of the river above the city, that the water might diſcharge itſelf into them. By this means, and the breaking down of the great dam, the river was ſoon drained. Then the two fore-mentioned bodies of troops according to their orders entered the channel, the one commanded by Gobrias, and the other by Gadates, and finding the gates all left open, by reaſon of the general diſorder of that riotous night, they penetrated into the very heart of the city without any oppoſition, and meeting at the palace, according to their agreement, ſurprized the guards, and cut them in pieces. Thoſe who were within the palace opening the gates to know the cauſe of this confuſion, the Perſians ruſhed in, took the palace and killed the king, who, ſword in hand came out to meet them. The king being killed

[t] Herodot. l. i. c. 177. Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 186——188.
[u] Vol. IV. ch. 9. Sect. 4. Deſcription of Babylon at the latter end.

killed, and thoſe who were about him put to flight, the reſt voluntarily ſubmitted, and Cyrus without any farther reſiſtance became maſter of the place, and concluded his conqueſts after a war of 21 years [w]. The taking of Babylon put an end to the Babylonian empire, and fulfilled the predictions, which the prophets Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel had uttered againſt that proud metropolis, and of which we have already given a particular account [x]. Babylon taken. Year of the flood 2461. Before Chriſt 538.

THE king of Babylon being killed, Darius the Mede is ſaid in ſcripture to have taken the kingdom [y]. By Darius the Mede is meant Cyaxares, king of the Medes and uncle to Cyrus, as we have fully proved in the hiſtory of Media. For Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, held the empire with him in partnerſhip; nay, ſo far did he carry his complaiſance, that he let him enjoy the firſt rank. Cyrus having ſetled his affairs at Babylon, returned into Perſia to pay a viſit to his father and mother, who were ſtill alive [y], and after a ſhort ſtay there went back to Babylon together with Cyaxeres. On their arrival they concerted together the ſettling of the whole empire, and having divided it into 120 provinces, the government of theſe was given to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war.

THE civil government being thus ſettled, Cyrus ordered all his forces to joyn him at Babylon. On a general review he found, they conſiſted of 120,000 horſe, 2000 chariots armed with ſcythes, and 600,000 foot. Of theſe having diſtributed into gariſons ſuch a number as he judged neceſſary for the defence of the ſeveral parts of the empire, he marched with the remainder into Syria, where he ſetled the affairs of that province, and then reduced the other nations as far as the Red-Sea and the confines of Ethiopia [z]. In this interval of time Daniel was by order of Darius, who remained at Babylon, caſt into the lions den, as we have related in the hiſtory of Media.

ABOUT two years after the reduction of Babylon, Cyaxares dying, and alſo Cambyſes king of Perſia, Cyrus, returned to Babylon and took upon him the whole government of the empire [a], which he held for the ſpace of ſeven years (K). Year of the flood 2463. Before Chriſt 526.

IN

[w] Idem. ibid. p. 189——192. [x] Vol. iv. c. 9. ſect. iv. part. laſt. [y] Dan. v. 31. vii. 1. viii. 1. [y] Idem. ibid. [z] Idem. l. viii. p. 233. [a] Idem. ibid.

(K) The reign of Cyrus is reckoned, from his firſt coming out of Perſia to the aſſiſtance of his uncle Cyaxares at the head

In the first of these seven years expired the 70 years of the Babylonish captivity, when Cyrus published the famous edict, whereby the Jews were allowed to return to Jerusalem. There is no doubt, but this edict was obtained by Daniel, who was in great credit and authority at court. That he might the more effectually induce the king to grant him that favour, he shewed him the prophecies of Isaiah [b], naming him 120 years before his birth, as one appointed by God to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, by ordering their temple to be rebuilt, and Jerusalem and Judea to be repossessed by their antient inhabitants.

Cyrus having issued out his decree for the restoring of the Jews to their country, and the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, the captive Hebrews assembled out of the several provinces of the Babylonian empire, to the number of 4236 persons with their servants, who amounted to 7337 more, and set out for Judea. And thus was the state of Judah and Jerusalem again restored, after they had lain desolate 70 years (L). Cyrus restored at the same

[b] Isa. xliv. 28. xiv. 1.

of the Persian army, to have lasted thirty years; from the taking of Babylon nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire, after the death of Cyaxares in Media and Cambyses in Persia, seven years. Tully (8) reckons by the first account, Ptolemy (9) by the second, and Xenophon (10) by the third. The first of these seven years is the first year of Cyrus mentioned by Ezra (11), wherein an end was put to the captivity of Judah, and liberty granted them to return to their country, the seventy years of captivity being then expired.

(L) It may not be improper in this place to insert the famous edict of Cyrus in favour of the Israelites; an edict, for which it may be presumed that God endowed him with so many heroic virtues, and blest him with a constant series of prosperity and victories.

In the first year of Cyrus, *king of the* Persians, *that the word of the Lord might be accomplish'd, that he had promised by the mouth of* Jeremy, *the Lord raised up the spirit of* Cyrus *the king of the* Persians; *and he made proclamation through all his kingdom, and also by writing; saying, Thus saith* Cyrus *king of the* Persians, *the Lord of* Israel *the most high Lord, has made me king of the whole world, and commanded me to build him an house*

(8) Cic de divinat. l. 2. (9) Ptolem. in Canone. (10) Cyropæd. l. viii. (11) Ezra, i. 1.

ſame time to the Jews all the veſſels of the temple, which Nebuchadonoſor had brought from Jeruſalem, and lodged in the temple of his God Baal.

AFTER the return of the Jews, the Samaritans, their declared enemies, did all that lay in their power to prevent the building of the temple; and though they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes with the miniſters to obſtruct the execution of it; ſo that for ſeveral years the building went on but very ſlowly.

AND it ſeems to have been out of grief to ſee the pious intentions of Cyrus thus diſappointed, that in the third year of that prince Daniel gave himſelf up to mourning and faſting for three years together [c].

BUT to return to Cyrus. This prince, being equally beloved by his own natural ſubjects and thoſe of the conquered nations, peaceably enjoyed the fruits of his labours and victories. His new erected empire was bounded on the eaſt by the river Indus, on the north by the Caſpian and Euxine ſeas, on the weſt by the Ægean, and on the ſouth by Ethiopia and the ſea of Arabia. He kept his reſidence in the heart of theſe countries, ſpending the ſeven cold months at Babylon by reaſon of the warmth of that climate; three months at Suſa in the ſpring, and two months at Ecbatan during the heat of the ſummer [d].

HAVING ſpent ſeven years in this ſtate of tranquillity, and eſtabliſhed his empire with ſuch wiſdom, that upon the ſtrength of this foundation alone it ſtood above 200 years, notwithſtanding the raſh and impolitic proceedings of his ſucceſſors, he died in the 70th year of his age [e], equally regretted by all the nations of his vaſt-ſpreading dominions. He had reigned, from his firſt taking upon him the command of the Perſian and Median armies, thirty

Cyrus dies. Year of the flood 2470. Before Chriſt 529.

[c] Dan. x. 1. 3. [d] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 233. [e] Cicero. de Divin. l. i.

houſe at Jeruſalem *in* Jewry. *If therefore there be any of you that are of his people, let the Lord, even his Lord, be with him, and let him go up to* Jeruſalem *that is in* Judea, *and build the houſe of the Lord of* Iſrael; *for he is the Lord that dwelleth in* Jeruſalem. *Whoſoever then dwell in the places about, let them help him (thoſe I ſay that are his neighbours) with gold, and with ſilver, with gifts, with horſes, and with cattle, and other things which have been ſet forth by vow for the temple of the Lord at* Jeruſalem (12).

(12) Eſd. ii. 1. 7.

thirty years [f]; from the reduction of Babylon nine [g]; and from his being sole monarch of the east, after the death of his uncle Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, seven years [h]. Authors are strangely at variance with each other as to the manner of his death. Xenophon's account, who makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own country, seems to us by far the most probable. For all authors agree, that he was buried at Pasargada in Persia, where Xenophon says he died, and his monument was to be seen there in the time of Alexander the Great. Had he been slain in Scythia, as Herodotus and Justin relate, and his body mangled as they would have us believe, how could it ever have been rescued out of the hands of those enraged barbarians, and buried at Pasargada? Besides, it is by no means probable, that such a wise man, as Cyrus is represented to have been, and so far advanced in years, would have engaged in so rash an undertaking, as the Scythian expedition is described to have been by those who relate it. Neither can it be conceived, how after so great an overthrow the Persian empire could have subsisted, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyses was. For Herodotus tells, that he was killed, and his whole army, consisting of 200,000 men cut in pieces (M).

On

[f] Cic. ubi supra. [g] Ptol. in Can. [h] Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 232.

(M) Diodorus Siculus (13) tells us, that he was taken prisoner by Tomyris queen of the Massagetes, and by her orders crucified. Ctesias (14) says, that in a battle against the Derbicans, a people bordering upon Hyrcania, he was wounded in the thigh by a certain Indian, of which wound he died three days after. John Melela of Antioch, out of a forged book ascribed to Pythagoras, acquaints us, that he was slain in a sea-fight by the Samians.

Some writers tells us (15), that, after the reduction of Babylon, Cyrus, having a victorious army at his devotion, and Cyaxares being returned from Babylon into Media, revolted from Cyaxares, in conjunction with the Persians under him, who were incited thereunto by Harpagus a Mede, and Artabazus, who had assisted Cyrus in subduing Asia minor, and had been injured by Darius.

(13) Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. (14) Ctesias, l. xi. (15) Suidas in Aristarchos.

On his death-bed he appointed his ſon Cambyſes to ſucceed him, who accordingly took poſſeſſion of that vaſt empire: to his other ſon Smerdis he left ſeveral conſiderable governments. Cambyſes, known in ſcripture by the name of Ahaſuerus [i], was ſcarce well ſettled on the throne when he reſolved upon a war with the Egyptians. The occaſion of this war, as related by Herodotus, ſeems fabulous [k]. Cambyſes.

'Tis moſt likely, that Amaſis, who was then king of Egypt and had ſubmitted to Cyrus, upon the death of that great conqueror, refuſed to pay his ſucceſſor the ſame homage and tribute. But be that as it will, Cambyſes, in order to carry on the war with ſucceſs, made vaſt preparations both by ſea and land. The Cypriots and Phænicians furniſhed him with ſhips; and for his land-forces, he added to his own troops great numbers of auxiliaries, eſpecially of Greeks, Ionians, and Æolians, who were the main ſtrength of his army. But the greateſt help he had in this war was from Phanes of Halicarnaſſus, who, being commander of ſome Greek auxiliaries in the ſervice of Amaſis, took ſome diſguſt, and going over to Cambyſes made ſuch diſcourſes to him of the nature of the country, the ſtrength of the enemy, and the ſtate of affairs in Egypt, as greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of this expedition. 'Twas particularly by his advice, that Cambyſes contracted with an Arabian king, whoſe territories lay between the confines of Paleſtine and Egypt, to furniſh his army with water during his march through deſarts that parted thoſe two countries. The Arabian fulfilled his agreement by ſending many camels loaded with ſkins full of water, without which Cambyſes could never have marched his army that way [l].

Being thus prepared, he invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival upon the borders of that kingdom, he was informed, that Amaſis was juſt dead,

[i] Ezra iv. 6. [k] Herot. l. iii. cap. 1. and this hiſt. Vol. p. 272, 273. [l] Herodot. l. iii. c. 4—9.

rius. Harpagus was ſent by Cyaxares with an army againſt Cyrus; but in the heat of the battle revolted with great part of the army to Cyrus. Cyaxares raiſed a new army, and was again defeated near Paſargada in Perſia, and taken priſoner. By this victory, ſay they, the monarchy was tranſlated from the Medes to the Perſians. But this account we have already rejected, as not agreeing ſo well with holy writ, as that which we read in Xenophon.

dead, and that his ſon Pſammenitus, who had ſucceeded him, was drawing together a powerful army to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. Before Cambyſes could open a paſſage into the country, it was neceſſary for him to take Peluſiam, which was the key of Egypt on that ſide. But as that was a ſtrong place, and in a condition to hold out a long time, Cambyſes had recourſe to the following ſtratagem, probably ſuggeſted to him by Phanes. Being informed, that the whole garriſon conſiſted of Egyptians, he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, ſheep, and other annimals, that were looked upon as ſacred by that nation, and then attacked the city. The ſoldiers of the garriſon not daring to throw a dart, or ſhoot an arrow that way, through fear of killing ſome of thoſe animals, Cambyſes poſſeſſed himſelf of the place without oppoſition [m].

Cambyses had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of this important place, when Pſammenitus at the head of a powerful army advanced to ſtop his further progreſs; whereupon a bloody battle enſued between the two armies. But before they engaged, the Greeks and Carians who ſerved under Pſammenitus, to ſhew their reſentment againſt Phanes, for introducing the Perſians into Egypt, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the ſight of their fathers, and in the preſence of the two armies drank their blood. The Perſians, enraged at ſo cruel a ſight, fell upon the Egyptian army with ſuch fury that they ſoon put them to flight, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. Thoſe who ſaved themſelves by flight retired to Memphis (N). Cambyſes purſued them cloſe, and arriving at Memphis,

[m] Polyæn. l. vii.

(N) On occaſion of this battle Herodotus (16) takes notice of an extraordinary circumſtance, whereof he himſelf was an eye-witneſs. The bones of the Perſians and Egyptians were in his time ſtill to be ſeen in the place where the battle was fought, but ſeparated from each other. The ſkulls of the Egyptians, ſays he, were ſo hard, that they could hardly be broken by the violent blow of a large ſtone; whereas thoſe of the Perſians were ſo ſoft and weak, that they were broke with the leaſt blow of a pebble. This difference, as our author tells us, was owing to the Egyptian cuſtom of ſhaving the heads of their children early; by which means the bones were rendred thicker and ſtronger

(16) Herodot. l. iii. c. 12.

Memphis, ſent a herald into the city, on a veſſel of Mitylene, by the river Nile on which Memphis ſtood, to ſummon the inhabitants to a ſurrender. But the people tranſported with rage fell upon the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But Cambyſes, after a ſhort ſiege having ſtormed the place, fully revenged their death, cauſing ten Egyptians of the firſt rank to be publicly executed for every one of thoſe they had ſlain, and the eldeſt ſon of Pſammenitus was one of the number. As for the king himſelf who was taken priſoner, Cambyſes was inclined to treat him kindly; for he not only ſpared his life, but appointed him an honourable maintenance: But he, not at all affected with this kind uſage, did all that lay in his power to raiſe new troubles, in hopes of recovering his crown; whereupon he was condemned to drink bull's blood, and thus ended his life after a reign of ſix months, and with him died the antient ſplendor and liberty of Egypt, for all that country immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror [n].

On the news of this ſucceſs, the Lybians, Cyrenians, and Barceans ſent embaſſadors with preſents to Cambyſes, declaring themſelves ready to ſubmit to him, and receive his forces in their ſtrong-holds. From Memphis he marched to the city of Sais, the burying place of the Egyptian kings. Here he cauſed the body of Amaſis to be inhumanly taken out of its tomb, and, after expoſing it to a thouſand indignities, ordered it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. The wrath, which this prince vented upon the dead body of Amaſis, ſhews the irreconcileable hatred he bore him. Whatever was the cauſe of that averſion, he ſeems to have been by it chiefly prompted to invade Egypt [o].

The next year, which was the ſixth of his reign, he reſolved upon three different expeditions, the firſt againſt the

[n] Herodot. l. iii. c. 13—15.

[o] Idem. ibid. c. xvi.

ger through the heat of the ſun, and the head preſerved from baldneſs, there being fewer people bald in Egypt, as Herodotus obſerves, than in any other country. As the heads of the Egyptians were ſtrengthened by this method, ſo thoſe of the Perſians were ſoftened by the contrary cuſtom. For they were not expoſed to the ſun, but always covered with caps and turbants. Our author adds, that he obſerved the ſame thing at Papremis in thoſe who, together with Achæmenes the ſon of Darius, were defeated by Inarus king of Lybia.

the Carthaginians, the ſecond againſt the Hammonians, and the third againſt the Ethiopians. But he was forced to drop the firſt project, by reaſon the Phœnicians, without whoſe help he could not carry on that war, refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the Carthaginians, who were deſcended from them, Carthage being originally a Tyrian colony. But his heart being ſet on the other two expeditions, he ſent embaſſadors into Ethiopia, who under that character were to act as ſpies, and give him intelligence of the ſtate and ſtrength of the country. But the Ethiopians being well apprized of the errand on which they were come, treated them with great contempt. However, the Ethiopian king, in return for the preſents they brought him from Cambyſes, ſent him back his own bow, adviſing him to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Perſians could as eaſily bend that bow as they could. Before he delivered the bow to the Perſian embaſſadors, he addreſſed them with this ſpeech. "'Tis not from any conſideration of my friendſhip that "the king of Perſia ſent you with theſe preſents; nei-"ther have you ſpoken truth, but are come into my king-"dom as ſpies. If your maſter were an honeſt man, he "would deſire no more than his own, and not attempt to "enſlave a people who had never done him any injury. "However, give him this bow from me, and let him "know, that the king of Ethiopia adviſes the king of "Perſia to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the "Perſians ſhall be able thus eaſily to bend ſo ſtrong a bow, "and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they have "never inſpired the Ethiopians with a deſire of extend-"ing their dominions beyond their own country. [c]"

Cambyses, being informed by his embaſſadors of all that had paſſed, flew into a violent paſſion, and ordered his army immediately to begin their march, without conſider-ing, that they were furniſhed neither with proviſions nor any other neceſſaries for ſuch an expedition. He left the Greek auxiliaries behind him to keep the new conquered countries in awe during his abſence, and with the whole body of his land-forces began his march. When he ar-rived at Thebes in the upper Egypt, he detached 50,000 men againſt the Hammonians, ordering them to ravage the whole country, and burn the oracle of Jupiter Ham-mon, while he with the reſt of his army ſhould march a-gainſt the Ethiopians. But before he had marched a fifth part

[c] Idem, ibid. c. xx—xxiv.

part of the way, his proviſions were conſumed, and the army reduced to the neceſſity of eating their beaſts of burthen. Cambyſes notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, purſued his raſh attempt, and the ſoldiers fed upon herbs and graſs, ſo long as they found any in their way. But when they arrived in the ſandy deſarts, they were brought to ſuch extremities as to be obliged to devour one another, every tenth man, upon whom the lot fell, being doomed to ſerve as food for his companions, a food, ſays Seneca, more to be dreaded than famine itſelf [d]. The king ſtill perſiſted in his mad deſign, till at laſt being apprehenſive of the danger his own perſon was in, he gave over the enterprize, and retreated to Thebes, after having loſt great part of his army in this wild attempt [e]

As for that part of the army which was ſent againſt the Hammonians, they marched from Thebes, and by the help of their guides arrived at the city of Oaſis, inhabited by Samians, and ſeven days march diſtant from Thebes. Nobody doubts, as our author informs us [f], but they arrived at that place. But what was their fate afterwards is uncertain, for they never returned either to Egypt or their own country. The Hammonians informed Herodotus, that they marched from Oaſis, and that, after they had entered the ſandy deſart which lies beyond that city, a violent wind began to blow from the ſouth, at the time of their dinner, and raiſed the ſands to ſuch a degree, that the whole army was overwhelmed and buried alive.

CAMBYSES on his return to Thebes cauſed all the temples, which in that ſuperſtitious city were very rich and numerous, to be pillaged and burnt down to the ground. We may judge of the richneſs of thoſe temples from the remains ſaved from the flames, which amounted to the ſum of 300 talents of gold, and two thouſand three hundred talents of ſilver. He likewiſe carried away the famous circle of gold that encompaſſed the tomb of king Ozymandias, being 365 cubits in circumference, and on which were repreſented all the motions of the ſeveral conſtellations [g].

FROM Thebes Cambyſes marched back to Memphis, where he diſcharged the Greek mercenaries and ſent them to their reſpective countries. On his entry into the city, finding the citizens all in mirth and jollity becauſe their god Apis had then appeared among them, he was highly provoked

[d] Seneca de Ira. l. iii. c. 20. [e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. c. 25, 26.
[f] Idem, ibid. [g] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 43—46.

provoked, as ſuppoſing that they rejoiced becauſe of his unſucceſsful expedition. He therefore called the magiſtrates to learn of them the cauſe of that public mirth. They gave him a true account of the whole matter; but he, not believing what they ſaid, cauſed them all to be put to death. He ſent afterwards for the prieſts, who made him the ſame anſwer, telling him, that it had been always their cuſtom when their god appeared amongſt them to celebrate his appearance, with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy they could expreſs. To this he replyed, that if their god was ſo kind and familiar as to ſhew himſelf to them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded the deity to be brought forwith before him.

THE chief god of the Egyptians was Oſiris, at Memphis called Apis. This god they worſhipped in the ſhape of a bull, and always kept in his temple a bull, to which they paid divine honours in his ſtead. He was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and impregnated, as the Egyptians believed, by thunder. We have ſpoke elſewhere [i] of the marks which were to diſtinguiſh him from all others. When he died, another with the ſame marks was ſought for and put in his room. When this calf was brought to Cambyſes, who expected to ſee ſome deity, he flew into a violent paſſion, and drawing his dagger wounded the Apis in the thigh, and reproaching the prieſts for their ſtupidity in worſhipping a brute, ordered them ſeverely to be whipt, and all the Egyptians at Memphis, that ſhould be found celebrating the feaſt of Apis, to be ſlain. The Apis after he had languiſhed ſome time died of his wound in the temple, and was buried by the prieſts, who carefully concealed his death from Cambyſes [k].

THE Egyptians ſay, that after this ſacrilegious action, which was looked upon by them as the greateſt inſtance of impiety that ever was committed amongſt them, Cambyſes was immediately ſeized with lunacy and grew mad. But his actions ſhewed that he was ſo long before, of which he gave ſeveral inſtances. We find the following upon record,

HE had a brother by the ſame father and mother, called by Xenophon Tanaoxares, Smerdis by Herodotus, and by Juſtin Mergis. He attended Cambyſes on his Egyptian expedition; but being the only perſon in the army that could bend the bow, which the king of Ethiopia had ſent, within

[i] Vol. 1. p. 554. [k] Idem. ibid. c 30.

within two fingers breath, Cambyſes from hence conceived ſuch a jealouſy of him, that, being no longer able to bear him in the army, he ſent him back into Perſia. After his departure Cambyſes dreamed, that a meſſenger arriving from Perſia told him, that Smerdis was ſeated on the throne, and touched the heavens with his head. Whereupon, ſuſpecting that his brother aſpired to the crown, he diſpatched Prexaſpes, one of his confidents, into Perſia, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed [1].

THIS murder was followed by another ſtill more criminal. Cambyſes had with him in the camp his youngeſt ſiſter, by name Meroe. As this princes was very beautiful, he fell violently in love with her, and was deſirous to marry her. But being convinced of the novelty of his deſign, he ſummoned all the royal judges of the Perſian nation, whoſe office it was to interpret the laws, to know whether there was any law allowing a brother to marry his ſiſter. The judges, being unwilling to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage, and at the ſame time dreading the effects of the king's violent temper ſhould they contradict him, returned this crafty anſwer. That they truly knew of no law allowing a man to marry his own ſiſter, but they had a law which gave the king of Perſia liberty to do whatever he pleaſed. Upon this anſwer he ſolemnly married her, and thereby gave the firſt example of that inceſt, which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his ſucceſſors, and by ſome of them carried ſo far as to marry their own daughters. This ſiſter he took with him in all his expeditions, and gave her name to an iſland in the Nile between Egypt and Ethiopia, which he conquered on his wild expedition againſt the Ethiopians. The occaſion and manner of her death is reported in the following manner. As Cambyſes was one day diverting himſelf in ſeeing a young dog and the whelp of a lion fighting, the dog being over-matched, another of the ſame litter breaking looſe came to his aſſiſtance, by which means the lion was maſtered. Whilſt the king was mightily pleaſed with this adventure, Meroe, who ſat by him, began to weep, and being obliged to tell her husband the cauſe of her grief, ſhe confeſſed that this accident put her in mind of the fate of her brother Smerdis, whom nobody had been ſo good-natured enough to aſſiſt. There needed

[1] Idem. c. 30.

needed no more than this to excite the rage of that brutal prince, who, notwithſtanding her being with child, gave her ſuch a blow with his foot on the belly, that ſhe miſcarried, and ſoon after died [m] (N).

He cauſed alſo ſeveral of the chief lords of his court to be buried alive, and daily ſacrificed ſome of them to his wild fury. He one day aſked Prexaſpes, who was his chief favourite, what the Perſians ſaid of him, and what character they gave him in their private converſations. Prexaſpes anſwered, that they highly applauded his actions in general, but thought him too much addicted to wine. I underſtand you, replied the king, they pretend that wine deprives me of my underſtanding, but whether this charge be true or not you ſhall be judge. Upon which he began to drink to a far greater exceſs than he had ever done before. Then ordering the ſon of Prexaſpes, who was his cup-bearer, to ſtand upright at the farther end of the room with his left hand upon his head; and turning to Prexaſpes, if I ſhoot, ſaid he, this arrow through the heart of thy ſon, the Perſians you muſt own have ſlandred me, but if I miſs, I ſhall willingly allow them to have ſpoke the truth. He had no ſooner uttered theſe words, than drawing his bow he ſhot the arrow through the body of the young man. Then commanding him to be opened, and finding the arrow had pierced his heart, he aſked the father with great joy, and in an inſulting manner, whether he had ever ſeen a man ſhoot with a more ſteady hand, and whether or no the Perſians had injured his character, by ſaying that wine deprived him of his reaſon? The unfortunate father, being under great apprehenſions for his own life,

[m] Idem, c. 31, 32.

(N) The Egyptians, as our author informs us (17) relate the matter in a different way. They ſay, that as Cambyſes and his ſiſter were at table, ſhe took a lettuce, and pulling the leaves aſunder, aſked her huſband, whether an intire lettuce was not more beautiful than one pulled in pieces. He anſwered, it was; whereupon Meroe reply'd, that he had repreſented the broken lettuce by diſmembering the houſe of Cyrus. Upon theſe words Cambyſes ſtruck her with his foot, which, as ſhe was big with child, occaſioned her death.

(17) Idem, c. 32.

life, anſwered, that a god could not have ſhot more dexterouſly [n] (O).

WHILE he was proceeding in this furious manner, Crœſus king of Lydia thought fit to lay before him the bad conſequences that might attend ſo tyrannical a government, which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he ordered him to be put to death. But the officers, who received his orders, ſuſpended the execution of the ſentence and concealed Crœſus, thinking, that, if Cambyſes ſhould enquire for him and repent of his raſh reſolution, they ſhould be well rewarded for ſaving his life; but if they found, that Cambyſes neither altered his mind, nor deſired to ſee him, they might ſtill put him to death purſuant to their orders. The very next day he asked for Crœſus, which the officers hearing acquainted him, that the king of Lydia was ſtill alive. Cambyſes was tranſported with joy when he heard that his orders had not been put in execution, but at the ſame time commanded all thoſe who had ſaved him to be immediately put to death, becauſe they had not obeyed his orders [o].

CAMBYSES in the beginning of the 8th year of his reign left Egypt in order to return to Perſia. On his coming into Syria he met an herald ſent from Suſa to the army, to acquaint them, that Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus was proclaimed king, and command them all to acknowledge and obey him. This event was brought about in the following manner. Cambyſes, at his departure from Suſa on the Egyptian expedition, had left the adminiſtration of affairs during his abſence in the hands of Patizithes one of the chief of the Mages. This Patizithes had a brother who very much reſembled Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus, and was, perhaps on that account, called by the ſame name. As ſoon as he was fully aſſured of the death of that prince, which had been carefully concealed from moſt others, and at the ſame time informed, that Cambyſes indulged his tyrannical temper to ſuch a degree that he was grown inſupportable,

[n] Idem. l. iii. c. 34, 35. [o] Idem. ibid. c. 36.

(O) Seneca (18), who copied this ſtory from Herodotus, after ſhewing his deteſtation of ſuch a barbarous and cruel action, condemns ſtill more the monſtrous flattery of the father with theſe memorable words; Sceleratius telum illud laudatum eſt quam miſſum.

(18) Seneca, l. iii. de Ira, c. 14.

portable, he placed his own brother on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus, and immediately diſpatched heralds into all the parts of the empire to give notice of Smerdis's acceſſion to the crown, and require all the provinces to pay him their obedience. The herald who was diſpatched to Egypt, finding Cambyſes with his army at Ecbatan in Syria, placed himſelf in the midſt of the army, and openly proclaimed the orders of Patizithes. Cambyſes cauſed him to be ſeized, and having ſtrictly examined him in the preſence of Prexaſpes who had received the orders to kill his brother, he found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and that he who had uſurped the throne, was Smerdis the Mage. The mention of that name greatly affected Cambyſes, and revived in his memory the dream, in which he had ſeen a meſſenger who came to acquaint him, that Smerdis was ſeated on the throne. Reflecting how unjuſtly he had murdered his brother, he burſt out in a flood of tears, and immediately ordered his army to march, with a deſign to ſuppreſs the growing rebellion. But as he was mounting his horſe, his ſword ſlipt out of the ſcabbard, and wounded him in the thigh. But thus wounded he asked the name of the city, and being informed that the place was called Ecbatan, he ſaid in the preſence of all, fate has decreed that Cambyſes the ſon of Cyrus ſhall die in this place. For while he was in Egypt, having conſulted the oracle of Butus, which was very famous in that country, he was told, that he ſhould die in Ecbatan; which he underſtanding of Ecbatan in Media reſolved to ſave his life by avoiding that place; but what he thought to avoid in Media he found in Syria. And therefore being informed that the place, where he received the wound, was called Ecbatan, taking it for certain that he muſt die there, he aſſembled the chief Perſian lords that ſerved in the army, and having repreſented to them the true ſtate of the caſe, he earneſtly exhorted them never to ſubmit to the impoſtor, or ſuffer the ſovereignty to paſs again from the Perſians to the Medes, of which nation Smerdis the Mege was, but to uſe their utmuſt endeavours to place on the throne one of their own blood. But the Perſians, ſuſpecting all this was ſaid by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, and Cambyſes, dying a few days after of his wound which mortified, they quietly ſubmitted to the Perſon whom they found on the throne, ſuppoſing him to be the true Smerdis. To this deluſion

Prexaſpes

Prexaspes greatly contributed, by saying, that he had not killed Smerdis the son of Cyrus with his own hand [p].

Cambyses reigned seven years and five months. When he came first to the crown, the Samaritans begged of him that he would put a stop to the building of the temple at Jerusalem. And their application was not in vain, for though he had so much respect for the memory of his father, as not openly to revoke his decree, yet in a great measure he frustrated the design of it, by laying the Jews under such difficulties that they could not pursue the work [q].

This prince is called in scripture [r] Artaxerxes, by Herodotus Smerdis, by Æschylus Mardys, by Ctesias Spendates, and by Justin Oropastes. As soon as he had taken upon him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects an exemption from taxes and all military service for three years, and treated them with such benificence, that all the nations of Asia, the Persians only excepted, expressed great sorrow on the revolution that happened a few months after. And further to secure himself on the throne, he married Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, thinking that in case of a discovery he might hold the empire by her title. She had been before married to her brother Cambyses, who, upon the above-mentioned decision of the royal judges, having married one of his sisters, took to wife also the other. And the Mage pretending to be her brother married her upon the same footing. But the precautions, he made use of to prevent his being discovered, only encreased the suspicion that he was not the true Smerdis. He had married all his predecessors wives, and among the rest Phedyma the daughter of Otanes, a Persian nobleman of the first rank. Otanes to be fully satisfied in this matter sent a trusty messenger to his daughter, to know of her, whether the king was really Smerdis the son of Cyrus, or some other man. Phedyma returned answer, that, as she had never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not satisfy his curiosity. Otanes by a second message desired her to enquire of Atossa, who could not but know her own brother, whether this were he or not. But his daughter let him know, that she was not allowed to speak with Atossa, or see any other of the women, because the king, whoever he was, had from the very beginning of his reign lodged his wives in distinct and separate apartments. This answer greatly increased

Smerdis the Mage. Year of the flood 2477. Before Christ 522.

[p] Idem, l. iii c. 64—66 [q] Ezra iv. 4. 6. [r] Ezra iv. 7. 14.

increased the suspicion of Otanes, who thereupon sent a third message to his daughter, directing her, when she should be next invited to his bed, to take the opportunity, while he was asleep, of feeling whether he had ears or no; for Cyrus having formerly caused the ears of Smerdis the Mage to be cut off for a crime he had been guilty of, he told her, that, if the king had ears, she might be sure that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus, but if otherwise, he could be no other than Smerdis the Mage, and therefore unworthy of possessing the crown or her person. Phedyma answered, that the danger was very great, because if the king had no ears and should surprize her endeavouring to find out such a truth, he would not fail putting her to death: nevertheless, in obedience to the commands of her father, she would make the attempt, and take upon her to satisfy his doubt. And accordingly the first time she went to the king, as soon as she perceived him fast asleep, she took the opportunity of making the trial, and finding he had no ears, early next morning acquainted her father therewith, whereby the imposture was discovered. Otanes upon this information imparted the whole affair to Gobryas and Aspathines, Persians of great distinction, and whose honour he could rely on. These three agreed among themselves, that each of them should name one of his most trusty friends to be admitted into the secret. Pursuant to this resolution, Otanes named Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyzus, and Aspathines Hydarnes. In the mean time, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, arriving at Susa from Persia where his father was governor, they all agreed to make him privy to all their resolutions, which they did accordingly. Darius at their first meeting told them, that he thought no man in Persia but himself had known that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was really dead, and the crown usurped by a Mage, and therefore he was come with a design to kill the usurper, without imparting this design to any one, that the glory of such an action might be entirely his own. But since others were apprised of the imposture, he was of opinion, that the usurper should be dispatched with all expedition, delays being in such cases very dangerous, and the best-concerted designs easily disappointed. Otanes on the other hand was for putting off the execution of their design till some better opportunity offered, and not attempting the enterprise till they had increased their number. But Darius remonstrating the danger there was of being discovered and betrayed, if they let the present opportunity slip,

ſlip, or imparted their deſign to others, and openly proteſting, that if they did not make the attempt that very day, he would prevent any one from accuſing him by diſcloſing the whole matter to the Mage, it was unanimouſly agreed, that they ſhould not ſeparate, under any pretence whatſoever, but immediately, upon the breaking up of their meeting, go to the palace, and either put the uſurper to death, or die in the attempt[r].

WHILE they were concerting their meaſures, the two Mages in order to remove all ſuſpicion engaged Prexaſpes in their intereſt, and with great promiſes prevailed upon him to give his word, and oblige himſelf by oath, never to diſcover the fraud they had put upon the Perſians. Prexaſpes, as we have related above, knew, that Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus was not living, having by the command of Cambyſes put him to death with his own hand. The Mages having engaged Prexaſpes to be ſilent, acquainted him farther, that having determined to aſſemble all the Perſians under the walls of the palace, they deſired he would aſcend a certain tower, and from thence publicly declare, that the king upon the throne was truly Smerdis the ſon of Cyrus. Prexaſpes having taken upon him this office, the Mages ſummoned the Perſians together, and commanded him to mount the tower, and from thence harangue the people. Prexaſpes began his diſcourſe with the genealogy of Cyrus, and then put the Perſians in mind of the great favours the nation had received from that prince. After having extolled Cyrus and his family, to the great aſtoniſhment of all, he ſincerely declared all that had paſſed, and told the people, that the apprehenſions of the danger he muſt inevitably run by publiſhing the impoſture had conſtrained him to conceal it ſo long; but now, not being able to act any longer ſuch a diſhonourable part, he acknowledged, that he had been compelled by Cambyſes to put his brother to death with his own hand, and that the perſon who poſſeſſed the throne was Smerdis the Mage. He then begged pardon of the gods and men for the crime he had committed by compulſion and againſt his will, and fulminating many imprecations againſt the Perſians, if they ſhould neglect to recover the ſovereignty and puniſh the uſurper, he threw himſelf headlong from the top of the tower, and died on the ſpot. 'Tis eaſy to

[r] Idem, l. iii. c. 74. 75.

to imagine what confusion the news of this accident occasioned in the palace [s].

In the mean time, the conspirators, not knowing what had happened, were going to the palace determined to execute their design. On their way they were informed of what Prexaspes had said and done, which obliging them to retire and confer together, Otanes earnestly desired them anew to defer the enterprize. But Darius still insisting upon the immediate execution, and rejecting all proposals of delay (P), they fell in with his opinion and went directly to the palace. The guards respecting their dignity, and not suspecting persons of their rank and figure, permitted them to pass without asking them any questions. But as they came near the king's apartment, the eunuchs, who attended there to receive messages, refused them admittance, and threatened the guards for permitting them to pass. Upon this the seven Persians, encouraging each other, drew their swords, killed all that opposed their passage, and penetrated to the very room where the two Mages were consulting about the late affair of Prexaspes. They no sooner heard this tumult and uproar, but the one takeing up a bow and the other a javelin, the weapons that came first to hand in that confusion, they engaged the conspirators. He, who had the bow, soon found that weapon of no use in so close an action; but the other with his javelin wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and struck out the eye of Intaphernes. One of the brothers being killed, the other retired into a room, adjoining to the place where they fought, with a design to shut himself in; but was so closely pursued by Darius and Gobryas that they broke into the room with him. Gobryas having seized him held him fast in his arms, but, as it was quite dark in that place, Darius stood still, not knowing how to direct his blow, and fearing to strike lest he should kill his friend instead of the enemy; which Gobryas perceiving desired

Smerdis the Mage murdered.

[s] Idem, c. 74, 75.

(P) Herodotus (19) tell us, that as they were contending seven hawks appeared pursuing two vultures in the air, and tearing them to pieces; which when the seven Persians observed, they accepted the omen, all to a man fell in with Darius, and marched strait to the palace.

(19) Herodot l. iii. c. 76.

deſired him to ſtrike, though he ſhould kill them both. Upon this Darius reſolved to put all to the venture, and by good fortune killed the uſurper. Having thus diſpatched the two brothers; they cut off their heads, and leaving their two wounded companions to ſecure the palace, the other five, carrying the heads of the two Mages, with their hands all ſmeared with blood, marched out of the palace, expoſed the heads to the eyes of the people, and declared the whole impoſture. The Perſians being informed of what paſſed, were ſo enraged againſt the impoſtors, that they fell upon the whole ſect, and killed every Mage they met; and if night coming on had not put an end to the ſlaughter, not one of that order had been left alive. The day on which this happened was ever afterwards celebrated by the Perſians with the greateſt ſolemnity, called by the name of Magophonia, or the ſlaughter of the Mages. On that feſtival the Mages durſt not for many years after appear abroad, but were obliged to ſhut themſelves up in their houſes [t].

SMERDIS reigned only eight months, during which time a ſtop was put to the rebuilding of the temple at Jeruſalem. For aſſoon as he was ſeated on the throne, the Samaritans acquainted him, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple, that they had always been a rebellious and ſtubborn people, and that if he allowed them to finiſh that work they would without doubt withdraw their obedience from the king, whereby he would loſe all the provinces on that ſide of the Euphrates. For the truth of what they ſaid concerning the ungovernable temper of the Jews, they referred him to the records of his predeceſſors, which they deſired him to enquire into touching this matter. And accordingly Smerdis, upon theſe remonſtrances having cauſed the records to be carefully examined, and finding with what difficulty the Jews had been reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, iſſued an edict, forbidding them to proceed any farther in the work, they had begun, and charged the Samaritans to ſee it put in execution. Hereupon the work was laid aſide till the ſecond year of Darius Hyſtaſpis, that is for the ſpace of near two years [u] (Q).

[t] Idem, c. 76——79. [u] Ezra iv. 7—24.

(Q) That Cambyſes was the Ahaſuerus and Smerdis the Artarerxes of ſcripture is plain from their obſtructing the work of the temple: For they are ſaid in the ſacred hiſtory to have reign-

ed

But to return to the conſpirators; when the tumult and diſorders, which attend ſuch events, were appeaſed, they met to conſult among themſelves what form of government they ſhould introduce. Otanes was for a republic, Megabyzus ſpoke for an oligarchy, and Darius declared for monarchy. The opinion of the latter was, after a long debate, embraced by all except Otanes, who, finding his ſentiments over-ruled, told them, that ſince they were reſolved to ſet up a king he would not be their competitor for a dignity which he abhorred, and that being determined not to govern as a king he would not be governed by one, and therefore was willing to give up his right to the crown, on condition that neither he nor his poſterity ſhould be ſubject to the royal power. The other ſix granted him his demand; whereupon he immediately retired, and his deſcendants alone retained their liberty, which they enjoyed even in our author's days, being then no farther ſubject to the king than it ſuited their conveniency, and only obliged to conform to the cuſtoms and manners of the country [w].

Upon his departure the other ſix began to deliberate in what manner they ſhould proceed to the election of a new king. But in the firſt place they unanimouſly agreed, that whoſoever of them ſhould be choſen, he ſhould every year preſent Otanes and his poſterity with a Median veſt, a mark of great diſtinction among the Perſians, becauſe he had been the chief author of the enterprize. In the next place they determined, that the ſeven ſhould have full liberty to enter into all the apartments of the palace without being introduced; and that the king ſhould not be allowed to marry a woman out of any other family than of the ſeven conſpirators. Then taking the future election into conſideration, they thought fit to refer it to the Gods; and accordingly they all agreed to meet the next morning by the riſing of the ſun on horſe-back, at an appointed place in the ſuburbs of the city, and that he, whoſe horſe firſt neighed, ſhould be king; for the ſun being the chief deity

[w] Herodot. l. iii. c. 83.

ed between Cyrus and Darius, by whoſe decree the temple was finiſhed. But none reigning between Cyrus and Darius except Cambyſes and Smerdis, we muſt conclude, that none but Cambyſes and Smerdis could be the Ahaſuerus and Artaxerxes, who are ſaid in Ezra (20) to have put a ſtop to this work.

(20) Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

deity of the Perſians, they imagined by this method to refer the election to him. Oebares, who had the charge of Darius's horſes, hearing of this agreement, led a mare over-night to the place appointed, and brought to her his maſter's horſe. The next morning the ſix Perſians repairing to the place purſuant to their agreement, Darius's horſe remembering the mare immediately neighed, and his competitors diſmounting adored him as king [x].

THE Perſian empire being thus reſtored by the valour of theſe ſeven lords, they were raiſed by the new king to the higheſt dignities, and honoured with moſt ample privileges; in all public affairs they were the firſt to deliver their opinions; and ever afterwards the Perſian kings of this race had ſeven chief counſellors privileged in the ſame manner, and by whoſe advice all the public affairs of the kingdom were tranſacted. Under this character we find them often mentioned in ſcripture [y].

DARIUS was the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, a noble Perſian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had attended Cyrus in all his wars, and was at that time governor of the province of Perſia. Darius is called in the writings of the modern Perſians Guſhtaſp, and his father Lohraſp, and are famous among the Perſians to this day. Darius, the better to eſtabliſh himſef on the throne, married the two Daughters of Cyrus, Atoſſa and Artyſtona. The former had been wife to her brother Cambyſes, and alſo to the Mage, but Artyſtona had not been married before, and proved the moſt favoured and beloved of all his wives; for to theſe he added Parmys the daughter of the true Smerdis, and Phedyma the daughter of Otanes, who detected the Mage. Having thus confirmed his power, he divided the whole empire into twenty ſatrapies or governments, and appointed a governor over each diviſion, ordering them to pay an annual tribute. Perſia alone was excepted from all manner of taxes; the Ethiopians and inhabitants of Colchis were enjoined to make only ſome preſents, and the Arabians to furniſh yearly ſuch a quantity of frankincenſe as was equal in weight to a thouſand talents. By this eſtabliſhment Darius received the yearly tribute of 14560 Euboic talents, beſides ſeveral other ſums of ſmall conſequence.

Darius. Year after the flood, 2477. Before Chriſt 522.

DARIUS in the very beginning of his reign put to death Intaphernes, one of the ſeven conſpirators, on the following

[x] Herodot c. 84—87. [y] Ezra vii. 14. Eſth. i. 14, &c.

ing occaſion. Intaphernes went to the palace to confer with Darius; but attempting to enter, purſuant to the agreement above-mentioned, in virtue of which they were to have free acceſs to the king at all hours, except when he was alone with ſome of his wives, he was ſtopt by the door-keeper and a meſſenger, under colour that the king was in company with one of his wives. Intaphernes not believing them drew his ſcymetar, and having cut off both their noſes and ears, faſtened their heads in a bridle, and ſo left them. In this condition they went in, and ſhewing themſelves to the king, acquainted him with the cauſe of the ill uſage they had received. Darius apprehending that this attempt might have been concerted by the ſix, ſent for them, one after another, and aſked whether they approved the action. But finding that Intaphernes alone was guilty, he cauſed him to be ſeized with his children and family, leſt his relations, whom he ſuſpected, ſhould raiſe a rebellion. While they were under confinement, the wife of Intaphernes made ſuch loud complaints and lamentations at the gates of the palace, that Darius touched with compaſſion granted her the life of any one among her relations, leaving her the choice of the perſon. She after ſome deliberation choſe her brother. Which Darius hearing, aſked her, why ſhe had ſo little regard for her huſband and children, as to ſave the life of her brother rather than theirs. The woman readily anſwered, that ſhe could get another huſband, and have by him other children, if ſhe ſhould be deprived of thoſe ſhe had; but could never have another brother, her father and mother being already dead. The king was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that he not only pardoned her brother, but ſaved alſo her eldeſt ſon. The others were all put to death with Intapherenes, without any regard to his late deſerts [z].

In the beginning of the ſecond year of Darius, the Jews reſumed the work of the temple, being exhorted thereto by the prophet Haggai [a]. Which the Samaritans underſtanding applied themſelves to Tatnai, whom Darius had appointed governor of Syria and Paleſtine, acquainting him, that the Jews were not authorized to purſue that work, which if perfected would encourage them to ſhake off the Perſian yoke. Upon theſe remonſtrances Tatnai accompanied by Setharboznai, who ſeems to have been governor of Samaria, went up to Jeruſalem, and after viewing

[z] Idem, c. 117. [a] Haggai i. 1.

ing the work enquired of the elders by what authority they had reſumed it. The elders produced the decree of Cyrus; whereupon the governor, who was a man of great juſtice and probity, wrote to the king, fairly ſtating the caſe, and deſiring that ſearch might be made into the archives for the decree of Cyrus, which the Jews produced to juſtify themſelves in what they were doing. The king, upon the receipt of this letter, ordered the archives of Babylon and Ecbatan to be carefully examined, and the decree being found in thoſe of the latter, for Cyrus was at Ecbatan in Media when he granted it, the king commanded it to be ſtrictly obſerved in every particular, and having ſent it to Tatnai and Setharboznai enjoined them to ſee it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing, that whoſoever ſhould attempt to alter the edict, or prevent its being put in execution, ſhould have his houſe pulled down, and a gibbet being made of the timber of it, he ſhould be hanged thereon. On the publication of this decree at Jeruſalem, the work of the temple went on very ſucceſsfully, and the ſtate of the Jews in Judæa and Jeruſalem was entirely reſtored [b] (R).

ABOUT the beginning of the fifth Year of Darius, the Babylonians, not being able to live any longer in ſubjection to the Perſians, who not only loaded them with heavy taxes but had removed the imperial ſeat from Babylon, formerly the miſtreſs of the eaſt, to Suſa, and thereby greatly diminiſhed the ſplendor of that city, attempted to retrieve their antient grandeur, by ſetting up for themſelves againſt the Perſians, as they had done in former times againſt the Aſſyrians. With this view, taking advantage of the troubles that had happended, firſt on the death of Cambyſes, and afterwards on the murder of the uſurper Smerdis, they had privately ſtored their city with all manner of proviſions for many years, and at laſt broke out into an open rebellion, which drew Darius with all his forces to beſiege the city. The Babylonians, ſeeing themſelves ſhut up by ſo numerous and powerful an army, turned all their thoughts

Year of the flood 2487. Before Chriſt 517. Babylon revolts.

[b] Ezra vi.

(R) From the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewiſh account (which was the 17th according to the Babylonian computation) when Jeruſalem was deſtroyed, to the 4th year of Darius Hyſtaſpis, when the Jews were thoroughly reſtored, juſt ſeventy years paſſed according to the canon. So that ſacred and profane chronology exactly agree in this particular.

to the supporting of a long siege, which they imagined would tire out the enemy's troops. To prevent the consumption of their provisions they took the most desperate and barbarous resolution, that ever was put in execution by any nation. They agreed among themselves to get rid of all unnecessary mouths, and therefore drawing together all the women, old men, and children, they strangled them without distinction, whether wives, fathers, mothers, or sisters, every one being allowed to save only the wife he liked best, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house[c].

Darius, having lain before Babylon a year and eight months, and being no less tired than his army with so tedious a siege, endeavoured by various stratagems and artifices to take the place, among others he made use of that which had succeeded so well with Cyrus. But all his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied vigilance of the Babylonians. When he was ready to break up the siege and return to Persia, Zopyrus, one of his chief commanders, put him in possession of the town by the following contrivance. He cut off his nose and ears, and, having mangled his body in a most cruel manner with stripes, fled to the Babylonians thus disfigured, feigning to have been so treated by Darius for advising him to raise the siege. The Babylonians, seeing a man of that distinction so barbarously used, believed all he said against Darius, and, assuring themselves of his fidelity, gave him the command of some forces. With these he sallied out, and having surrounded ten thousand Persians, which Darius by agreement had posted near the walls, he cut them all in pieces on the spot. A few days after in another sally he killed two thousand more; which so pleased the Babylonians, that he was appointed commander in chief of all their forces. Being vested with this command, he made a third sally, and put four thousand more Persians to the sword. Upon this success Zopyrus acquired such credit, that the guard of the city was entirely committed to his care. Not long after Darius, pursuant to the agreement they had made, advanced with the whole body of his army, and surrounded the city. The Babylonians mounting the walls made a vigorous defence; but in the mean time Zopyrus, opening the gates of Belus and Cissia, introduced the Persians, and delivered the city up to Darius, who without this stratagem could never have mastered it. Thus Babylon was taken.

Babylon taken.

[c] Idem, c. 150.

taken a ſecond time, and Darius, being put in poſſeſſion of it, beat down the walls from 200 cubits high to 50; and of theſe walls only Strabo [d] is to be underſtood to ſpeak, where he tells us, that the walls of Babylon were only fifty cubits high. As for the inhabitants, after having impaled about three thouſand of the moſt guilty and active in the revolt, he pardoned the reſt. And becauſe the Babylonians had deſtroyed their women, he took care to furniſh them with wives, enjoining the neighbouring provinces to ſend 50000 women to Babylon, without which ſupply the place muſt ſoon have become depopulated. As for Zopyrus, he was deſervedly rewarded by Darius with the higheſt honours he could heap upon him during the whole courſe of his life. That prince frequently uſed to ſay, that he would willingly loſe twenty Babylons, rather than ſee Zopyrus ſo disfigured. Beſides many other ample rewards, he beſtowed upon him the revenues of Babylon for life, free from all charges and taxes, and could never after behold him without ſhedding many tears [e].

The Scythian expedition.

AFTER the reduction of Babylon, Darius undertook an expedition againſt the Scythians, inhabiting thoſe countries which lie between the Danube and the Tanais. His pretence for this war was, to revenge the calamities which they had brought upon Aſia, when they invaded that country about 120 years before, and held it in ſubjection for the ſpace of 28 years, as we have related in the hiſtory of Media. This he gave out as the motive inducing him to a war, to which his ambition alone and deſire of extending his conqueſts prompted him. Having made vaſt preparations for this expedition, and levied an army of 700,000 men, he marched to the Thracian Boſphorus, and having there paſſed over on a bridge of boats, he reduced all Thrace; from Thrace he advanced to the Iſter or Danube, where he had appointed his fleet to join him. Here he marched his army over another bridge of boats, and entered Scythia. The Scythians, after having conferred together about the meaſures they ſhould take to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, determined not to venture an engagement in the open field, but to withdraw themſelves from the frontiers in proportion as the Perſians advanced, laying waſte the country and filling up the wells and ſprings. Purſuant to this reſolution they met Darius on the frontiers, and finding him diſpoſed to give them battle, they retired,

[d] Strab. l. vi. [e] Herodot. ibid.

drawing him from country to country, till his army was quite tired with ſuch tedious and fatiguing marches. At laſt he began to be ſenſible of the danger he was in of periſhing with all his forces, and having reſolved to give over that raſh enterprize and retire home, he lighted in the night a great number of fires, and leaving the old men and ſick behind him in the camp, he marched off with all poſſible expedition in order to reach the Danube. The Scythians, perceiving the next morning that the enemy was decamped, detached a conſiderable body to the Danube, who, as they were well acquainted with the roads, arrived at the river before Darius. The Scythians had ſent expreſſes before-hand to perſuade the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge, to break it down, and retire to their own country. Now they preſſed them to it more earneſtly, repreſenting to them, that, as the time preſcribed by Darius was expired, they were at liberty to return home, without breaking their word, or being wanting to their duty; for Darius had given them leave to break down the bridge, and withdraw to their own country, if he did not return at a prefixed time, which was already elapſed. Hereupon the Ionians began to conſult among themſelves, whether or no they ſhould comply with the requeſt of the Scythians. Miltiades, prince of the Cherſoneſus of Thrace, having the public intereſt more at heart than his own private advantage, was for embracing ſo favourable an opportunity of ſhaking off the Perſian yoke, breaking down the bridge, and thereby cutting off Darius's retreat. All the other commanders fell in with him, except Hiſtiæus prince of Miletus, who repreſented to the Ionian chiefs, that their power was linked with that of Darius, ſince it was under his protection that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of Ionia would not fail to depoſe them and recover their liberty, if the Perſian power ſhould ſink or decline. This ſpeech made a deep impreſſion upon the Ionian generals, and private, intereſt prevailing over the public good, they determined to wait for Darius, but, in order to deceive the Scythians and prevent them from uſing any violence, they declared, that their deſign was to retire purſuant to their requeſt; and the better to impoſe upon the enemy, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the Scythians to return back, meet Darius, and defeat him. They readily complied with the Ionians requeſt, but miſſed Darius who arrived ſafe at the bridge, repaſſed the Danube, and returned into Thrace.

Thrace. Here he left Megabyſus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army to complete the conqueſt of that country. With the reſt of his troops he repaſſed the Boſphorus, and took up his quarters at Sardis, where he ſpent the winter and the greateſt part of the year following to refreſh his army, which had ſuffered extremely in that raſh and unſucceſsful expedition [f].

MEGABYZUS having brought all Thrace under ſubjection, diſpatched ſeven Perſian noblemen, that ſerved under him, to Amyntas king of Macedon, enjoyning him to acknowledge Darius for his maſter by the delivery of earth and water. Amyntas not only complied with their requeſt, but received them into his houſe, and, having prepared a ſumptuous feaſt, entertained them with great magnificence. At the end of the entertainment, the Perſians, being heated with wine, deſired Amyntas to bring in his concubines, wives, and daughters. Though this was contrary to the cuſtom of the country, the king, fearing to diſpleaſe them, did as they required. But the Perſians not obſerving a due decency on that occaſion, the king's ſon, by name Alexander, being no longer able to ſee his mother and ſiſters treated in ſuch a manner, contrived to ſend them out of the room as if they were to return immediately, and at the ſame time had the precaution to get his father out of the company. In the mean time, he cauſed a like number of young men to be dreſſed like women, and armed with poniards under their garments. Theſe he brought into the room inſtead of the others, and when the Perſians began to uſe them as they had treated the women, they drew their poniards, fell upon the Perſians, and killed both the noblemen and their attendants. Great ſearch was made by Megabyzus for theſe noblemen, but Alexander having with large preſents bribed Bubares, who was ſent to enquire after them, their death was concealed, and the whole matter ſtifled [g].

THE Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for invading their country, having paſſed the Danube laid waſte all that part of Thrace which had ſubmitted to the Perſians, as far as the Helleſpont, and loaded with booty returned home without meeting with any oppoſition.

DARIUS, having ſufficiently refreſhed his troops after the Scythian expedition, began to think of extending his do- Conquers India.

minions

[f] Herodot. l. iv. c. 102—144. [g] Idem, l. v. c. 17—21.

minions eaſtwards, and in order to facilitate his deſign reſolved in the firſt place to make a diſcovery of thoſe countries. With this view he cauſed a fleet to be built and equipped at Caſpatyrus, a city on the river Indus. The command of this fleet he gave to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia a city of Caria, who was well verſed in maritime affairs. His orders were to ſail down the current, and make the beſt diſcoveries he could of the countries lying on either ſide of the river, till he arrived at the ſouthern ocean; from thence he was to ſteer his courſe weſtward, and that way return back to Perſia. Scylax, having exactly obſerved his inſtructions, and ſailed down the river Indus, entered the Red-Sea by the ſtraits of Babelmandel, and on the 30th month from his firſt ſetting out landed in Egypt, at the ſame place, from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly ſent out the Phænicians, who were in his ſervice, to ſail round the coaſt of African. From hence Scylax returned to Suſa, where he gave Darius a full account of his obſervations. Darius hereupon entered India at the head of a numerous army, and reducing that large country, made it the 20th province of the Perſian empire. Our author gives us no account of this important war; he only ſays, that Darius received from the provinces he conquered in this expedition an annual tribute of 360 talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the Perſian year at that time [h] (S).

The revolt of the Ionians.

DARIUS, after his return to Suſa from the Scythian expedition, had appointed his brother Artaphernes governor of Sardis, and given Otanes the government of Thrace and the adjacent countries along the ſea-coaſt, in the room of Megabyzus. In the mean time, a ſedition happening in Naxus, the chief Iſland of the Cyclades in the Ægean ſea, now called the Archipelago, the principal inhabitants, being over-powered by the populace, were baniſhed the iſland. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to Ariſtagoras, beſeeching him to reſtore them to their country. Ariſtagoras at that time reſided at Miletus, and governed that city as deputy

[h] Herodot. l. iv. c. 44—40.

(S) This payment was made according to the ſtandard of the Euboic talent, the ſame with the Attic, and therefore, according to the loweſt computation, amounted to one million and ninety-five thouſand pound ſterling.

puty to Histiæus (T), to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law. When Aristagoras understood their case he resolved to improve the opportunity, and attempt to make himself master of Naxus. With this view he promised to give the exiles all the assistance he could. But not being powerful enough to accomplish his design himself, he communicated the matter to Artaphernes the king's brother, governor of Sardis, representing to him, that this was a fair opportunity of reducing Naxus; that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades might be easily

(T) Darius, on his return to Sardis after his unhappy expedition against the Scythians, being informed, that he owed his own safety and that of his whole army to Histiæus, who had prevailed upon the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for that prince, and desired him freely to ask what favour he pleased for the eminent service he had done him. Histiæus desired the king to grant him the Edonian Myrcinus, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, with the liberty of building a city there. His request being granted, he returned to Miletus, and having there equipped a fleet he sailed for Thrace, took possession of the territory granted him, and began the intended city. Megabyzus, who was then governor of Thrace for Darius, being apprized how prejudicial that project might prove to the king's affairs, on his return to Sardis represented to Darius, that this new city stood upon a navigable river; that the country round about it afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations both Greek and Barbarians, which could furnish great numbers of men fit both for the sea and land service; that if once these nations should be governed by such a skilful and enterprizing prince as Histiæus, they might soon become so powerful both by sea and land, that the king of Persia would not be able to keep them in subjection, especially since they might be supplied with gold and silver from the mines, with which that country abounded, to carry on any enterprize. Darius, being by these remonstrances made sensible of the mistake he had committed, dispatched a messenger to Histiæus, enjoining him to repair to Sardis, in order to deliver his advice concerning matters of the utmost consequence. Having thus drawn him to Sardis, he took him with him to Susa, pretending, that he wanted such an able counsellor and faithful friend to be always about him, and telling him, that he should be able to find him something in Persia, which would make him ample amends both for Myrcinus and Miletus. Histiæus, finding himself under a necessity of complying, attended Darius to Susa, and left Aristagoras governor of Miletus in his absence. To this Aristagoras the banished Naxians applied for relief (21).

(21) Herodot. l. v. c. 1.

eaſily brought under ſubjection; that the iſle of Eubœa lying very near the other would be an eaſy conqueſt, and from thence the king would have a free paſſage into Greece. Artaphernes was ſo well pleaſed with theſe propoſals, that inſtead of the hundred ſhips, which Ariſtagoras demanded, he promiſed him two hundred, provided the king approved of the enterprize. And accordingly having obtained the king's conſent, he ſent the next ſpring to Miletus the number of ſhips which he had promiſed, under the command of Megabates a noble Perſian of the Achæmenian family. But his commiſſion being to obey the orders of Ariſtagoras, and the haughty Perſian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, a diſſention aroſe between the two generals, which was carried ſo far, that Megabates, to be revenged on Ariſtagoras, gave the Naxians ſecret intelligence of the deſign that was carrying on againſt them. Hereupon they made ſuch preparations for their defence, that the Perſians, after having ſpent four months in beſieging the chief town of the iſland, and conſumed all their proviſions, were obliged to retire. The project having thus miſcarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Ariſtogoras, and his falſe accuſations being more favourably heard than the juſt defence of the other. Artaphernes condemned him to defray all the charges of the expedition, giving him to underſtand, that they would be exacted with the utmoſt rigor. As he was not able to pay ſo large a ſum, he foreſaw that this muſt end, not only in the loſs of his government, but his utter ruin. This deſperate ſituation made him entertain thoughts of revolting from the king, as the only expedient, whereby he could extricate himſelf from his preſent difficulties. No ſooner had he formed this deſign, but a meſſenger arrived from Hiſtiæus who confirmed him in it. (U). Hiſtiæus, after ſeveral years continuance at the Perſian court, being weary of the manners of that nation, and deſirous to return to his country, thought this the moſt likely means to

(U) Hiſtiæus being deſirous to impart his deſign to Ariſtagoras, and finding no other means, by reaſon all the paſſages leading into Ionia were guarded, ſhaved the hair of one of his ſervants in whoſe fidelity he moſt confided, and having imprinted the meſſage on his head, kept him at Suſa till his hair was grown again. He then diſpatched him to Miletus without any other inſtructions, than that upon his arrival he ſhould deſire Ariſtagoras to cut off his hair and look upon his head (22).

(22) Herodot. ibid. c. 36.

to accompliſh his deſire. For he flattered himſelf, that if any diſturbances ſhould ariſe in Ionia, he could prevail with Darius to ſend him thither to appeaſe them, as in effect it happened. Ariſtagoras, finding his own inclinations backed by the orders of Hiſtiæus, imparted his deſign to the leading men of Ionia, whom he found ready to come into his meaſures, and therefore, being now determined to revolt, applied himſelf wholly to make all manner of preparations for ſo great an undertaking [i].

THE next year, Ariſtagoras to engage the Ionians more reſolutely to ſtand by him, re-inſtated them in their liberty and all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he diveſted himſelf of his power, and gave it up into the hands of the people. He then undertook a journey through all Ionia, where by his example and credit he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the Greeks then called them, tyrants, to do the ſame. Having thus united them all into one common league, and of which he himſelf was declared the head, he openly revolted from the king, and made great preparations both by ſea and land for carrying on a war. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more againſt the Perſians, in the beginning of the following year he went to Lacedæmon to engage that city in his intereſt. But not being able to prevail upon Cleomenes(W), who was at that time king of Lacædemon, to ſend him any ſuccours, he proceeded to Athens, where he met with a much more favourable reception. For he had the

[i] Idem, l. v. c. 35, 36.

(W) Cleomenes having appointed him a time and place for an interview, Ariſtagoras repreſented to him, that the Lacedæmonians and Ionians were countrymen; that Sparta being the moſt powerful city of Greece, it would be much to their honour to concur with him in the deſign he had formed of reſtoring the Ionians to their antient liberty, that the Perſians, their common enemy, were not a warlike People, but extremely rich, and conſequently would become an eaſy prey to the Lacedæmonians; that, conſidering the preſent ſpirit and diſpoſition of the Ionians, it would not be difficult for them to carry their victorious arms even to Suſa, the metropolis of the Perſian empire, and the place of the king's reſidence. At the ſame time, he ſhewed him a deſcription of all the nations and cities, through which they were to paſs, engraved on a plate of braſs, which he had brought along with him. Cleomenes deſired three days time to conſider of the matter, which being expired, he aſked Ariſtagoras in how many days

the good fortune to arrive there at a time, when the Athenians were disposed to close with any measures against the Persians, being highly exasperated against them on the following occasion. Hippias, the son of Pisistratus tyrant of Athens, having been banished about ten years before, and tried in vain several other ways to bring about his restoration, at length applied himself to Artaphernes at Sardis; and having insinuated himself into his favour, did all that lay in his power to stir him up against them. The Athenians having intelligence of this, sent ambassadors to Sardis, desiring Arthaphernes not to give ear to what any of their out-laws should insinuate to their disadvantage. The answer of Artaphernes to this embassy was, that if they desired to live in peace, they must recal Hippias. This haughty message incensed the Athenians to a great degree against the Persians, and Aristagoras, arriving there just at this juncture, easily obtained whatever he desired. The Athenians ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be immediately equipped and sent to the assistance of the Ionians.

THE

days one might travel from the coast of Ionia to the city where the king resided, Aristagoras, though an artful man and far superior in all respects to Cleomenes, yet made a slip, as our author observes, in his answer to this demand; for as he designed to draw the Spartans into Asia, he ought to have lessened the distance from the coasts of Ionia to Susa; whereas he told him plainly, 'twas a journey of three months, which Cleomenes no sooner heard, than, interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he commanded him to depart Sparta before sun-set, for advising the Spartans to take a march into Asia, not to be performed in less than three months after their landing. Cleomenes then withdrew; but Aristagoras, taking an olive-branch in his hand after the manner of suppliants, followed him home to his house, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by arguments of another nature, that is, by presents; but before he made any offer he desired him to bid his daughter Gorgo, a child about eight or nine years old, to withdraw; but Cleomenes telling him that he might speak freely without apprehending any thing from so young a child, Aristagoras began with the promise of ten talents, in case Cleomenes would comply with his request, and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers till he came to the sum of fifty talents, and then the girl cried out, Fly, father, fly, else this stranger will corrupt you. Cleomenes was so well pleased with the child's admonition, that he immediately retired into another apartment, and ordered Aristagoras that instant to depart his dominions (23).

(23) Idem, l. v. c. 51.

THE Ionians having at last drawn together all their troops, and being reinforced with the twenty Athenian ships and five more from Eretria, a city in the island of Eubœa, they set sail for Ephesus, and having left their ships there, they marched by land to the city of Sardis, which they easily made themselves masters of. As most of the houses were built with reeds, an Ionian soldier having accidently set one of them on fire, and the flame spreading, the whole city was reduced to ashes; but the citadel, whither Artaphernes had retired, was preserved. After this accident, the Persians and Lydians drawing together their forces, and other troops coming full march to their assistance, the Ionians, who had not been able to force the citadel, judged it was high time for them to withdraw; and accordingly marched back with all possible expedition in order to reimbark at Ephesus. But, before he reached that place, they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians, who escaped, immediately hoisted sail and returned home; nor could they ever afterwards be prevailed upon to concern themselves in this war. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war, which was carried on afterwards for several generations by the two nations, and ended at last in the utter destruction of the Persian empire. For Darius, being informed of the burning of Sardis, and hearing that the Athenians had been concerned in that undertaking, determined from that time to make war upon Greece, and that he might never forget his resolution, he commanded one of his officers to cry every day to him with a loud voice, while he was at dinner, three times, Remember the Athenians. In the burning of Sardis the temple of Cybele, the chief goddess of that country, accidently taking fire, was entirely consumed. This accident served afterwards as a pretence to the Persians for burning all the temples of Greece. But the true motive which led them to this we shall have occasion to mention hereafter [k].

THE Ionians, though deserted by the Athenians, and considerably weakened by their late overthrow, did not lose courage, but pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed to the Hellespont and the Propontis, where they reduced the city of Byzantium, and most of the other Greek cities on those coasts. As they were sailing back they

[k] Idem, ibid. c. 99—105.

they made a descent in Caria, and obliged the inhabitants to join them in this war. The people of Cyprus likewise entered into the same confederacy, and openly revolted from the Persians. The Persian generals in those quarters, finding that the revolt began to be universal, drew together what troops they had in Cilicia and the neighbouring provinces, and at the same time enjoined the Phœnicians to assist them with their whole naval power. The Ionians, as they were sailing to Cyprus, fell in with the Phœnician fleet, attacked, and dispersed them. But at the same time the Persian troops, that were landed in Cyprus, haveing gained a complete victory over the rebels, and killed in the engagement Onesilus, the son of Chersis, author of their revolt, the Ionians reaped no advantage from their victory by sea; for the whole island of Cyprus was again brought under subjection [1].

After the reduction of Cyprus, Daurises, Hymees, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all sons-in-law to Darius, having divided their forces into three bodies, marched three different ways against the revolters. Daurises held his course to the Hellespont, and from thence, after possessing himself of the revolted cities, marched against the Carians, whom he overthrew in two successive battles; but in a third being drawn into an ambuscade he was slain with several other Persians of distinction, and his whole army cut in pieces. Hymees, after having taken the city of Cius in Mysia, reduced all the Ilian coast, but falling sick at Troas soon after died. Artaphernes and Otanes with the rest of the Persian generals, finding that Miletus was the center of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces, concluding, that, if they could carry that city, all the others would submit of their own accord. Pursuant to this resolution they entered Ionia and Æolia, where their main strength lay, and took the city of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and Cyma in Æolia, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that Aristagoras, not finding himself in a condition after that loss to make head against the enemy, resolved to abandon Miletus, and consult his own safety by retiring to some more distant place. Accordingly he embarked with such as were willing to follow him, and set sail for the river Strymon in Thrace, where he seized on the territory of Myrcinus

[1] Idem, l. vi. c. 1—5.

Myrcinus, which had been formerly given by Darius to Hiſtiæus. But as he was beſieging a place ſituated beyond thoſe limits, he was killed by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces. On his departure from Miletus, he left the government in the hands of Pythagoras an eminent citizen, who being informed, that Artaphernes and Otanes deſigned to bend all their force againſtMiletus, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the Ionians. In this meeting it was agreed, that they ſhould not attempt to bring an army into the field, but only to fortify and ſtore their city with all manner of proviſions for a ſiege, and to draw all their forces together to engage the Perſians at ſea, thinking themſelves, by reaſon of their ſkill in maritime affairs, moſt likely to have the advantage in a naval engagement. The place appointed for their general rendezvous was Lada, a ſmall iſland over-againſt Miletus, where accordingly they met with a fleet of 353 ſail. At the ſight of this fleet the Perſians, though double their number, avoided engaging, till by their emiſſaries they had ſecretly corrupted the greateſt part of the confederates, and engaged them to deſert the common cauſe. When they came to an engagement, the Samians, Leſbians, and ſeveral others, hoiſting ſail returned to their reſpective countries. As the remaining fleet of the confederates did not conſiſt of above 100 ſhips, they were quickly overpowered by the Perſians, and almoſt entirely deſtroyed. The city of Miletus was immediately beſieged both by ſea and land, and ſoon taken by the conquerors, who razed it to the ground, the ſixth year after the revolt of Ariſtagoras. All the other towns that had revolted returned, either by force or of their own accord, to their duty. Thoſe that ſtood out were treated as they had been threatened before-hand; the handſomeſt of their youths were made eunuchs, and their young women ſent into Perſia; their cities and temples were reduced to aſhes. Such were the calamities the Ionians drew upon themſelves, by ſ/conding the ambitious views of two enterprizing men, Ariſtagoras and Hiſtiæus[m].

THE latter had his ſhare in the general calamity; for, being taken by the Perſians and carried to Sardis, he was immediately crucified by order of Artaphernes, who haſtened his execution without conſulting Darius, leſt his affection for him ſhould incline him to pardon one, who, if he were again let looſe, would not fail to create new

[m] Idem, l. vi. 31—33.

disturbances. It afterwards appeared, that Artaphernes's conjecture was well grounded; for when Histiæus's head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably interred, as the remains of a person, to whom he professed infinite obligations. He was the most bold, restless, and enterprizing genius of his age; with him all means were good and lawful, that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he sacrificed the good of his country and the lives of his nearest relations. But we shall have occasion to bring him again upon the scene, in the history of Ionia and the Greek colonies in Asia.

The Phœnician fleet having reduced all the islands on the coasts of Asia, Darius recalled all his other generals, and appointed Mardonius the son of Gobryas, a young Persian nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be commander in chief of all the forces quartered on the coaste of Asia, ordering him to invade Greece, and revenge on the Athenians and Eretrians the burning of Sardis. Mardonius, having rendezvoused his forces at the Hellespont, marched, pursuant to his orders, through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to reduce Thasus, and then to coast along the shore as he marched by land, that they might be at hand to act in concert with each other. On his arrival in Macedonia all the country, terrified at such a mighty army, submitted. But the fleet, in doubling the cape of mount Athos in order to gain the coast of Macedonia, was entirely dispersed by a violent storm, which destroyed upwards of 300 ships and 20,000 men. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal; for being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured and fortified, the Bryges, a people of Thrace, attacking him in the night broke into the camp, slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself, who, being disabled by these losses to prosecute his design either by sea or land, marched back into Asia, without reaping any advantage for his master, or glory for himself in this expedition [n].

Darius hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, and ascribing it to his want of experience, thought fit to recall him, and appoint two other generals in his room, Datis

[n] Idem, l. vi. c 43—45.

a Mede, and Artaphernes his own nephew, being the son of Artaphernes, the king's brother and late governor of Sardis. But before he would make any further attempts upon Greece, he judged it expedient first to sound the Greeks, and try how those different states stood affected to, or were averse from, the Persian government. With this view he sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Greek cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demand; as did also the inhabitants of Ægina, a small island over-against, and not far from, Athens. But at Athens and Sparta they did not meet with so favourable a reception, being in one place thrown into a deep ditch, and in the other into a well, and bid fetch earth and water from thence. This they did in the heat of their passion, but when they came to a cooler temper they were ashamed of what they had done, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations, and accordingly sent embassadors to the king of Persia at Susa, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But Darius, declaring himself fully satisfied with that embassy, sent the embassadors back to their respective countries, though those of Sparta voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime which their countrymen had been guilty of [e].

Darius, being entirely bent upon the reduction of Greece, hastened the departure of his generals Datis and Artaphernes. Their instructions were to plunder the cities of Eretria and Athens, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, to make all the inhabitants of both places slaves and send them to Darius; for which purpose they went provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The two generals, having appointed their fleet to meet at Samos, set sail from thence with 600 ships and 500,000 men [p], steering their course to Naxus, which island they easily made themselves masters of, and having burnt the chief city and all temples both of this and the other islands in those seas, they stood directly for Eretria, a town in Eubœa, which they took after a siege of seven days by the treachery of Euphorbus and Philagrus, two chief citizens. Having taken Eretria, pillaged the city, set fire to the temples in revenge for those that had been burnt at Sardis, and enslaved the inhabitants pursuant to

[e] Idem, l. vii. c. 133. [p] Plutarch. in Moral. p. 829.

their orders, they ſailed to Attica. Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus, who, as we have ſaid above, had fled to the Perſians, conducted them, after they had landed, to the plains of Marathon. Hence they ſent heralds to Athens, acquainting the citizens with the fate of Eretria, in hopes that this news would frighten them into an immediate ſurrender. The Athenians had ſent to Lacedæmon to deſire ſuccours againſt the common enemy, which the Lacedæmonians granted, but they could not ſet out till ſome days after, by reaſon of an antient and ſuperſtitious cuſtom, which obtained at Sparta, and did not allow them to begin a march before the full moon. Not one of their other allies offered to aſſiſt them, ſuch a terror had the Perſian armies ſtruck into the cities of Greece. The inhabitants of Platæa alone furniſhed them with a thouſand men. In this extremity the Athenians were obliged to arm their ſlaves, which was contrary to their practice on all other occaſions.

THE Perſian army commanded by Datis conſiſted of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horſe, that of the Athenians amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, one of which was Miltiades, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention often in the hiſtory of Greece. Theſe ten generals were to have the command of the army, each for one day in his turn. When the army was aſſembled a diſpute aroſe among them, whether they ſhould venture an engagement in the field, or only fortify and defend the city. They were all for the latter opinion, except Miltiades, who declared, that the only way to raiſe the courage of their own troops, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy, was, to advance boldly and attack them with intrepidity. Ariſtides, convinced by the ſpeech of Miltiades, embraced his opinion, and brought over to it ſome of the other commanders. Callimachus likewiſe, who had been very ſanguine at firſt againſt ſuch a raſh enterprize, fell in at laſt with Miltiades, and a reſolution was taken to engage the enemy in the open field. All the commanders, who were for venturing a battle, when their turn came to command the army, yielded that honour to Miltiades, all ſentiments of jealouſy giving way to the public good; but though he accepted the power, yet he would not hazard an engagement before his own day. As ſoon as that came, he endeavoured to gain the advantage of the ground to make up what he wanted in ſtrength and

number.

number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy might not ſurround them, or fall upon his rear. He covered his flanks with large trees, which he cauſed to be cut down for that purpoſe, and to render the Perſian cavalry uſeleſs. The Athenian forces were ſo drawn up that they were equal in front to the Perſians; but becauſe they had not a ſufficient number of men in the center, that part was extremely weak, the main ſtrength of the army conſiſting in the wings. All things being thus diſpoſed, and the ſacrifice, according to the cuſtom of the Greeks, performed, Miltiades, without waiting the motions of the Perſians, commanded the ſignal for the battle to be given, when the Athenians fell upon the enemy, with ſuch courage and reſolution as can hardly be expreſſed. The Perſians ſeeing the Athenians advance imputed their reſolution to folly and deſpair, being not only few in number, but entirely deſtitute of horſe, and without ſtirring prepared themſelves to receive them. After a long and obſtinate fight, the Perſians and Sacæ broke the center of the Athenians, having made their greateſt efforts againſt that part. The center was commanded by Ariſtides and Themiſtocles, who with great intrepidity made head againſt the whole Perſian army, till, being borne down by their numbers and quite over-powered, they were obliged to give ground. But the Athenians and Platæans, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of their center, juſt as they were betaking themſelves to a precipitous flight, after having maintained a running fight for ſome hours. At their arrival the ſcale was quickly turned, for attacking the enemy in flank they ſoon put them in diſorder, and obliged them with great ſlaughter to fly to their fleet, whither they purſued them, took ſeven of their ſhips, and burnt a great many more. In this action ſeveral Athenians of great diſtinction were ſlain, and amongſt others Callimachus and Staſileus, two of the chief commanders, with only 200 private men, whereas the Perſians left 6000 dead in the field of battle, and beſides a great many were killed in the flight, burnt in their ſhips, and drowned in the ſea, as they attempted to ſave themſelves on board their veſſels. Hippias was killed in the battle, that ungrateful citizen, who, in order to recover the unjuſt dominion uſurped by his father Piſiſtratus, had put himſelf at the head of thoſe who were come with a deſign to reduce to aſhes that city to which he owed his birth.

The battle of Marathon Year of the flood 2509 Before Chriſt 490.

birth [q]. Immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, stained all over with blood, hastened to Athens to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the good success of their army at Marathon. When he arrived at the public palace where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent, that, having uttered these words, Rejoyce, rejoyce, the victory is ours, he fell down dead at their feet [r]. The Persians were so sure of the victory, that they had brought marble along with them to Marathon in order to erect a trophy there. This marble the Athenians seized, and caused a statue to be formed of it by the famous Phidias in honour of the goddess Nemesis, whose province it was to punish unjust actions [s] (X).

After

[q] Idem. l. vi. 102—120
[r] Plutarch. de glor. Athen. p. 347
[s] Paus. l. i. p. 62.

(X) Justin tells us (24), that the Persians lost on this occasion, what by the sword, what by ship-wreck 200,000 men; but we chuse to follow Herodotus, who flourished very near those times, and acquaints us, that in the battle were killed 6300 Persians and 192 Athenians. The whole Persian army, according to Valerius Maximus (25), consisted of 300,000 men. Plutarch seems to insinuate the same (26). Justin (27) and Orosius say, that they were in all 600,000 men. Emilius Probus (28) tells us, that they were 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Of the Athenians there were 10,000, and 1000 Platæans, say Justin and Orosius; but Probus assures us, that the Athenians with their auxilliaries were in all but 10,000. This ever memorable victory was gained, if we believe Plutarch (29), upon the 6th day of Boedromion the third month in the Attic calendar, after the summer solstice, Phænippus being at that time prætor at Athens, that is in the third year of the 72d olympiad, four years before the death of Darius, as we read in Severus Sulpitius (30), and ten years before Xerxes passed over into Greece, as Thucydides informs us (31). Most authors tells us, that Hippias was slain in this battle; but Suidas says, that he escaped and died afterwards in the island of Lemnos. Themistocles, who became afterwards so famous, on this occasion first entered the school of war. We cannot omit in this place the glorious behaviour of one Cynegyrus an Athenian soldier, who having first his right and then his left hand cut off, while he was endeavouring to prevent one of the enemies ships from putting off, took hold of it at last with h s teeth.

(24) Justin. l. ii. c. 9. (25) Val. Max. l. v. c. 3. (26) Plutarch. in Paral. (27) Justin ubi supra. (28) Emil. Prob. in Miltiad. (29) Plut. in Camill. (30) Sever. Sulp. l. ii. sacr. hist. (31) Thucyd. l. i.

AFTER this defeat the Perſian fleet, inſtead of ſailing by the iſlands in order to return to Aſia, doubled the cape of Sunium with a deſign to ſurpriſe Athens before the return of the army. But the Athenian troops being appriſed of their deſign, decamped from the plains of Marathon, and marched with ſuch expedition, that they arrived at Athens before the enemy's fleet, and by that means diſappointed their meaſures [t].

DATIS and Artaphernes arriving in Aſia, that they might ſeem to have reaped ſome advantage from this expedition, ſent the Eretrians captives to Suſa. Darius had expreſſed great indignation againſt the Eretrians before the reduction of their city, and charg'd them with the guilt of beginning the war; but finding they were now his priſoners and entirely in his power, he could not find in his heart to do them any harm, but gave them a village in the country of Ciſſia to inhabit, which was but a day's journey diſtant from Suſa [u]. Here Apollonius Tyaneus [w] found their deſcendants a great many ages after.

As ſoon as the day of the full moon was over, the Lacedæmonians began their march with two thouſand men, and arrived in three days on the confines of Attica, having marched in ſo ſhort a time 1200 Stades [x]; ſuch was their eagerneſs to be preſent at the battle: but a ſilly and ridiculous ſuperſtition prevented their having a ſhare in the moſt glorious action recorded in hiſtory; for the battle was fought a day before they arrived. However, they proceeded to Marathon, where they found the fields covered with dead bodies, and having congratulated the Athenians on the happy ſucceſs of the battle, they returned home [y].

DARIUS, upon the news of the unſucceſsful return of his army, was ſo far from being diſcouraged by ſuch a diſaſter, that he added the defeat at Marathon to the burning of Sardis, as a new motive ſpurring him on to purſue the war with more vigor. He therefore reſolved to head the army in perſon, and iſſued orders to all his ſubjects in the ſeveral provinces of the empire to attend him in this expedition. But after he had ſpent three years in making the neceſſary preparations, a new war broke out, occaſioned by the revolt of Egypt. This gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs; however, as he was wholly bent on this expedition againſt Greece, he reſolved not to lay that aſide, but at the ſame time to ſend part of his forces to reduce Egypt, and

[t] Herodot. ubi. ſupra. [u] Herodot. l. vi. c. 29. [w] Philoſtrat. l. i. c. 17. [x] Iſocr. in Paneg. p 113. [y] Idem, ibid.

and with the reſt to march in perſon againſt his old enemies the Greeks (Y). But when he had prepared all things for theſe two expeditions, a great conteſt aroſe between his ſons concerning the ſucceſſion. According to an ancient cuſtom among the Perſians the king was obliged, before he ſet out on any expedition, to name his ſucceſſor ; a cuſtom wiſely eſtabliſhed to prevent the many inconveniencies that attend an unſettled ſucceſſion. Darius thought himſelf the more obliged to comply with this cuſtom, as he was already advanced in years, and two of his ſons ſeemed to have a juſt right to the crown upon his demiſe. Darius had three ſons by the daughter of Gobryas his firſt wife, all born before he came to the crown, and four more by Atoſſa the daughter of Cyrus, all born after his ſucceſſion to the throne. Of the firſt Artabazanes was the eldeſt, of the latter Xerxes; and theſe two were competitors for the ſucceſſion. Artabazanes, or, as Juſtin calls him, Artamenes, urged, that he was the eldeſt ſon. and therefore, according to the cuſtom of all nations, ought to be preferred in the ſucceſſion to the younger. On the other hand, Xerxes alledged, that he was the ſon of Atoſſa daughter of Cyrus who had founded the Perſian monarchy, and claimed the kingdom in the right of his mother, it being more agreeable to juſtice, ſaid he, that the crown of Cyrus ſhould devole upon one, who was a deſcendant of Cyrus, than upon one that was not. Darius had not yet declared in favour of either, when Damaratus king of Sparta, being driven out of

(Y) Diodorus Siculus (32) ſeems to inſinuate, that Darius marched into Egypt to reduce the rebels, and that he ſucceeded in the enterprize. That hiſtorian relates, that upon Darius's deſiring to have his ſtatue placed before that of Seſoſtris, the chief prieſt of the Egyptians told him, that he had not equalled the glory of that conqueror, and that the king, no ways offended at the Egyptian prieſt's freedom, reply'd, that he would endeavour to ſurpaſs it. He adds further, that Darius had ſeveral conferences with the Egyptian prieſts upon matters of religion and government, and that having learnt of them with what gentleneſs their antient kings uſed to treat their ſubjects, he endeavoured, after his return into Perſia, to form himſelf upon their model. But Herodotus, more worthy of belief in this particular than Diodorus, only obſerves, that Darius reſolved to make war at the ſame time upon Egypt and Greece, and to invade Greece in perſon, while part of his troops were employed in the reduction of Egypt.

(32) Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 54. & 85.

by his ſubjects, arrived at Suſa, and hearing of this diſpute ſecretly ſuggeſted to Xerxes another argument to ſupport his pretenſions; namely, that he was born after his father was inveſted to the royal dignity, whereas Artabazanes was only the ſon of Darius a private man; to whom therefore the crown belonged as the king's eldeſt ſon, and not to Artabazanes the eldeſt ſon of Darius. He further ſupported his argument by the example of the Lacedæmonians, who excluded from the crown the children that were born before their fathers acceſſion, if they had any to ſucceed born after their advancement to the throne. Theſe reaſons appeared ſo juſt to Darius, that he declared Xerxes heir apparent to his crown. Our author is of opinion, that Xerxes was named to the ſucceſſion, not ſo much by the ſtrength of this plea, as by the influence his mother Atoſſa had over the inclinations of Darius, who in this matter was entirely governed by her authority [z] (Z).

THE ſucceſſion being thus ſettled, and all things ready both for the Egyptian and Grecian expedition, Darius died in the ſecond year of the revolt of Egypt, after having reigned 36 years. This prince was endowed with many excellent qualities; his wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice are greatly commended by the antients. He had the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ [a], as a favourer of God's people, a reſtorer of the temple, and a promoter

[z] Idem, l. vii. c. 2, & 3. [a] Ezra iv. Haggai and Zachar.

(Z) Juſtin and Plutarch (33) place this diſpute after the deceaſe of Darius, and both take notice of the prudent conduct of the two brothers on ſo nice an occaſion. Artabazanes, according to them, was abſent when the king died, and Xerxes immediately took all the enſigns of royalty, exerciſing all the functions of the regal dignity. But upon his brother's returning home he quitted the diadem and tiara, went out to meet him, and ſhewed him all imaginable civility. They agreeed to make their uncle Artabanus the arbitrator of their difference, and to acquieſce, without any farther appeal, to his deciſion. During the whole time this diſpute laſted, all the demonſtrations of an entire and fraternal affection paſſed between the two competitors. And when it was decided, as the one did not inſult, ſo the other did not repine or expreſs any diſſatisfaction, at the ſentence, but immediately proſtrating himſelf before him, acknowledged him for his maſter, and placed him upon the throne with his own hand. He continued all his life firmly attached to his intereſt, and at laſt died in his ſervice in the battle of Salamis.

(33) Juſtin. l. ii. c. 10. Plutarch. de frat. amor. p. 448.

promoter of the true worſhip in Jeruſalem. His kindneſs towards the Iſraelites was rewarded with a numerous iſſue, a long reign, and great proſperity. For though the Scythian and Greek expeditions proved unſucceſsful, yet he was very fortunate in all his other undertakings, having not only reſtored and entirely ſettled the empire of Cyrus, which had been very much ſhaken by the unpolitic government of Cambyſes and uſurpation of Smerdis, but alſo added many great and rich provinces to that prince's conqueſts, namely, India, Thrace, Macedonia, and the iſlles of the Ionian ſea (A).

Xerxes. Year of the flood 2514. Before Chriſt 485. XERXES ſucceeding his father employed the firſt year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed, upon his firſt acceſſion to the crown, all the privileges granted by his father to the Jews, and particularly that, which aſſigned them the tribute of Samaria for furniſhing them victims to be offered in the temple [b].

IN the ſecond year of his reign he marched againſt the Egyptians, and having reduced the rebels, and brought the country to a worſe condition of ſlavery than what they had felt under his predeceſſors, he appointed his brother Achæmenes governor of that province, and returned to Suſa. Puffed up with this ſucceſs againſt the Egyptians, he determined

[b] Joſeph. antiquit. l. xi. c. 5.

(A) the Jews (34) have a tradition, that the prophets Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi, died in the laſt year of Darius, and that on their death the ſpirit of prophecy ceaſed among the Jews, which was the ſealing up of viſion and prophecy ſpoke of by Daniel (35). And miſled by the ſame tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of Perſia ended the ſame year; for they confound this Darius with the other who was conquered by Alexander, and will have the Perſian empire to have laſted only 52 years, which they reckon thus: Darius the Mede reigned one year, Cyrus three, Cambyſes, according to them the Ahaſuerus who married Eſther, 32 years. This laſt Darius they take to be the ſame with Artaxerxes, who ſent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jeruſalem, to reſtore the Jews to their antient ſtate. For they tell us, that Artaxerxes was a name common to the Perſian kings, as that of Pharaoh was to thoſe of Egypt. This ſhews how little they were acquainted with the Perſian hiſtory; and their countryman Joſephus ſeems to have been as much in the dark, with reſpect to Perſia, as they were.

(34) Abraham Zacutus in Juchaſin. David Ganz in Zemachus. David, Seder, Olam, Zuta, &c. (55) Dan. ix, 24.

termined to invade Greece. But before he engaged in an enterprize of that importance, he thought fit to aſſemble his council, and take the advice of the moſt illuſtrious perſons of his court. When they were aſſembled, he laid before them the deſign he had of invading Greece, and acquainted them with the motives that prompted him to that expedition (B). Mardonius, the ſame perſon who had been ſo unſucceſsful in the reign of Darius, hoping that the command of the army would be beſtowed upon him, not only approved of the king's determination, but extolled him above all the kings that had preceded him, and endeavoured to ſet forth the indiſpenſable neceſſity they all lay under of revenging the diſhonour done to the Perſian name at Sardis and Marathon, The reſt of the council, perceiving that the flattering diſcourſe of Mardonius pleaſed the king, durſt not venture to contradict it, but all kept ſilence for ſome time. At laſt Artabanus, the king's uncle, a prince venerable both for his age and prudence, addreſſing Xerxes, uſed all his endeavours to divert him from his preſent reſolution, and at the ſame time reproached Mardonius with want of ſincerity, and ſhewed how much he was to blame, for deſiring raſhly to engage the nation in a war, which nothing but his own ambitious and ſelf-intereſted views could tempt him to adviſe. He concluded with theſe words: "If a war be reſolved upon, let the "king remain in Perſia, and our children be depoſited in-"to his hands. Then go on with your expedition, at-"tended by the beſt forces he can chuſe, and in what "number you think fit. If the iſſue be favourable, I "am

(B) Theſe were, the deſire of following the foot-ſteps of his predeceſſors, who had diſtinguiſhed their names and reigns by noble enterprizes; the obligation he was under to be revenged on the Athenians, who without any provocation had fallen upon Sardis, and burnt down the ſacred groves and temples; the eager deſire he had to wipe off the diſhonour his country had received at Marathon; and laſtly, the proſpect of many great advantages that would accrue to him from this war, which would be attended by the conqueſt of Europe, the moſt rich and fertile country in the univerſe. He added, that this war had been reſolved on by his father Darius, that he meant only to execute his deſigns. He concluded his ſpeech with promiſing ample rewards to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in this expedition, and deſiring them to deliver their opinion in this matter with freedom (36),

(36) Herodot. l. vii. c. 5. 6.

" am willing to forfeit my own life and the lives of my " children. But on the contrary, if the event be ſuch as " I have foretold, then let your children ſuffer death, and " you alſo, if ever you return." Artabanus expreſſed his ſentiments in very reſpectful and inoffenſive terms; but nevertheleſs Xerxes was extremely offended, and replied with indignation, that if Artabanus were not his uncle he ſhould ſuffer that moment the due puniſhment for ſuch an audacious behaviour, and commanded him to ſtay at home among the women, whom he too much reſembled, while he marched, at the head of his troops, where his duty and glory called him. However, when the firſt emotion of his anger was paſt, he owned, that he had been to blame for treating his uncle with ſuch harſh language, and was not aſhamed to repair his fault, by openly confeſſing, that the heat of his youth and want of experience had made him treſpaſs againſt the regard, that was due to a prince ſo worthy of reſpect as Artabanus [c]. At the ſame time he declared, that he was ready to follow his advice, and lay aſide the deſign of invading Greece, notwithſtanding a phantom had appeared to him the night before in his ſleep, and warmly exhorted him to undertake the war (C). All the Perſians, who compoſed the council,

[c] Idem, l. vii. c. 6, 7.

(C) Herodotus tells us, that Xerxes, reflecting in the night time on the opinion of Artabanus, was very much perplexed, and concluded at laſt, that a war with Greece could not turn to his advantage. Having thus altered his reſolution he fell aſleep, and ſaw in dream a man of an uncommon ſtature and beauty ſtanding by him, and uttering theſe words: Have you then changed your deſign of leading an army into Greece, after having ordered the Perſians to aſſemble their forces? You have not done well to alter your reſolution, nor will you find any man of your opinion. Reſume therefore without delay the enterprize you determined to undertake. The phantom, having pronounced theſe words, diſappeared; and the next morning Xerxes, neglecting his dream, ſummoned the council, and acquainted them, that he had altered his mind with regard to the Grecian expedition, and wiſhed them joy of the advantages of peace which they were to reap at home. But the night following the ſame phantom appeared again to Xerxes, telling him, that if he did not undertake without delay a war with Greece, he ſhould become little and contemptible in as ſhort a time as he had been raiſed to greatneſs and power. The king, terrified with this ſecond dream, ſent for Artabanus, acquainted him with what had happened

cil, were overjoyed to hear the king ſpeak in that manner, and proſtrating themſelves before him, ſtrove to outdo each other in extolling the prudence of his conduct. But he did not long continue in that mind; nay Artabanus himſelf, the only man who had openly diſapproved the expedition, whether frightened by a dream, or dreading the king's diſpleaſure, became a moſt ſanguine and zealous promoter of the war [d].

XERXES, being now reſolved to attack Greece, that he might omit nothing which could contribute to the ſucceſs of his undertaking, entered into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who were at that time the moſt powerful people of the weſt, whereby it was agreed, that, while the Perſians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians ſhould fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping each other. The Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar their general, who not only raiſed what forces he could in Afric, but with the money ſent him by Xerxes hired a great many mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; ſo that his army conſiſted of 300,000 men, beſides a proportionable number of ſhips for tranſporting his forces and the neceſſary proviſions [e]. And thus Xerxes, agreeable to the prophecy of Daniel [f], having *by his ſtrength through his riches ſtirred all the nations of the then known world againſt the realm of Greece*; that is, all the weſt under the command of Hamilcar, and all the eaſt under his own banners, ſet out from Suſa to enter upon this war in the fifth year of his reign, after having ſpent three years in making vaſt preparations throughout

[d] Idem ibid, c. 8, 9, &c [e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 1. [f] Dan. xi. 2.

happened, and intreated him to put on the royal robes, to ſit on the throne, and paſs the night in his bed. Artabanus at firſt begged to be excuſed, as not deſerving the honour of ſitting in the king's throne; but being preſſed by Xerxes, who was perſwaded, that if the dream was from the gods Artabanus would ſee the ſame viſion, he at laſt complied with his deſire and cloathed himſelf with the royal robes. As he ſlept in the king's bed, the ſame phantom appeared to him, threatning him with the greateſt calamities, if he continued to oppoſe the king's intentions. This ſo terrified Artabanus, that he came over to the king's firſt opinion, believing, that there was ſomething divine in theſe repeated viſions, and the war againſt Greece was reſolved on (37).

(37) Idem, l. vii. c. 8, 9, &c.

out all the provinces of his wide-ſpreading empire. From Suſa he marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the general rendézvous of all his land-forces, while his navy advanced along the coaſts of Aſia Minor towards the Helleſpont.

Two things Xerxes commanded to be done before he came to the ſea ſide; the one was a paſſage to be cut through mount Athos. This mountain reaches a great way into the ſea in the form of a peninſula, and is joined to the land by an iſthmus twelve furlongs over. The ſea in this place is very tempeſtuous, and the Perſian fleet had formerly ſuffered ſhipwreck in doubling this promontory. To prevent the like diſaſter Xerxes cauſed a paſſage to be cut through the mountain broad enough to let two gallies, with three banks of oars each, paſs in front. By this means he ſevered from the continent the cities of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyſus, and Cleone. Our author obſerves, that Xerxes undertook this enterprize only out of oſtentation, and to perpetuate the memory of his name, ſince he might, with far leſs trouble, have cauſed his fleet to be conveyed over the iſthmus, as was the practice in thoſe days [f] (D).

He

[f] Idem, ibid. c. 34. & ſeq.

(D) This prince, believing that the very elements were under his command, wrote to mount Athos in the following terms; Athos, thou proud and aſpiring mountain, that lifteſt up thy head to the very ſkies, I adviſe thee not to be ſo audacious as to put rocks and ſtones, that cannot be cut, in the way of my workmen, if thou makeſt that oppoſition, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw thee headlong into the ſea (38). Our modern travellers tell us, that they can perceive no traces of this great work, and moſt of them are of Juvenal's opinion expreſſed in theſe words; Perforatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in hiſtoria. The directors of this enterpriſe were Bubaris, the ſon of Megabyzus, and Artacheus, the ſon of Arbæus, both Perſians. It was carried on in the following manner: All the forces on board the fleet were employed in the undertaking; they firſt drew a line before the city of Sana, ſituated at the foot of mount Athos towards the land, and then divided the ground among themſelves, each nation having their portion allotted them. When the trench was conſiderably ſunk, thoſe who were at the bottom continued to dig, delivering the earth to their companions ſtanding on ladders, who handed it to ſuch as ſtood

(38) Plutarch. de ira cohib. p.

He likewiſe commanded a bridge of boats to be lain over the Helleſpont, for the paſſing of his forces from Aſia into Europe. The ſea which ſeparates Seſtos and Abydus, where the bridge was built, is ſeven furlongs over. The work was carried on with great expedition by the Phœnicians and Egyptians, who had no ſooner finiſhed it, but a violent ſtorm ariſing broke it in pieces, and diſperſed or daſhed againſt the ſhore the veſſels of which it was compoſed; which when Xerxes heard, he fell into ſuch a violent tranſport of anger, that he commanded 300 ſtripes to be inflicted on the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it, enjoining thoſe who were truſted with the execution of his orders to pronounce theſe words: "Thou ſalt "and bitter element, thy maſter has condemned thee to "this puniſhment for offending him without cauſe, and "is reſolved to paſs over thee in ſpite of thy billows and in-"ſolent reſiſtance." The extravagant folly and madneſs of this prince did not ſtop here; he commanded the heads of thoſe who had the direction of the work to be ſtruck off [g].

In

[g] Idem, c. 33—36.

ſtood higher, till it was conveyed to thoſe that waited to receive it at the edge of the canal, and by them carried to another place. Our author obſerves, (39) that by digging perpendicularly, and making the bottom of equal breadth with the top, all the workmen, except the Phœnicians, had double the labour, by reaſon the earth fell down continually in great quantities from the upper parts. But the Phœnicians opened the ground, which was aſſigned to them, twice as large as others had done, and ſloaped the ground gradually till they came to the bottom. In a large meadow adjoining to this place there was a court of juſtice and a market, furniſhed with corn and other neceſſaries brought from Aſia. This work does not ſeem to us ſo very ſurprizing and incredible, as ſome would make it, when we conſider the number of hands and the time that were employed in perfecting it. For Herodotus tells us, that three whole years were ſpent in the undertaking, and an incredible number of workmen obliged to labour day and night in their turns. Beſides the canal was not cut through, as Juvenal ſeems to inſinuate, but behind mount Athos, where the iſthmus was but a mile and a half over, and broad enough only to let two gallies paſs in front.

(39) Idem, ibid. c. 34

In their room he appointed more experienced architects to build two other bridges, one for the army, and the other for the beaſts of burden and the baggage. When the whole work was completed, and the veſſels, which formed the bridges, ſecured againſt the violence of the wind and the current of the water, Xerxes departed from Sardis, where the army had wintered, and directed his march to Abydus. When he arrived at that city, he deſired to ſee all his forces together, and to that end aſcending a ſtately edifice of white ſtone, which the Abydenians had built on purpoſe to receive him in a manner ſuitable to his greatneſs, he had a free proſpect of the coaſt, ſeeing at one view both his fleet and land-forces. The ſea was covered with his ſhips, and the large plains of Abydus with his troops quite down to the ſhore. While he was thus ſurveying with his own eyes the vaſt extent of his power, and deeming himſelf the moſt happy of mortals, his joy being all on a ſudden turned into grief, he burſt out into a flood of tears, which Artabanus perceiving, aſked him, what had made him in a few moments paſs from an exceſs of joy to ſo great a grief? The king replied, that conſidering the ſhortneſs of human life he could not reſtrain his tears; for of all theſe numbers of men not one, ſaid he, will be alive a hundred years hence. Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of inſtilling into the young prince's mind ſentiments of kindneſs towards his people, finding him touched with a ſenſe of tenderneſs and humanity, endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the obligation that is incumbent upon princes to alleviate the ſorrows and ſweeten the bitterneſs, which the lives of their ſubjects are liable to, ſince it is not in their power to prolong them. In the ſame converſation Xerxes aſked his uncle, whether, if he had not ſeen the viſion which made him change his mind, he would ſtill perſiſt in the ſame opinion and diſſuade him from making war upon Greece. Artabanus ſincerely owned, that he ſtill had his fears, and was very uneaſy concerning two things, the ſea and the land; the ſea, becauſe there were no ports capable of receiving and ſheltering ſuch a fleet, if a ſtorm ſhould ariſe; the land, becauſe no country could maintain ſo numerous an army. The king was very ſenſible of the ſtrength of his reaſoning, but, as it was now too late to go back, he made anſwer; that in great enterprizes men ought not to enter into ſo nice a diſcuſſion of all the inconveniencies that may attend them; that bold and daring undertakings, though ſubject to many

evils

evils and dangers, are preferable to inaction, however ſafe; that great ſucceſſes are no otherwiſe to be obtained than by venturing boldly; and that if his predeceſſors had obſerved ſuch ſcrupulous and timorous rules of politics, the Perſian empire would never have attained to ſo high a degree of glory and grandeur [h].

All things being now in readineſs, and a day appointed, for the paſſing over of the army, as ſoon as the firſt rays of the ſun began to appear, all ſorts of perfumes were burnt upon the bridge, and the way ſtrewed with myrtle. At the ſame time, Xerxes pouring a libation into the ſea, out of a golden cup, and addreſſing the ſun implored the aſſiſtance of that deity, begging, that he might meet with no impediment, ſo great as to hinder him from carrying his conquering arms to the utmoſt limits of Europe. This done he threw the cup into the Helleſpont, with a golden bowl and a Perſian ſcymetar, and the foot and horſe began to paſs over that bridge, which was next to the Euxine, while the carriges and beaſts of burden paſſed over the other, which was placed nearer the Ægean ſea. The bridges were boarded and covered over with earth, having rails on each ſide, that the horſes and cattle might not be frightened at the ſight of the ſea. The army ſpent ſeven days and ſeven nights in paſſing over, though they marched day and night without intermiſſion, and were by frequent blows obliged to quicken their pace. At the ſame time, the fleet made to the coaſt of Europe. After the whole army was paſſed, Xerxes advanced with his land-forces through the Thracian Cherſoneſus to Doriſcus, a city at the mouth of the river Hebrus in Thrace; but the fleet ſteered a quite different courſe, ſtanding to the weſtward for the promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to attend farther orders. Xerxes, having encamped in the large plains of Doriſcus, and judging them convenient for reviewing and numbering his troops, diſpatched orders to his admirals to bring the fleet to the adjacent ſhore, that he might take an account both of his ſea and land-forces. His land-army upon the muſter was found to conſiſt of one million and ſeven hundred thouſand foot and fourſcore thouſand horſe, which, together with twenty thouſand men that conducted the camels and took care of the baggage, amounted to one million eight hundred thouſand men.

[h] Idem, ibid. c. 45. & ſeq.

His fleet conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven large ſhips, and three thouſand gallies and tranſports; on board of all theſe veſſels there were found to be five hundred ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of ſea and land-forces, which Xerxes led out of Aſia to invade Greece, amounted to two millions three hundred and ſeventeen thouſand ſix hundred and ten men. Our author tells us, that on his paſſing the Helleſpont to enter Europe, an inhabitant of that country cried out; O Jupiter, why art thou come to deſtroy Greece, in the ſhape of a Perſian and under the name of Xerxes, with all mankind following thee; whereas thy own power is ſufficient to do this without their aſſiſtance? After he had entered Europe, the nations on this ſide of the Helleſpont, that ſubmitted to him, added to his land-forces three hundred thouſand more, and two hundred and twenty ſhips to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four-thouſand men. So that the whole number of his forces, when he arrived at Thermopylæ, was two millions ſix hundred and forty one thouſand ſix hundred and ten men, without including ſervants, eunuchs, women, ſutlers, and other people of that ſort, who were computed to equal the number of the forces: ſo that the whole multitude of perſons, that followed Xerxes in this expedition, amounted to five millions two hundred eighty three thouſand two hundred and twenty [f] (E). Among theſe millions of men there was

[f] Herodot. l. vii. c. 56—99—148—187.

(E) This is the computation of Herodotus, and with him agree Plutarch (40) and Iſocrates (41); but Diodorus Siculus (42), Pliny (43), Ælian (44), and others fall ſhort of this number, making the army, which Xerxes led againſt Greece, not much more numerous than that with which his father invaded Scythia. Theſe probably miſtook the one for the other. Herodotus is the moſt antient author that has written of this war, and lived in the very age wherein it happened; wherefore we have preferred his account to that of others, the rather, becauſe we find it to be the general opinion of all the antients, whether Greeks or Latins, that this was the greateſt army that was ever brought into the field, and the account of Herodotus beſt agrees with the verſes engraved on the monument of thoſe Greeks that were

(40) Plutarch. in Themiſt. (41) Iſocr. in Panathen. (42) Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. (43) Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. (44) Ælian. var. hiſtor. l. xiii. c. 3.

was not one that could vie with Xerxes either in comelineſs or ſtature, or that ſeemed more worthy of that great empire. But this is a poor commendation when it is not accompanied with other qualifications. Accordingly Juſtin, after he has mentioned the number of his troops, emphatically concludes, but this vaſt body wanted a head. Beſides the ſubordinate generals of each nation, who commanded the troops of their reſpective countries, the whole army was under the command of ſix Perſian generals, viz. Mardonius the ſon of Gobryas, Triatatœchmes the ſon of Artabanus, Smerdones the ſon of Otanes, (the two latter were couſins to Xerxes), Maſiſtes the ſon of Darius by Atoſſa, Gergys the ſon of Ariazus, and Megabyzus the ſon of the celebrated Zopyrus. The ten thouſand Perſians, who were called the immortal band, obeyed no other commander but Hydarnes. The fleet was commanded by four Perſian admirals, and likewiſe the cavalry had their particular generals and commanders.

XERXES, having thus numbered his ſea and land-forces at Doriſcus, marched from thence through Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly towards Attica, ordering his fleet to follow him along the coaſt, and to regulate their motions according to the motions of the army. Where ever he

were ſlain at Thermopylæ, where it is ſaid, that they fought againſt three millions, as we read the inſcription in Herodotus, or againſt two, as we find it in Diodorus Siculus (45). Joſephus (46) tells us, that his countrymen too bore a part in this expedition, and proves it from a paſſage out of Chœrilus (47), where it is ſaid, that Xerxes was attended by a people who uſed the Phænician language, and dwelt in the Solymæan land on hills near a great lake. As Jeruſalem was alſo called Solyma, and all the country thereabout was mountainous, and lay near the great lake Aſphaltites, commonly called the lake of Sodom, this deſcription ſeems plainly to ſuit the Jews. But Scaliger (48), Cunæus (49), and Bochart (50), underſtand thoſe verſes of the Solymi in Piſidia. However, Salmaſius (51) maintains the contrary opinion; and truly it is not at all likely, that when Xerxes obliged all the other nations to ſend their quotas of men, the Jews alone ſhould be exempted. Whether therefore thoſe mentioned by Chœrilus were Jews or not, it muſt be allowed, that they alſo bore part in this expedition.

(45) Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 26. (46) Joſeph. contra Apion. l. i. (47) Chœril. ibid. (48) Scaliger in notis ad frag. (49) Cunæus, de Rep. Hebr. l. ii. c. 18. (50) Bochart. Geogr. Sacra, Part ii. l. i. c. 2. (51) Salmaſ. in Linguæ Helleniſticæ oſſilegio.

came he found proviſions prepared before-hand, purſuant to the orders he had ſent, and each city was obliged to entertain him, which coſt immenſe ſums, and gave occaſion to the ſaying of a citizen of Abdera, after the king's departure, that his countrymen might thank the gods for Xerxes moderation in being ſatisfied with one meal a day [g].

In the mean time, Lacedæmon and Athens, the two moſt powerful cities of Greece, againſt which Xerxes was moſt exaſperated, having had intelligence of the enemy's preparations and motions, ſent embaſſadors to Argos, into Sicily, to the iſlands of Corcyra and Crete, to deſire ſuccours, and conclude a league againſt the common enemy. The people of Argos offered a very conſiderable number of troops, on condition they ſhould have an equal ſhare with the Lacedæmonians in the command. The latter conſented, that the king of Argos ſhould have the ſame authority as either of the kings of Sparta; but this offer did not ſatisfy the Argians, who thereupon ordered the embaſſadors to depart the territories of Argos before ſun-ſet. From Argos they proceeded to Sicily, where Gelo, the moſt powerful prince in all the Greek colonies, offered to aſſiſt them with a very numerous army and a mighty fleet, provided they appointed him commander in chief of all their forces both by ſea and land. This propoſal was rejected by the Athenian embaſſadors, who told him, that they did not want a general, but an army, and without preſſing him any further departed. The inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu, immediately put to ſea with a fleet of 60 ſhips, but advanced no farther than the coaſts of Laconia, where they waited the iſſue of an engagement, deſigned to ſide afterwards with the conqueror. The people of Crete, having conſulted the oracle to know what reſolution they ſhould take on this occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the league. Thus were the Lacedæmonians and Athenians abandoned by all thir countrymen, except the Theſpians and Platæans, who ſent ſmall bodies to their aſſiſtance. The firſt thing they took care of in ſo critical a conjuncture was, to put an end to all inteſtine diviſions and diſcords; and accordingly a peace was concluded between the Athenians and the people of Ægina, who were actually at war. In the next place they appointed a general, the Athenians chuſing Themiſtocles, and the Spartans conferring the ſupreme command of their forces upon Leonidas one of their kings. The only thing that now remained

[g] Idem, ibid. c. 108—132.

ed was, to determine in what place they ſhould meet the Perſians, in order to diſpute their entrance into Greece. After various propoſals and diſputes it was reſolved, that they ſhould ſend a body of four thouſand men to Thermopylæ, which is a narrow paſs, being but 25 foot broad, between the mountains that divide Theſſaly from Greece, and the only way through which the Perſians could enter Attica, and advance by land to Athens. The command of this ſmall body was given to Leonidas, a prince of extraordinary courage, who accordingly marched with all poſſible expedition to his poſt, determined either to ſtop the innumerable army of Xerxes with that handful of men, or die in the attempt. Such was alſo the reſolution of the 300 Spartans, who attended him, and had been all choſen by himſelf.

In the mean time, Xerxes, advancing near the ſtraits, was ſtrangely ſurprized to find that the Greeks were reſolved to diſpute his paſſage. For he had always flattered himſelf, that on his approach they would betake themſelves to flight, nor attempt to oppoſe his innumerable forces with ſo ſmall a body, their whole army conſiſting of but eleven thouſand two hundred men, and of theſe ſcarce four thouſand being employed to defend the paſs. He ſent out a ſcout on horſeback to view their numbers, and diſcover how they were encamped. The ſcout brought back word, that the Lacedæmonians were, ſome performing their military exerciſes, and others putting their hair in order; for their cuſtom was, as Damaratus (F), who was then in the Perſian camp, informed the king, to comb and put in order their hair when they were to expoſe their lives to the greateſt dangers. However, Xerxes, entertaining

(F) Damaratus was one of the two kings of Sparta, who, being baniſhed by the adverſe party, had ſought refuge at the Perſian court, where he was entertained with the greateſt marks of honour and diſtinction. As the courtiers were one day expreſſing their ſurprize, that a king ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed, Damaratus told them, that at Sparta the laws were more powerful than the king. This prince was in great eſteem at the Perſian court, but neither the injuſtice of the Spartan citizens, nor the kind treatment of the Perſian king, could make him forget his country. He no ſooner knew that Xerxes deſigned to invade Greece, but he, ſecretly acquainted the Greeks with his reſolution, and on all occaſions ſpoke his ſentiments to the king with a noble freedom and dignity (52).

(52) Plutarch. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220.

ſtill ſome hopes of their flight, waited four days, without undertaking any thing, on purpoſe to give them time to retreat. During this time he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to gain and corrupt Leonidas, promiſing to make him maſter of all Greece, if he would come over to his party. His offers being rejected by that public ſpirited prince with contempt and indignation, the king ordered him by a herald to deliver up his arms. Leonidas, in a ſtile and with a ſpirit truly Laconical, anſwered him in a few words; Come thy ſelf and take them [h]. Xerxes at this anſwer, tranſported with rage, commanded the Medes and Ciſſians to march againſt them, take them all alive, and bring them in fetters to him. The Medes, not able to ſtand the ſhock of the brave Greeks, ſoon betook themſelves to flight, and ſhewed, as our author obſerves, that Xerxes had many men but few ſoldiers. In their room Hydarnes was ordered to advance with that body which was called immortal, and conſiſted of ten thouſand choſen men. But when they came to cloſe with the Greeks, they ſucceeded no better than the Medes and Ciſſians, being obliged to retire with great ſlaughter. The next day, the Perſians, reflecting on the ſmall number of their enemies, and ſuppoſing ſo many of them to be wounded that they could not poſſibly maintain a ſecond fight, reſolved to make another attempt, but could not by any efforts make the Greeks give way; on the contrary, they were themſelves put to a ſhameful flight. The valour of the Greeks exerted itſelf on this occaſion in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that Xerxes is ſaid to have three times leaped out of his throne, apprehending the entire deſtruction of his army [i].

Xerxes, having loſt all hopes of forcing his way thro' troops that were determined to conquer or die, was extremely perplexed and doubtful what meaſures he ſhould take in this poſture of affairs; when one Ephialtes a Melian, in expectation of a great reward, came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret paſſage to the top of the hill, which overlooked and commanded the Spartan forces. The king immediately ordered Hydarnes thither with his ſelect body of ten thouſand Perſians, who marching all night arrived at break of day, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantegious poſt. The Phocians, who defended this paſs, being over-powered by the enemies numbers, retired with precipitation

[h] Plutarch. in Lacon. Apoph. p. 225. [i] Idem, c. 210. Diodor. Sicul. p. 6. Cteſias in Perſicis, c. 23.

precipitation to the very top of the mountain, prepared to die gallantly. But Hydarnes, neglecting to purſue them, marched down the mountain with all poſſible expedition, in order to attack thoſe who defended the ſtraits in the rear. Leonidas, being now appriſed, that it was impoſſible to bear up againſt the enemy, obliged the reſt of his allies to retire, but ſtayed himſelf with the Theſpians, Thebans, and three hundred Lacedæmonians, all reſolved to die with their leader, who, being told by the oracle, that either Sparta ſhould be deſtroyed or the king loſe his life, determined, without the leaſt heſitation, to ſacrifice himſelf for his country. The Thebans indeed remained againſt their inclination, being detained by Leonidas as hoſtages, for they were ſuſpected to favour the Perſians. The Theſpians with their leader Demophilus could not by any means be prevailed upon to abandon Leonidas and the Spartans. The augur Megiſtias, who had foretold the event of this enterpriſe, being preſſed by Leonidas to retire, ſent home his only ſon, but remained himſelf and died by Leonidas. Thoſe who ſtayed did not feed themſelves with any hopes of conquering or eſcaping, but looked upon Thermopylæ as their graves. And when Leonidas, exhorting them to take ſome nouriſhment, ſaid, that they ſhould all ſup together with Pluto, with one accord they ſet up a ſhout of joy, as if they had been invited to a banquet[k].

Xerxes, after pouring out a libation at the riſing of the ſun, began to move with the whole body of his army, as he had been adviſed by Ephialtes. Upon their approach, Leonidas advanced to the broadeſt part of the paſſage, and fell upon the enemy with ſuch undaunted courage and reſolution, that the Perſian officers were obliged to ſtand behind the diviſions they commanded, in order to prevent the flight of their men, who, not being able to ſtand ſo violent a ſhock, would, without that precaution, have immediately turned their backs. Great numbers of the enemies falling into the ſea were drowned, others were trampled under-feet by their own men, and a great many killed by the Greeks, who, knowing they could not avoid death, upon the arrival of thoſe who were advancing to fall upon the rear, exerted their utmoſt efforts. In this action fell the brave Leonidas, which Abrocomes and Hyparanthas, and two of the brothers of Xerxes obſerving,

[k] Idem 112. Diodor. Sicul. p. 7. Cteſias ubi ſupra, c. 24.

serving, advanced with great resolution to seize his body and carry it in triumph to Xerxes. But the Lacedæmonians, more eager to defend it than their own lives, repulsed the enemy four times, killed both the brothers of Xerxes with many other commanders of distinction, and rescued the body of their beloved general out of the enemies hands. But in the mean time, the army, that was led by the treacherous Ephialtes, advancing to attack their rear, they retired to the narrowest place of the passage, and drawing all together, except the Thebans, posted themselves on a rising ground. In this place they made head against the Persians, who poured in upon them on all sides, till at length not vanquished, but oppressed and overwhelmed by numbers, they all fell, except one who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and a traytor to his country, every one avoiding his company, and giving him the ignominious nick-name of Aristodemus the run-away (G); but

(G) Some say, as our author informs us (53), that Eurytus and Aristodemus, both Spartans, being obliged by a violent distemper in their eyes to retire to Alpeni, were there some time in suspence whether they should return to Sparta, or to Thermopylæ, and there die with the rest of their countrymen. At last Eurytus, hearing that the Persians had gained the top of the mountain, called for his armour, and ordered his servant to lead him into the field of battle (for he had almost quite lost his sight) where he was killed. But Aristodemus wanting courage staid at Alpeni, and after the battle returned safe to Sparta. Others say, that both Eurytus and Aristodemus had been dispatched somewhither with orders from the army, and that the latter might have been back before the fight, but delayed on purpose to avoid the danger, whereas his companion arrived in due time and died in the field. It is also said, that another of the three hundred Spartans, by name Pantites, survived this action and returned to Sparta. But not being able to bear the reproaches of the Spartans he laid violent hands on himself. As for the Thebans and their general Leontides, they were obliged for some time to fight against the Persians in conjunction with the other Greeks. But they no sooner saw the Persians descending the hill to attack them in the rear, but they abandoned the rest of their allies, aud approaching the Persians with their arms stretchd out, told them, that they had always favoured the Persians, that they had been the first among the Greeks to present them with earth and water, and that they were come to Thermopylæ against their will, and no ways guilty of the loss they had sustained.

(53) Herodot. ubi supra.

but not long after he made a glorious reparation of his fault in the battle of Platæa, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner. Thoſe who ſignalized themſelves moſt among the Lacedæmonians were Alpheus and Maron, both ſons of Oriſiphantus, among the Theſpians Dithyrambus, but above all Leonidas and Dieneces; Diences was a Spartan, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion above all his countrymen, the king excepted. When a Trachinian told him before the battle that the army of the Barbarians was ſo numerous, that with one flight of their arrows they would hide the ſun, he anſwered, without betraying the leaſt fear, that he was glad to hear it, becauſe he liked to fight in the ſhade. Xerxes enraged againſt Leonidas, to the laſt degree, for daring to oppoſe him, cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, and his body to be put upon a croſs, which barbarous treatment redounded more to his ignominy, than to the diſhonour of that great hero. Some time after a magnificent monument was erected at Thermopylæ in honour of theſe brave defenders of Greece, with two inſcriptions, the one general and relating to all thoſe who died on this occaſion, importing, that the Greeks of Peloponneſus to the number only of four thouſand made head againſt the Perſian army conſiſting of three millions: the other related to the Spartans in particular, and was compoſed by the poet Simonides to this purport: Go, paſſenger, and acquaint the Spartans, that we died here in obedience to their juſt commands. At thoſe tombs a funeral oration was yearly pronounced in honour of the dead heroes, and public games performed with great ſolemnity, wherein none but the Lacedæmonians and Theſpians had any ſhare, to ſhew that they alone were concerned in the glorious defence of Thermopylæ [1] (H).

XERXES

[1] Idem, ibid. c. 238. & ſeq.

ſuſtained. Thus the Thebans ſaved their lives, though the enemies killed many of them as they advanced to ſurrender themſelves. Many others were by command of Xerxes branded with the royal mark as ſlaves, and among theſe was Leontides their general (54).

(H) There was beſides theſe inſcriptions a third relating to the augur Megiſtias, expreſſed in theſe words: Under this ſtone lies divine Megiſtias ſlain by the Medes; with an undaunted heart he ſaw his fate approaching, and refuſed to live, when the Spartans had reſolved to die (55).

(54) Idem, ubi ſupra. (55) Idem, ibid. & ſeq.

XERXES on this occaſion loſt 20,000 men, and being ſenſible that ſo great a loſs was capable of alarming and diſcouraging his friends, he cauſed all thoſe that were killed, except a thouſand, whoſe bodies he left in the field, to be privately buried, and then proceeded in his march through Bœotia to Attica, where he arrived four months after he had paſſed the Helleſpont.

THE very ſame day, on which happened the glorious action at Thermopylæ, the two fleets engaged at Artemiſium a promontory of Eubœa. That of the Greeks conſiſted of 271 ſail; but the Perſian fleet was the more numerous, though they had loſt a few days before, in a violent ſtorm which continued four days, above 400 ſhips. Notwithſtanding this loſs they ſent 200 ſhips with orders to ſail round the iſland of Eubœa and encompaſs the Grecian fleet, that none of them might eſcape. The Greeks, having intelligence of this deſign, ſet ſail in the night-time in order to attack them by day-break. But having miſſed this ſquadron, they advanced to Aphætæ where the whole Perſian fleet lay, and after ſeveral encounters, in which the Athenians gained conſiderable advantages, they came to a general engagement, which was very obſtinate, and the ſucceſs pretty equal. However, the Greeks found it neceſſary, their ſhips having ſuffered a great deal, to retire to ſome ſafer place to refit, and accordingly ſteered their courſe to the ſtraits of Salamis, a ſmall iſland very near, and over-againſt, Attica. Though the engagement at Artemiſium did not bring matters to an abſolute deciſion, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the Athenians, who were now convinced, that the enemies, notwithſtanding their great number, were not invincible [m].

As Xerxes entered Attica, the Athenians, not being in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an army, were prevailed upon by Themiſtocles to put all the citizens on board the fleet, to ſecure their wives and children in Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, and to abandon the city of Athens, which they were no ways in a condition to defend. The Perſians, arriving in the neighbourhood of Athens, waſted the whole country, putting all to fire and ſword. A detachment was ſent to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphos, which was exceeding rich, by reaſon of the many offerings and donatives ſent thither from all parts of the eaſt. If we may believe what Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus

[m] Herodot. l. viii. c. 1—18.

culus relate of this matter, the Perſians no ſooner advanced near the temple of Minerva, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, accompanied with impetuous winds, thunder, and lightning, two great rocks rolled down from mount Parnaſſus, and cruſhed the greateſt part of that detachment. The main body of the army arriving at Athens found it deſerted by all its inhabitants, except a ſmall number of citizens, who literally interpreting Apollo's oracle, That Athens ſhould be ſaved by wooden walls, had fortified that place with boards and paliſadoes. They defended themſelves with incredible courage and reſolution, and at laſt, as they would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatſoever, were all cut in pieces. Xerxes burnt the city and all its temples down to the ground, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Suſa, with the agreeble news of his ſucceſs, to his uncle Artabanus, in whoſe hands he had left the government during his abſence[n].

In the mean time, the Grecian fleet being reinforced by a great many ſhips, which joined them from ſeveral parts of Greece, to the number of 300 ſail, Eurybiades, commander in chief of the naval forces, ſummoned a council, in order to conſult about the meaſures that ſeemed moſt proper in the preſent ſtate of affairs. In this council a great debate aroſe among the commanders; ſome, and among theſe Eurybiades, were for retiring to the Iſthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the army, which guarded that paſſage under the command of Cleombrotus the brother of Leonidas. Others, at the head of whom was Themiſtocles who commanded the Athenian fleet, were for remaining at Salamis, the moſt advantageous place they could chuſe to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. For in the ſtraits of Salamis the Perſians could not, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the ſea, extend their line beyond that of the Greeks, and conſequently would be obliged to fight upon equal terms, without reaping any advantage from their numbers. After many warm diſputes, Eurybiades with all the other commanders, came over to the opinion of Themiſtocles, fearing that the Athenians, whoſe ſhips made up above one half of the fleet, would ſeparate from the allies, if they abandoned that poſt, as Themiſtocles in his ſpeech had inſinuated. It was therefore unanimouſly reſolved, that in the ſtraits of Salamis they ſhould wait for the Perſian fleet, and there engage them [o].

A

[n] Herodot. l. viii. c. 51. [o] Idem, l. viii. c. 56. & ſeq.

A council of war likewise was held on the side of the Persians, in order to determine whether they should hazard a naval engagement, or no. All the commanders were for engaging, because they knew this advice to be most agreeable to the king's inclinations. Queen Artemisia was the only person that opposed this resolution. She was queen of Halicarnassus, and followed Xerxes in this war with five ships, the best equipped of any in the fleet, except those of the Sidonians. This princess distinguished herself on all occasions by her singular courage, and still more by her prudence and conduct; for our author observes, that there was not one who gave Xerxes so good advice as this heroine. She represented, in the council of war we are speaking of, the dangerous consequences of engaging a people that were far more expert in maritime affairs than the Persians, alledging, that the loss of a battle at sea would be attended with the ruin of their army; whereas, by spinning out the war and advancing into the heart of Greece, they would create jealousies and divisions among their enemies, who would separate from one another, in order to defend each of them their own country, and that then the king might, almost without striking a blow, make himself master of Greece. This advice, though very prudent, was not followed, but an engagement unanimously resolved upon. Xerxes, in order to encourage his men with his presence, caused a throne to be erected on the top of an eminence, whence he might safely behold whatever happened, having several scribes about him to write down the names of such, as should signalize themselves against the enemies. The approach of the Persian fleet, with the news that a strong detachment from the army was marching against Cleombrotus who defended the Isthmus, struck such a terror into the Peloponesians, that they could not by any entreaties be prevailed upon to stay any longer at Salamis. Being therefore determined to put to sea and sail to the Isthmus, Themistocles privately dispatched a trusty friend to the Persian commanders, informing them of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their fleet round the island in order to prevent their escape. The same messenger assured Xerxes, that Themistocles, who had sent him that advice, designed to join the Persians, as soon as the battle began, with all the Athenian ships. The king, giving credit to all he said, immediately commanded a strong squadron to sail round the island in the night, in order to cut off the enemies flight. Early next morning,

morning, as the Peloponnesians were preparing to set sail, they found themselves encompassed on all sides by the Persian fleet, and were against their will obliged to remain in the straits of Salamis, and expose themselves to the same dangers with their allies. The Grecian fleet consisted of 380 sail, that of the Persian of 2000 and upwards. Themistocles avoided the engagement, till a certain wind, which rose regularly every day at the same time, and was entirely contrary to the enemy, began to blow. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind he gave the signal for battle. The Persians, knowing that they fought under their king's eye, advanced with great resolution, but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the largeness and number of their ships embarassing them in a place so strait and narrow, their courage soon abated; which the Greeks observing used such efforts, that in a short time, breaking into the Persian fleet, they entirely disordered them, some flying towards Phalerus, where their army lay encamped, others saving themselves in the harbours of the neighbouring islands. The Ionians were the first that betook themselves to flight. But queen Artemisia distinguished herself above all the rest, her ships being the last that fled, which Xerxes observing cried out, that the men behaved like women, and the women with the courage and intrepidity of men. The Athenians were so incensed against her, that they offered a reward of ten thousand drachmas to any one that should take her alive; but she in spight of their efforts got clear of the ships that pursued her, and arrived safe on the coast of Asia. In this engagement, which was one of the most memorable actions we find recorded in history, the Grecians lost 40 ships, and the Persians 200, besides a great many more that were taken with all the men and ammunition they carried. Many of their allies, dreading the king's cruelty, made the best of their way to their respective countries. Xerxes, being under no small apprehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the Hellespont and there obstruct his return, left Mardonius in Greece with an army of 300,000 men, and marched with the rest towards Thrace, in order to cross the Hellespont. As no provisions had been prepared before-hand, his army underwent great hardships during the whole time of his march, which lasted five and forty days. The soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even the bark and leaves of trees, which occasioned innumerable distempers, that swept off the

greater part of them. The king, finding that his army was not in a condition to purſue the march ſo expeditiouſly as he deſired, advanced with a ſmall retinue, leaving the reſt behind; but when he arrived at the Helleſpont, he found the bridge broke down by the violence of the ſtorms, and was reduced to the neceſſity of croſſing over in a fiſhing-boat. From the Helleſpont he continued his flight to Sardis, where he took up his quarters for the enſuing year [p].

THE firſt thing the Athenians took care of after the battle was, to ſend the firſt-fruits of their victory to Delphos, where they enriched the temple with the ſpoils of thoſe who not long before had pillaged it. Their next thought was to reward thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves above the reſt. It was a cuſtom in Greece, that after an engagement the commanding officers ſhould declare, who, in their opinion, had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the conflict, by writing down the names of the perſon that deſerved the firſt, and of him who deſerved the ſecond prize. On this occaſion each captain, being ambitious of that honour, wrote down his own name in the firſt place, and in the ſecond the name of Themiſtocles, which plainly proved, that he deſerved the preference to all. And accordingly he was diſtinguiſhed with honours, which to that time had never been beſtowed upon any other, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of Greece [q].

ABOUT the ſame time that the actions of Thermopylæ and Salamis happened, the formidable army of the Carthaginians, conſiſting of 300,000 men, was entirely defeated by Gelo king of Syracuſe. We ſhall give a particular account of this victory in the hiſtory of the Carthaginians.

ON Xerxes's departure out of Greece, Mardonius, having paſſed the winter in Theſſaly and Macedonia, marched early in the ſpring into Bœotia. From thence he ſent Alexander king of Macedon with very advantageous offers to the people of Athens, in order to draw them off from the common alliance. The offers he made were, to rebuild at the king's charges their city, and whatever other edifices had been demoliſhed the year before in Attica; to ſuffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinſtate them in all their former poſſeſſions, and to add to them whatever other lands they ſhould deſire. Alexander, as being their antient friend, exhorted them in his own

[p] Idem, c. 130, [q] Idem, 117. Juſtin. l. ii. c. 13.

own name to lay hold on ſo favourable an opportunity of reſettling their affairs, repreſenting, that they were not in a condition to ſtand out againſt ſo powerful an enemy. But the Athenians could not by any means be prevailed upon to deſert the intereſt of Greece. Whereupon Mardonius marched with all his army into Attica, waſting and deſtroying whatever he found in his way. The Athenians, not being in a condition to withſtand ſuch a torrent, retired to Salamis, Ægina, and Træzene, and the ſecond time abandoned their city. Mardonius entered Athens, and demoliſhed whatever had eſcaped the fury of his forces the preceding year. In the mean time, the joint forces of Greece being drawn together on the iſthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back into Bœotia. For that being an open and level country was more fit for him to engage in than Attica, which was rough, craggy, full of hills and narrow paſſes. On his return into Bœotia, he encamped on the banks of the Aſopus. The Greeks followed him thither under the command of Pauſanias, protector of Pliſtarchus king of Sparta, and of Ariſtides, commander in chief of the Athenians. The Perſian army, according to the computation of Herodotus, conſiſted of 350,000, according to Diodorus of 500,000, men. That of the Grecians did not amount to the number of 110,000. Mardonius, in order to try the courage of the Greeks, ſent out his cavalry, in which the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted, to ſkirmiſh with the enemy. The Megarians, who were encamped on a plain ſuſtained the firſt onſet; but in ſpight of all their reſolution were forced to give way, being over-whelmed with the enemies arrows. As they were giving ground, a detachment of 300 Athenians, with a ſmall number of bow-men, advanced to their relief. Maſiſtius, general of the Perſian horſe, and one highly eſteemed in Perſia, ſeeing them advance in good order, commanded his cavalry to face about and attack them. The ſhock was very violent, both parties endeavouring to ſhew, by the iſſue of this encounter, what might be the ſucceſs of a general engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, but at laſt, Maſiſtius being killed, the Perſians betook themſelves to flight. The death of Maſiſtius was greatly lamented by the Perſians, who, to ſhew their concern for the loſs of ſo brave a commander, cut off their hair, and likewiſe the manes of their horſes, filling the camp with loud cries and lamentations. After this encounter the two armies continued for the ſpace of ten days only looking at one another.

At last Mardonius, who was of a fiery temper, not being able to bear any further delays, and his provisions being almost consumed, called a council of war, in order to deliberate whether they should give battle, or retire till such time as they were supplied with fresh provisions. Artabazus, a nobleman of great distinction and experience, was of opinion, that they should not hazard a battle, but retire under the walls of Thebes, where they should be in a condition to lay in stores of provisions and forage. He alledged, that by delaying they might cast a damp upon the ardour of the enemies, and in the mean time by sending rich presents to their leaders prevail upon them to betray the common liberty without hazarding a battle. The Thebans were of the same opinion; but that of Mardonius, who was for engageing, prevailed, none of the other commanders daring to contradict him; and the result of their deliberations was, that they should give battle the next day. Alexander, king of Macedon, who in his heart favoured the Greeks, came secretly about midnight into their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed [r].

The Greek generals upon this notice ordered their officers to prepare for battle. Before they engaged, Pausanias, thought fit to change the order of battle, and place the Athenians, who were in the left wing, on the right, that they might stand opposite to the Medes and Persians, whom they had formerly conquered at Marathon, while he with his Spartans engaged the Thebans and other Greeks, who served in the Persian army, and had been often routed by the Spartans. But Mardonius, upon the intelligence he had of this new disposition, make the like change, which obliged the Greeks to return to their former stations; and the Persians likewise ranged their army according to their first disposition. Thus did all that day pass without any action. In the evening the Greeks held a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should decamp, and retire to some other place more conveniently situated for water. Night coming on, and the officers endeavouring, at the head of the bodies they commanded, to make what haste they could, to the new camp that was marked out for them, great confusion happened, some going one way, and some another, without observing any order in their march. At last they stopped near the little city of Platæa. Mardonius, being informed that the Greeks were retired by night, drew up his army in battle-array, and pursued them with

[r] Idem, l. ix. c. 50, & seq.

with great ſhouts, as if he were not to fight, but to ſtrip and plunder a flying enemy. He did not fail on this occaſion to inſult Artabazus, reproaching him with his cowardly prudence, and the falſe notions he had conceived of the Lacedæmonians, who never fled, as he pretended, before the enemy. Having paſſed the Aſopus, he came up with the Lacedæmonians and Tegæans, who were ſeparated from the body of the army to the number of 53,000 men. Pauſanias, finding himſelf thus attacked by the whole Perſian army, diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the Athenians, who had taken another rout, with the danger he was in. The Athenians immediately put themſelves on their march to ſuccour their diſtreſſed allies, but were attacked, and to their great regret prevented, by thoſe Greeks who ſided with the Perſians. The battle being thus fought in two different places, the Spartans were the firſt who broke into the very center of the Perſian army, and after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance put them to flight. Mardonius, mounted on a white horſe, ſignalized himſelf on this occaſion, and, at the head of 1000 choſen men, made a great ſlaughter of the enemies, but he falling, the whole Perſian army was eaſily routed, which thoſe Greeks who had engaged the Athenians hearing, retired with precipitation, leaving the Athenians maſters of the field. The Perſians fled to their former camp, which they had fortified with an incloſure of wood. The Lacedæmonians purſued them, but were not able to force the entrenchment, not being accuſtomed to beſiege towns or ſtorm fortified places. The Athenians, hearing that the Perſians were thus ſhut up in their camp, gave over purſuing the Greeks, and haſtened to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, whom they found buſied in forcing the enemies camp with more valour than ſkill. Wherefore they took upon themſelves that labour, and ſoon made a breach in the wall, through which entering together with the Lacedæmonians, they made ſuch a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemies, that of 300,000 ſcarce 3000 made their eſcape. Artabazus, who from Mardonius's imprudent conduct had but too well foreſeen the misfortune that befel them, after having diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement, made a timely retreat with the 40,000 men he commanded, and being arrived ſafe at Byzantium, from thence paſſed over into Aſia. During the whole engagement, the Spartans loſt but 91 men, the Tegæans 16, and the Athenians 52. When they came to determine who had behaved with moſt courage, they all gave judgment in

favour of Ariſtodemus, who was the only one that had ſaved himſelf at Thermopylæ, and had now wiped off the blemiſh of his former conduct by a moſt glorious death. The ſpoil was immenſe, conſiſting in vaſt ſums of money, in gold and ſilver cups, veſſels, tables, bracelets, rich beads, and all ſorts of furniture. They gave the tenth of all to Pauſanias, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very extraordinary manner, and the others were rewarded, each according to his merit. Thus was Greece delivered not only from the preſent, but all future invaſions of the Perſians, who hence-forward never more appeared on the ſide of the Helleſpont [s].

THE ſame day that this battle was fought at Platæa, the Grecian fleet gained as memorable a victory at Mycale, a promontory in Aſia, over the remainder of the Perſian navy. For at the ſame time that the land-forces of Greece rendezvouſed on the Iſthmus of Corinth, their fleet met at Ægina, under the command of Leotychides the other king of Sparta and Xantippus the Athenian. Thither embaſſadors came to their commanders from the Ionians, inviting them into Aſia, to deliver the Greek colonies from the Perſian yoke. On this invitation they immediately ſet ſail for Aſia, ſteering their courſe by Delos, where they were met by other embaſſadors from Samos, who brought them intelligence, that the Perſian fleet, which had wintered at Cuma, was then at Samos, where it might eaſily be deſtroyed, earneſtly entreating them at the ſame time not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity. Hereupon they ſailed forthwith to Samos, but the Perſian fleet, receiving timely notice of their deſign, retired to Mycale, where the army lay encamped, conſiſting of 100,000 men, the remainder of thoſe Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the year before. Here they drew their ſhips aſhore, and threw up an entrenchment quite round, which they fortified with paliſadoes, being determined to ſuſtain a ſiege. The Greeks, arriving at Mycale, found all their enemies ſhips within the circumvallation, and a numerous army diſpoſed along the coaſt; but, however, did not meet with the leaſt oppoſition in landing their men, and drawing them up in battle-array; which when they had done, they attacked the enemy with ſuch vigour that they obliged them to fly to their intrenchments, and purſued them ſo cloſe that they entered the camp at the ſame time. When the

[s] Idem, c. 88.

the enemy ſaw their intrenchments forced, all the auxiliaries betook themſelves to flight; but the Perſians, though reduced to a ſmall number, ſtill continued to diſpute the entrance of their camp againſt the Greeks pouring in on all ſides. But in the mean time the Lacedæmonians, who had taken a wider compaſs, arriving with other troops of the allies, the Perſians likewiſe abandoned their poſt, and ſaved themſelves by flying to the neighbouring hills. Before the engagement they had appointed the Mileſians to guard the narrow paſſages of the mountains, that they might have a ſafe retreat in caſe they were put to flight, and ſure guides to conduct them through the mountains, the Mileſians being well acquainted with the country. But they treacherouſly brought back by other ways to the enemy ſuch as fled to them; by which means a very ſmall number eſcaped the general ſlaughter of that day. The two Perſian generals, Mardontes and Tigranes, died in the field, with many other commanders of great diſtinction. The Greeks, having made a great ſlaughter of the enemies both in the field and in the purſuit, ſet fire to their ſhips, burnt the whole camp, and ſet ſail for Samos loaded with an immenſe booty conſiſting of 70 cheſts of money, beſides many other things of an ineſtimable value [t]. And thus ended all the great deſigns of Xerxes in a moſt miſerable diſappointment, a ſmall number of thoſe millions of men now remaining, with which the year before he marched ſo proudly over the Helleſpont.

The battle of Platæa was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the ſame day, and yet all the Greek writers pretend, that the victory at Platæa was known at Mycale before the engagement began there, though thoſe two places were parted by the whole Ægean, a ſea of ſeveral days ſail. But Diodorus Siculus [u] clears up this matter, telling us, that Leotychides, obſerving his troops to be in great pain for their countrymen at Platæa, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by the numerous army of Mardonius, in order to raiſe their ſpirits and courage, cauſed a report to be ſpread in the army, that the Perſians were defeated at Platæa, though at that time he knew nothing of the matter.

Xerxes, upon the news of theſe two overthrows, left Sardis with the ſame hurry and precipitation as he had left Athens after the battle of Salamis, making all the haſte he could towards Perſia, that he might get as far as poſſible

[t] Idem c. 102. [u] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 28.

out of the reach of the conquering enemy. But before he ſet out he gave orders, that all the temples of the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould be burnt and demoliſhed; and his orders were ſo far executed, that not one temple was left ſtanding, except that of Diana at Epheſus (I).

THE Grecian fleet after the battle of Mycale ſteered their courſe firſt to Samos, and thence to the Helleſpont, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the bridges, which Xerxes had cauſed to be laid over thoſe ſtraits; but finding them broke by ſtorms, Leotychides with his Peloponneſian forces ſailed home. Xantippus with the Athenians and their allies, the Ionians remaining there, made himſelf maſter of Seſtus and the whole Thracian Cherſoneſus, where the army was enriched with an immenſe booty, which on the approach of the winter they carried home, every one returning then to their reſpective countries. Xantippus finding all the materials of the bridges at Cardia, whither they had been conveyed by order of Xerxes, carried them with him to Athens, where they were preſerved for many years, as a monument of the many victories which the Greeks obtained in this war. From this time the Ionian cities in Aſia, ſhaking off the Perſian yoke, recovered their antient liberty, and maintained it as long as that empire ſubſiſted.

THE Greeks, having ſettled their affairs at home, reſolved to purſue the war, and drive the Perſians out of all the Greek cities in Aſia and the neighbouring iſlands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which ſailing to Cyprus, under the command of Pauſanias and Ariſtides, drove the Perſians out of that iſland, and reſtored the inhabitants to their antient liberty [w].

WHILE

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

(I) He was prompted to this, not by any particular diſpleaſure againſt the Aſiatic Greeks, but by the inſtitutions of the Mages, in whoſe religion he had been thoroughly inſtructed by Zoroaſtres. For that religion expreſſing a great deteſtation of worſhipping God by images, its zealots were for deſtroying all idolatrous temples where-ever they came. And to keep Xerxes ſteady in their party, not only ſeveral of the chief doctors of the Mages, but Oſtanes himſelf, who was then at the head of the whole ſect, attended him during the whole time of his expedition (56). At their inſtigation, Tully informs us (57), that all thoſe temples were deſtroyed.

(56) Clem. Alexandrin. in Protrept. Laert in Proœm. Pocock. Specim. Hiſt. Arab. p. 148, 149. (57) Cic. de legib. l. ii.

WHILE Xerxes reſided at Sardis, he conceived a violent paſſion for the wife of his brother Maſiſtes, a prince of extraordinary merit, and who had ſerved the king with great zeal and fidelity. As ſhe was a woman of great virtue, and had a ſingular value for her huſband, ſhe could by no ſollicitations be prevailed upon to defile his bed. However, the king, ſtill flattering himſelf that by heaping favours upon her he might at laſt conquer her virtue, married his eldeſt ſon Darius, whom he appointed his ſucceſſor to the crown, to Artaynta this princeſs's daughter. As this was the greateſt favour he could beſtow on the mother, he expected it would engage her to comply with his deſires. But Xerxes, finding her virtue proof againſt all temptations, changed his inclinations for the mother, and fell paſſionately in love with the daughter, who was now the wife of his own ſon, and did not follow the glorious example of her mother's firmneſs and virtue. While this intrigue was carrying on, Hameſtris, wife to Xerxes, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, preſented it to the king, which he, being wonderfully pleaſed with it, put on when he firſt viſited his miſtreſs. In the converſation he had with her he deſired her to aſk whatever favour ſhe pleaſed, binding himſelf by an oath to deny her nothing. Hereupon Artaynta deſired him to give her the mantle. Xerxes, foreſeeing the bad conſequences that would neceſſarily enſue from his complying with her requeſt, did all that lay in his power to diſſuade her from inſiſting upon her firſt demand. He offered her immenſe treaſures, with cities and an army to be ſolely at her diſpoſal, which was one of the greateſt preſents that the Perſian kings could make. But not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himſelf bound by his imprudent promiſe and raſh oath, he yielded to her demand, and gave her the mantle, which ſhe immediately put on, and publickly wore, as a trophy of her power over the king's affections. Hameſtris, being now confirmed in the ſuſpicion ſhe had entertained, was incenſed to the higheſt degree; but, inſtead of venting her rage againſt the daughter who alone was faulty, reſolved to be revenged on the mother, whom ſhe looked upon as the author of the whole intrigue, though ſhe was no ways privy to it. For the better executing of her deſign ſhe waited the great feſtival, which was annually celebrated on the king's birth-day; on which occaſion the king, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the country, uſed to grant his queen whatever ſhe demanded. This

day being come, she asked, that the wife of his brother Masistes might be delivered into her hands. Xerxes, who apprehended the queen's design, was struck with horror at this demand, both out of regard to his brother, and because he knew that his wife was quite innocent, and therefore at first withstood her request. But being at last overcome by her importunity, he consented with the utmost reluctancy to her requst, and ordering his guards to seize the innocent princess, delivered her into the hands of the revengeful and enraged Hamestris, impowering her to treat her as she pleased. In consequence of this power, Hamestris caused her breasts, tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home in that miserable condition to her husband. In the mean time, Xerxes had sent for his brother to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical adventure. He first told him that he must part with his wife, and that he designed to supply her place with one of his own daughters. But Masistes, who was passionately fond of his wife, could not be induced by any offers whatsoever to divorce her. Whereupon Xerxes in great wrath told him, that since he refused his daughter, he should neither have her nor his own wife, and with this inhuman reply dismissed him. Masistes, from this speech apprehending some great misfortune, made all the haste he could home to see what had passed during his absence. On his arrival he found his wife in that deplorable condition we have described, and being exasperated to the highest degree, as the case deserved, he immediately assembled all his family, servants, and dependants, and set out with all possible expedition for the province of Bactriana, of which he was governor, determined, as soon as he arrived there, to induce the Bactrians torevolt and revenge such a barbarous usage in the severest manner. But Xerxes, hearing of his sudden departure, and suspecting from thence his design, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him cut him in pieces, with his wife, children, and all his retinue. There is another action no less cruel and impious related of Hamestris. She caused fourteen children of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods.

Upon the death of Masistes Xerxes appointed Hystaspes his second son to be governor of Bactria, which obliging him to live at a distance from court, gave his younger brother

brother Artaxarexes an opportunity of mounting the throne before him, as will be seen in its proper place [x].

XERXES, being wholly discouraged by a continual series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of war and conquests, and never afterwards suffered his ships to appear in the Ægean sea, or his forces on the coasts. He gave himself entirely up to luxury and ease, minding nothing but the gratifying of his lusts and vicious inclinations. This dissolute manner of life drew upon him the contempt and hatred of his subjects, which encouraged Artabanus, a native of Hyrcania, captain of his guards, and who had long been his chief favourite, to conspire against him. He prevailed upon Mithridates, one of the eunuchs of the palace to engage in the conspiracy, and being by him let into the king's bed-chamber, murdered him in the 21st year of his reign while he was asleep. He then went to Artaxerexes the king's third son, and charged Darius his elder brother with the murder, as though an eager desire of ascending the throne had prompted him to that execrable crime. He told him at the same time, that he designed to cut him off next, in order to secure the crown to himself, and therefore he ought to guard himself against all dangers. Artaxerxes, being then a very young man, rashly believed whatever Artabanus told him, and without further examination went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, being assisted by Artabanus and his guards, murdered him. The next heir was Hystaspes the second son of Xerxes, but, as he was then in Bactriana, of which province he was governor, Artabanus placed Artaxarexes on the throne; but with a design to let him enjoy the sovereignty only till such time, as he had formed a party strong enough to drive him from it, and seized it himself. His great authority had gained him many dependents, and besides he had seven sons, who were all of robust bodies, couragious, and raised to the highest dignities of the empire. His confidence in these inspired him with this design, but while he was hastening to put it in execution, Artaxerxes being informed of the whole plot by Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and killed him before his treason was ripe for execution. His death secured

Xerxes murdered. Year of the flood 2535. Before Christ 464.

[x] Herodot. l. ix. c. 107, 112, [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 53.

cured to Artaxarexes the possession of the kingdom [z] (K). He is said to have been the handsomest man of the age he lived in, and a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called, or rather nick-named, by the Greeks Macrocheir, that is long-handed, by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands (L); but in scripture he bears the name of Ahasuerus as well as that of Artaxerxes, and is the same who had Esther for his queen (M).

HAVING

[z] Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 52. Ctesias, c. 2. Justin, l. iii. c. 1.

(K) Whether Artabanus possessed himself of the throne, and held it seven months, as some authors affirm, or was killed by Artaxerxes before he accomplished his design, is no easy matter to determine with any certainty. The seven first months of the reign of Artaxerxes are by Eusebius (58) assigned to Artabanus, perhaps because he ruled so long in his name.

(L) Strabo (59) tells us, that he was so called because his hands were so long, that when he stood upright he could touch his knees with them; but, according to Plutarch (60), he had that name because his right hand was longer than his left. He is named by the Latins Longimanus, which answers the Greek Μακροχειρ.

(M) Some are of opinion, that Darius Hystaspis was the king Ahasuerus who married Esther, and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Artystona the Esther of Scripture (61). But this opinion is quite inconsistent with what we read of these persons in prophane history. For Herodotus tells us (62), that Artystona was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther; and that Atossa had four sons by Darius, all born after he ascended the throne (63) and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti, whom the king divorced in the third year of his reign (64), nor he that king Ahasuerus. Besides, Atossa had such an ascendant over the king, that he was influenced by her on his deathbed to disinherit his elder sons by a former wife, and settle the crown on Xerxes her son; whereas the Ahasuerus of scripture divorced Vashti by an unalterable decree, and therefore could never admit her again to his bed (65). What induced the learned primate of Ireland to be of this opinion was, that Ahasuerus in the book of Esther (66) is said to have laid a tribute on the land and on the isles, and the same is said of Darius Hystaspis by Herodotus (67); but this Strabo ascribes to Darius Longimanus

(58) Euseb. in Chron. (59) Strab. l. xv. p. 735. (60) Plutarch. in Artax. (61) Usher. Ann. at the year of the J. P. 4193. (62) Herodot. l. iii. & vii. (63) Idem, l. vii. (64) Esther. i. 3. (65) Idem, ibid. (66) Esther x. i. (67) Idem, l. iii.

Artaxerxes Longimanus

HAVING by the death of Artabanus removed one dangerous competitor, he had ſtill two great obſtacles in his way, viz. his brother Hyſtaſpes in Bactria, and the party of Artabanus at home, which gave him the firſt trouble. Artabanus, as we have hinted above, had ſeven ſons and many partiſans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death. Whereupon a bloody conflict enſued, in which many Perſians of diſtinction

gimanus (68), as we read in the printed copies; and the ſirname of Longimanus, with the deſcription of the perſon in that place, plainly ſhews, that Darius was there by miſtake of the tranſcribers put inſtead of Artaxerxes, ſeeing no Darius ever bore that name, and what is ſaid there of Darius is applicable to none but Artaxerxes.

Scaliger is of opinion (69), that Xerxes was the Ahaſuerus, and his queen Hameſtris the Eſther of ſcripture, induced thereunto by the ſimilitude he finds between Hameſtris and Eſther. But the diſſimilitude of their characters is a far ſtronger proof that Hameſtris could not be Eſther, as muſt appear from what we have already related of queen Hameſtris, and ſhall have occaſion to add in the ſequel of this hiſtory. A woman of ſo vile a character cannot have been that queen of Perſia, who by the name of Eſther is ſo renowned in holy writ, and is celebrated there as the inſtrument, by whom God was pleaſed in ſo ſignal a manner to deliver his people from that utter deſtruction which was deſigned againſt them. Beſides, we are told by Herodotus (70), that Xerxes had a ſon by Hameſtris, who was marriageable in the ſeventh year of his reign, and Eſther was not till that time married to Ahaſuerus (71).

There being no ſuch objections as to Artaxerxes Longimanus, he muſt, in our opinion, have been the Ahaſuerus who married Eſther. This we find confirmed by the Septuagint, by the apocryphal additions to the book of Eſther, and by Joſephus. The Septuagint throughout the whole book of Eſther tranſlate Ahaſuerus by Artaxerxes. The apocryphal additions to that book conſtantly call Eſther's huſband Artaxerxes, and from ſeveral circumſtances related of him, both in the canonical and aprocryphal Eſther, it is very plain, that this Artaxerxes could not be Artaxerxes Mnemon. Joſephus (72) tells us in expreſs terms, that Eſther's huſband was Artaxerxes Longimanus. Severus Sulpitius and many others, both ancient and modern writers, fall in with Joſephus. The extraordinary favour and kindneſs which Artaxerxes Longimanus ſhewed the Jews, beyond all other kings that reigned in Perſia, is a convincing proof, that they had ſuch a powerful advocate as Eſther to intercede for them.

(68) Strab. l. xv. p. 735. (69) Scal. de emendat. temp. l. vi. (70) Herodot. l. ix. (71) Eſther xi. 6. (72) Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 6.

ction fell on both ſides. But at length Artaxerxes, having prevailed, put to death all thoſe who were privy to the plot. Thoſe eſpecially, who had any hand in the murder of his father, were puniſhed in a moſt ſevere and exemplary manner. The eunuch Mithridates, who betrayed him, was boated, a puniſhment which was in uſe among the Perſians, and we have already deſcribed, where we gave an account of the manners of that nation. Artaxerxes, having thus cruſhed the faction of Artabanus at home, was in a condition to ſend an army into Bactria, which had declared in favour of his brother. But here he was not attended with the like ſucceſs; for the two armies engaging, Hyſtaſpes ſtood his ground, and though he did carry the day, he ſuſtained no conſiderable loſs, both parties retiring with equal ſucceſs to prepare for a ſecond encounter. The next year, Artaxerxes drawing together a far more powerful army, as having thegreater part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hyſtaſpes, and by a complete victory ſecured to himſelf the quiet poſſeſſion of the empire. To prevent all further diſturbances, he removed ſuch governors of cities and provinces as he ſuſpected to be affected to either of the factions he had overcome, putting others in their room whom he could ſafely truſt. He afterwards applied himſelf to the reforming of many abuſes and diſorders that had crept into the government; whereby he gained great reputation, and won the hearts of his ſubjects throughout all the provinces of the empire[a]. Artaxerxes, being now ſettled in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole Perſian empire, appointed rejoicings and feaſts to be made for the ſpace of 180 days in the city of Suſa, on the concluſion of which he gave a great entertainment to all the princes and people that were then in that city, which laſted ſeven days. Vaſhti the queen at the ſame time made a like feaſt in her apartment for the women; and here the hiſtory of Hadaſſah or Eſther, for which we refer the reader to that book, takes place.

The Egyptians revolt. Year of the flood 2540. Before Chriſt 459.

In the fifth year of Artaxerxes's reign, the Egyptians revolted, and, making Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king, called in the Athenians to their aſſiſtance, who, having at that time a fleet of 200 ſhips lying off the iſland of Cyprus, laid hold of that invitation, looking upon it as a very favourable opportunity of weakening the Perſian power by driving them from ſo rich a kingdom. Upon the news of this revolt, Artaxerxes, having raiſed an army of 300,000

[a] Plutarch. in Artax. Ctes. c. 31. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54.

300,000 men, was resolved to march himself against the rebels. But being dissuaded from venturing his person, he gave the command of all the land-forces to Achæmenides, one of his brothers (N), who, arriving in Egypt at the head of his numerous army, encamped on the banks of the Nile. In the mean time, the Athenians, having defeated the Persian fleet, and either sunk or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and landing their forces, under the command of Charitimis their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians. They afterwards attacked with joint forces Achæmenides, routed his army, and killed 100,000 of his men with the general himself. The remainder fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the Persians securing themselves in the third called the White-wall, which was by much the best fortified part of the city, there suffered a siege of three years, during which time they made a most vigorous defence, till they were succoured by the forces that were sent to their relief[b].

Artaxerxes, hearing of the defeat of his army in Egypt, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it, sent embassadors to the Lacedæmonians, with large sums of money, in order to engage them to make war upon the Athenians, and by that means oblige them to recal their troops to the defence of their own country. But the Lacedæmonians rejecting his offers, he resolved to make a diversion by sending Themistocles, (who had taken shelter in the Persian court, whither the envy of his enemies at home had driven him, as we shall relate in the history of Greece) at the head of a powerful army to invade Attica. But that great commander, not knowing how to decline the command of a prince, who had heaped so many favours upon him, and on the other hand being unwilling to make war

[b] Thucyd. l. i. p. 68. 71. 72. Ctes. c. 32. 35. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 54—59.

(N) Herodotus (70) and Diodorus Siculus (74) confound Achæmenides, brother to Artaxerxes, with Achæmenes, brother to Xerxes and uncle of Artaxerxes, telling us, that the management of this war was committed to Achæmenes, who in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes was governor of Egypt. But they were certainly misled by the similitude of names, for Ctesias tells us, that Artaxerxes gave the command of the troops to the son of Hamestris, who could not be Achæmenes.

(73) Herodot. l. iii. & vii. (74) Diodor. l. xi.

war upon his own country, resolved to put an end to his life. And according, having invited all his friends to a banquet, and sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of the blood, and soon after died[c]. Upon his death Artaxerxes ordered Artabazus, governour of Cilicia, and Megabyzus, governour of Syria, to raise an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the White-wall. These generals soon drew together 300,000 men, but were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped in order to transport them into Egypt, which could not be got ready till the ensuing year. Inarus, hearing of the formidable preparations that were making by these Persian governours to relieve the besieged, redoubled his attacks on the White-wall, and made his utmost efforts to carry it; but the Persians within defended themselves with such bravery, that the Egyptians and Athenians made no considerable progress towards the reduction of the place[d].

In the third year of the siege, and ninth of Artaxerxes, the Persian fleet being equipped, Artabazus took the command of it, and set sail towards the Nile, while Megabyzus, at the head of the land-forces, marched to Memphis. On his arrival he not only obliged Inarus and his auxiliaries to raise the siege of the White-wall, but in a pitched battle entirely defeated them with great slaughter of the Egyptians, who suffered most in this engagement. After this defeat Inarus, though wounded in the thigh by Megabyzus, retired with the Athenians and such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him to the city of Biblos in the island of Prosopotis, which being surrounded by the navigable branches of the Nile, the Athenians stationed their fleet in one of them, and held out a siege of a year and a half. In the mean time, the rest of the Egyptians submitted to the conqueror, and returned to their obedience, Amyrtœus alone maintaining a party against him in the fens, where he ruled many years, the Persians not being able to reduce him by reason of the inaccessibleness of the place. Inarus and his auxiliaries in the island of Prosopotis defended themselves with such vigor, that the Persians, despairing to reduce them by the ordinary methods of war, had recourse to an extraordinary expedient, whereby they soon accomplished their design. They quite drained, by cutting many canals, that arm of the Nile, where the Athenian fleet lay, and by that means

[c] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Plutarch. in Themist.
[d] Ctes. & Diodor. ubi supra. p. 281.

means opened a paſſage for the whole army to enter the iſland. Inarus, ſeeing all was now loſt, delivered up himſelf, the Egyptians, and about 50 Athenians to Megabyzus, on condition their lives ſhould be ſpared. But the reſt of the Athenians, to the number of 6000, refuſed to ſurrender, and, having ſet fire to their fleet, drew up in battle-array, reſolved to die ſword in hand, and ſell their lives at the deareſt rate, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians that fell at Thermopylæ. The Perſians, perceiving they had taken this deſperate reſolution, did not think it adviſeable to attack them; but rather to offer them reaſonable terms, and come to a compoſition. The terms were that they ſhould leave Egypt, and have a free paſſage home by ſea or land. They accepted the conditions, delivered up the iſland with the city of Biblos to the conquerors, and marched to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece; but moſt of them periſhed before they reached their native country. Neither was this the only loſs the Athenians ſuſtained on this occaſion. Another fleet of 50 ſail, being ſent by them to relieve thoſe who were beſieged in the iſland of Proſopotis, arrived at one of the mouths of the Nile ſoon after their countrymen had ſurrendered, and having entered the river without knowing what had happened, were at the ſame time attacked by the Perſian fleet, and galled with ſuch ſhowers of darts and arrows by the land-forces from the ſhore, that they were all killed, except ſome few who broke through the enemy's fleet and eſcaped. Thus ended the fatal war, which the Athenians had carried on for the ſpace of ſix years in Egypt, and that kingdom was anew united to the Perſian empire, and continued ſo during the remaining part of the reign of Artaxerxes. Inarus and the other priſoners taken in this war were ſent to Suſa, and Sartamas appointed governor of Egypt[e].

Egypt again reduced.

Year of the flood 2546. Before Chriſt 453.

THE Athenians having equipped another fleet of 200 ſail gave the command of it to Cimon, enjoining him to drive the Perſians from the iſland of Cyprus. Cimon in purſuance to his orders took Citium, Malum, and ſeveral other cities of that Iſland, and from thence ſent 60 ſail to the aſſiſtance of Amyrtœus in the fens of Egypt. Artabazus being then in thoſe ſeas with a fleet of 300 ſhips, Cimon

[e] Ctes. c. 34. Diodor. l. xi. p. 58, et ſeq.

Cimon, aſſoon as his ſquadron returned from Egypt, fell upon him, took 100 of his ſhips, deſtroyed many others, and purſued the remainder to the coaſts of Phœnicia. Being fluſhed with this ſucceſs, on his return landing his men in Cilicia, where he found Megabyzus with an army of 300,000 men, he marched againſt him, and having put him to flight with a great ſlaughter of his men, returned to Cyprus with a double triumph[f].

ARTAXERXES, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſo great loſſes, reſolved with the advice of his counſellors and miniſters, to put an end to ſo many calamities, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he ſent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the Cyprian war, to conclude a peace with the Athenians on the beſt terms they could. Hereupon Megabyzus and Artabazus ſent embaſſadors to Athens to propoſe an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both ſides on the following terms. 1. That all the Greek cities of Aſia ſhould be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws. 2. That no Perſian ſhips of war ſhould enter thoſe ſeas that lie between the Cyanean and the Chelidonian iſlands, that is, from the Euxine ſea to the coaſts of Pamphylia. 3. That no Perſian general ſhould come by land within three days march of thoſe ſeas. 4. That the Athenians ſhould not commit any hoſtilities in the territories of the king of Perſia. Theſe articles being ſworn to by both parties, peace was proclaimed. Thus ended this war, which had laſted from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians fifty one years complete, and deſtroyed numberleſs multitudes both of Greeks and Perſians[g].

ARTAXERXES being continually importuned by his mother, for five years together, to deliver to her Inarus and the Athenians who had been taken with him in Egypt, that ſhe might ſacrifice them to the manes of her ſon Achæmenes, yielded at laſt to her unwearied ſolicitations. Whereupon this inhuman princeſs, without any regard to the conditions which had been with the greateſt ſolemnity ratified, cauſed Inarus to be crucified, and the heads of all the reſt to be ſtruck off. Megabyzus, who had engaged his word that their lives ſhould be ſpared, looked upon this as a diſhonour done him, and therefore retiring to Syria, of which province he was governor, raiſed there an army and openly

Egypt again reduced. Year of the flood 2546. Before Chriſt 453.

[f] Plutarch. in Cimon. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. xi. p. 73.
[g] Diodor. ubi ſupra. p. 74. Thucyd. l. i.

openly revolted. The king immediately ſent Oſiris, one of the chief lords of the court, with an army of 200,000 men to ſuppreſs this rebellion. But Megabyzus in a general engagement wounded him, took him priſoner, and put his numerous army to flight. Artaxerxes hearing that his general was taken ſent a meſſenger to demand him, and Megabyzus generouſly releaſed him, aſſoon as his wounds were cured [h].

THE next year, Artaxerxes ſent another army againſt him under the command of Menoſtanes, ſon to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was attended with no better ſucceſs than the other; for he was in the ſame manner defeated and put to flight, leaving Megabyzus maſter of the field and all the baggage. The king, being ſenſible that he could not get the better of him by dint of arms, ſent his brother Artarius and his ſiſter Amytis, who was wife to Megabyzus, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, to perſwade him to return to his duty. By their mediation the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned to court. But not long after, a lion being ready to fall upon the king as he was hunting, Megabyzus, fired with zeal and affection for his ſovereign, threw a dart at the lion and killed him. But the king ſtill retaining ill-will againſt him, upon pretence that he had affronted him in ſhooting firſt at the lion, commanded his head to be ſtruck off; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that Amytis his ſiſter and Hameſtris his mother prevailed upon him to change the ſentence of death into that of perpetual baniſhment. Megabyzus was therefore ſent to Cyrta a city ſtanding on the Red Sea, and ſentenced to lead the reſt of his life there under confinement. However, five years after he made his eſcape from thence, and under diſguiſe got ſafe to his own houſe at Suſa, where by the interceſſion of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinſtated in the king's favour, and enjoyed it till his death, which happened ſome years after in the 76th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the king and the whole court, being the beſt counſellor and greateſt general of the whole empire. To him Artaxerxes owed both his life and his crown at his firſt acceſſion to the government. But it is of dangerous conſequence in a ſubject to have too much obliged his ſovereign; for this was the true ſource of all the misfortunes that befel Megabyzus [i]. IN

[h] Ctes. c 35.

[i] Ctes. 37—39.

In the 34th year of the reign of Artaxerxes a war breaking out between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, commonly called the Peloponnesian war, both parties sent embassadors to the king imploring his assistance [k]. But we do not find, that Artaxerxes returned them any answer before the seventh year of that war, when he sent an embassador to the Lacedæmonians named Artaphernes with a letter written in the Assyrian tongue, wherein he told them, that several embassadors had come to him from them, but the purports of their embassies differed so widely, that he could not comprehend what they requested, and that therefore he had thought proper to send them a Persian to let them know, that if they had any proposals to make they should send a trusty person along with him, by whom he might be informed what they desired him to do. This embassador arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens, where he was treated with the utmost civility and respect, the Athenians being extremely desirous to regain the favour of the king his master [l]. The year following, as soon as the season allowed the Athenians to put to sea, they sent back the embassador in one of their own ships at the expence of the public, and appointed some of their citizens to attend him to the court of Persia with the character of embassadors. But when they landed at Ephesus, they there received news of the king's death; whereupon the Athenians, not thinking it advisеable to proceed farther, took their leave of Artaphernes and returned to Athens [m].

Artaxerxes favoured the Jews above all the kings of Persia, but what happened to them during his reign we shall relate in the history of that people as in a more proper place. This prince died in the 41st year of his reign, and was succeeded by Xerxes the only son he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen, among whom were Sogdianus, or, as Ctesias calls him, Secundianus, Ochus, and Arsites. Xerxes having drunk immoderately at a great entertainment retired to his bed-chamber, to refresh himself with sleep after his debauch. This opportunity Sogdianus laid hold of, and, being let into the bed-chamber by Pharnacyas one of Xerxes's eunuchs, slew him,

Xerxes II.

[k] Thucyd. l. ii. [l] Idem, l. iv. p. 285, 286. [m] Idem, ibid. p. 322.

him, after he had reigned 45 days, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom [n].

Sogdianus. SCARCE was Sogdianus ſeated on the throne, when he put to death Bagorazus, the moſt faithful of all his father's eunuchs. He had been appointed to ſuperintend the interment of Artaxerxes and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who had died the ſame day as her royal conſort. After he had conveyed both their bodies to the burial-place of the Perſian kings, he found on his return Sogdianus in poſſeſſion of the crown, with whom he had formerly had ſome ſmall difference. This Sogdianus remembered, and, taking for a pretence to quarrel with him ſomething relating to the obſequies of his father, cauſed him to be ſtoned to death. By theſe two murders he became very odious both to the nobility and the army, and being jealous leſt ſome of his brothers might treat him as he treated Xerxes, he ſent for Ochus, whom he chiefly ſuſpected, with a deſign to murder him the moment he arrived. Ochus had been by his father appointed governor of Hyrcania, and being well appriſed of his brother's deſign, under ſeveral pretences put off his coming to court, till he had drawn together a powerful army, with which he advanced to the confines of Perſia, openly declaring, that he deſigned to revenge the death of his brother. This declaration brought over to him many of the nobility and ſeveral governors of provinces, who, being highly diſſatisfied with the cruelty and ill-conduct of Sogdianus, put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, came to an accommodation with Ochus, who having him in his power cauſed him to be thrown into aſhes (O), where he died a cruel death [o].

[n] Ctes. c. 47. Diodor. l. xii. p. 115.

[o] Ctes. ubi ſupra. Diodor. l. xii. p. 322.

(O) This puniſhment was invented for him, and became afterwards common in Perſia. Ochus had ſwore, that Sogdianus ſhould not die by the ſword, by poiſon, or of hunger. To keep his word he contrived this new ſort of puniſhment; it is deſcribed in the 13th chapter of the ſecond book of the Maccabees, thus: An high tower was filled to a certain height with aſhes, and the criminal being thrown headlong into them, they were by

Ochus. Ochus, being ſettled on the throne by the death of Sogdianus, changed his name, taking that of Darius inſtead of Ochus, and is by hiſtorians commonly called Darius Nothus, or Darius the Baſtard (P).

Year of the flood 2575. Before Chriſt 424. Arsites, ſeeing in what manner Sogdianus had ſupplanted Xerxes, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by Ochus, began to entertain thoughts of treating Ochus in the ſame manner. With this deſign, though he was his brother by the ſame father and mother, he broke out into an open rebellion againſt him, being encouraged thereunto and aſſiſted by Artyphius the ſon of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom henceforth we ſhall call Darius, ſent Artaſyrus one of his generals againſt Artyphius, while he marched in perſon againſt his brother Arſites. Artyphius, with the aſſiſtance of his Greek mercenaries, twice defeated the general who had been ſent againſt him. But, theſe being gained over with large bribes, he loſt the third battle; and being reduced to great ſtraits ſurrendered himſelf to Darius, upon hopes given him of mercy. The king was for putting him to death immediately, but was diverted from it by Paryſatis his wife and ſiſter. She was daughter to Artaxerxes by another mother, an intriguing and crafty woman; and by her advice the king was entirely governed in affairs of the greateſt importance. The counſel ſhe gave him on this occaſion was, to treat Artyphius with great clemency, that, by ſuch uſage of a rebellious ſervant, he might the better encourage his brother to throw himſelf upon his mercy, and then diſpoſe of them both as he pleaſed. Darius followed her counſel, and had the ſucceſs he propoſed. For Arſites, being informed of the gentle uſage Artyphius had met with, concluded, that he, as a

by a wheel perpetually turned round him till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life and his empire, after he had reigned ſix months and fifteen days (75).

(P) He is placed in Ptolemy's canon as the immediate ſucceſſor of Artaxerxes Longimanus according to the ſtile of that canon, which conſtantly aſcribes to the predeceſſor the whole year in which he dies, and places him as the next ſucceſſor who was on the throne in the beginning of the enſuing year. As the reign of Xerxes and Sogdianus made up but eight months, and theſe did not reach to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, they are in the canon caſt into the laſt year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate ſucceſſor.

(75) Maccab. ii. c. 13. Val. Max. l. ix c. 2.

a brother, ſhould be treated at leaſt with the ſame indulgence and good-nature. Flattered with this hope he came to an agreement with the king, and ſurrendered himſelf into his hands. Darius, having him in his power, was very much inclined to pardon him, but was prevailed upon by Paryſatis to put both him and Artyphius to death by ſuffocating them in aſhes [p].

He alſo put to death Pharnacyas for being concerned in the murder of Xerxes; and Monaſthenes, another eunuch, who was the chief favourite of Sogdianus, was condemned to die a cruel death, which he prevented by laying violent hands on himſelf. Theſe executions did not procure him the tranquillity he expected; for his whole reign was diſturbed with violent commotions, raiſed in various parts of the empire. One of the moſt dangerous was that which was ſtirred up by Piſuthnes governor of Lydia, who ſetting up for himſelf raiſed an army of Greek mercenaries, under the command of Lycon an Athenian. Againſt him Darius ſent Tiſſaphernes, appointing him at the ſame time governor of Lydia in his room. Tiſſaphernes, who was an artful and crafty man, found means of gaining the Greeks who ſerved under Piſuthnes, and inducing both them and their general to change ſides. Whereupon Piſuthnes, not being in a condition to carry on the war, ſurrendered upon promiſe of pardon. But the king, the inſtant he was brought before him, ſentenced him to death, and accordingly he was, purſuant to the king's order, ſuffocated in aſhes. But his death did not put an end to the troubles which he had raiſed; for his ſon Amorgas with the remainder of the army ſtill oppoſed Tiſſaphernes, and for two years continued to infeſt the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor, till he was at length taken priſoner by the Peloponneſians at Iaſus a city of Ionia, and delivered by the inhabitants to Tiſſaphernes, who put him to death [q].

Darius had ſcarce quelled this rebellion, when he found himſelf involved in new troubles. His court, and, we may ſay, the whole empire, was governed by the eunuchs. Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous. Theſe he conſulted, and followed their advice, in all the momentous affairs of the government. But Artoxares was the chief favourite, and nothing was tranſacted but by his direction. Intoxicated with this power, he began to entertain thoughts of aſcending the throne; and accordingly formed a deſign

[p] Idem, c. 49. [q] Idem, c. 51.

of cutting off Darius. With this view, that he might not be thought an eunuch, which was a strong objection to his being acknowledged king, he married and wore an artificial beard, giving out, that he was not what to that time the Persians had taken him to be. But his wife, who was privy to the whole plot, and perhaps glad to get rid of such a husband, discovered the whole matter to the king. Whereupon he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, who caused him to be put to a cruel and ignominious death [r].

The Egyptians revolt. Year of the flood 2586. Before Christ 413.

But the greatest misfortune that befel Darius, during the whole time of his reign, was the revolt of Egypt, which broke out the same year that Pisuthnes rebelled. For though Darius got the better of the latter rebellion, yet he could never again reduce Egypt. Amyrtœus, who had reigned in the fens of Egypt, ever since the revolt of Inarus, being apprised of the discontents of the Egyptians, and finding them disposed to enter into any measures for the recovery of their liberty, sallied out of his fens, and being joined by the inhabitants, who flocked to him from all parts, he drove the Persians quite out, and became king of the whole country. Being thus in possession of all Egypt by the total expulsion of the Persians, he resolved to attack them in Phœnice too, having the Arabians in confederacy with him for this undertaking. News of this being brought to the court of Persia, the fleet, which the king had equipped with a design to assist the Lacedæmonians, was recalled to the defence of his own dominions [s].

While Darius was carrying on the war against the Egyptians and Arabians, the Medes revolted: but being defeated were forced to return to their former allegiance, and in punishment of their rebellion reduced to harder subjection than before, as is usually the case [t]. Darius seems to have been likewise successful against the Egyptians; for Amyrtæus being dead, after a reign of six years, his son Pausiris succeeded him, as Herodotus informs us [u], in the kingdom with the consent of the Persians, which shews that they were masters of Egypt.

Cyrus the younger appointed governor of Asia Minor.

Darius, having thus settled the affairs of Media and Egypt, invested Cyrus his youngest son with the supreme command

[r] Idem, ibid. [s] Thucyd. l. viii. init. Justin, l. v. c. 2. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 160. [t] Xenoph. Hellenic. l. i. Herodot. l. ix. [u] Herodot. l. iii.

command of all the provinces of Aſia Minor. He was a very young man to be intruſted with ſo much power, for, being born after his father's acceſſion to the crown, he could not have been above ſixteen years old when he received this important commiſſion. But as he was the darling of his mother Paryſatis, who had an abſolute ſway over the king her huſband, ſhe obtained this command for him, with a view to put him in a condition to contend for the crown after his father's death; and this uſe he accordingly made of it, to the great diſturbance of the whole empire, as we ſhall ſee hereafter [w]. On his receiving his commiſſion he was ordered to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians againſt the Athenians, countrary to the wiſe meaſures obſerved by Tiſſaphernes, who, by ſometimes helping one ſide and ſometimes the other, had ſo ballanced matters between them, that they continued to haraſs each other, without being at leiſure to diſturb the Perſians, who had ſo long been the common enemies of both. This order given, Cyrus ſoon diſcovered the weakneſs of the king's politics. For the Lacedæmonians having, with the aſſiſtance given them by Cyrus, ſoon overpowered the Athenians, ſent firſt Thimbro, and after him Dercyllidas, and at laſt Ageſilaus their king to invade the Perſian provinces in Aſia, where they made great conqueſts, and would have endangered the whole empire, had not Darius, by diſtributing large ſums of money among the demagogues or governors of the Greek cities, found means to rekindle the war in Greece, which obliged the Lacedæmonians to recall their troops for their own defence [x].

Cyrus having put to death two noble Perſians, ſons to a ſiſter of Darius, for no other reaſon, but becauſe they had not, in meeting him, wrapt up their hands in their ſleeves, as was cuſtomary among the Perſians in the preſence of their kings, Darius recalled him to court, on pretence that he was indiſpoſed and deſired to ſee him. Cyrus, well knowing how great an aſcendant his mother had over the king, prepared for his journey; but before he ſet out he ordered ſuch large ſubſidies to be ſent to Lyſander general of the Lacedæmonians, as enabled him to gain that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Goats-river on the Helleſpont, which put an end to the Athenian pow-

[w] Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. Plutarch. in Artax. & Lyſandro. Juſtin, l. v. c. 5. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 368. [x] Xenoph. Diodor. Juſtin, ibid. Thucyd. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lyſandro.

er and the Peloponneſian war, after it had laſted twenty-ſeven years [y]. Darius was highly incenſed againſt Cyrus, not only on account of the death of his two nephews, but becauſe he had preſumed to challenge honours that were due only to the king: and therefore deſigned to deprive him of his government. But upon his arrival the queen not only reconciled his father to him, but uſed all her art to have him declared heir to the crown, by reaſon he was born after his father's acceſſion to the throne, which had given the preference to Xerxes in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis. Darius could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with her requeſt; but, however, bequeathed him the government of thoſe provinces which he ruled before. Not long after Darius Nothus died, after he had reigned nineteen years, and was ſucceeded by Arſaces his eldeſt ſon by Paryſatis, who on his aſcending the throne took the name of Artaxerxes, and was for his extraordinary memory called by the Greeks Mnemon, that is Remember-er. While he was attending his father on his death-bed, he deſired to be informed by what art he had ſo happily managed the government, that by following the ſame rule he might be bleſſed with the like ſucceſs. The dying king gave him this memorable anſwer, that he had ever done, to the beſt of his knowledge, what religion and juſtice required, without ſwerving from the one or the other [z].

Darius Nothus dies. Year of the flood 2594. Before Chriſt 405.

Artaxerxes Mnemon.

UPON the death of Darius his ſon Artaxerxes went to Paſargada, to be there inaugurated after the Perſian cuſtom by the prieſts of Bellona. He was no ſooner arrived there, but he was informed by one of the prieſts, that his brother Cyrus had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, with a deſign to murder him in the very temple. Upon this information Cyrus was ſeized and ſentenced to death. But his mother Paryſatis prevailed upon the king, not only to ſave his life, but to ſend him back to the government of Aſia Minor, which his father had left him [a].

ARTAXERXES was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, but Statira his queen, whom he was very fond of on account of her extraordinary beauty, employed her power with him to the utter ruin of Udiaſtes, who had killed her brother Teriteuchmes. This quarrel had its riſe in the reign of

[y] Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. Plutarch. in Lyſandro. Diodor. l. xii.
[z] Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin, l. v. c. 8. & 11. Athenæus, l. xii. [a] Plutarch. in Artax. Xenoph. de exped. Cyri. l. 5. Juſtin. l. 1. c. 5. 11.

of Darius, and the whole was a complication of adultery, inceſt, and murder, which raiſed great diſturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in it. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes a Perſian lord, and governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arſaces, falling in love with her, married her, and at the ſame time Teriteuchmes her brother married Hameſtris, one of the daughters of Darius and ſiſter to Arſaces, by reaſon of which marriage he was appointed on his father's death to ſucceed him in his government. But falling in love with his own ſiſter Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira, that he might without any conſtraint enjoy her, he reſolved to diſpatch his wife Hameſtris, and raiſe a rebellion in the kingdom. Darius being acquainted with his wicked deſigns engaged Udiaſtes, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to murder him, which he did accordingly, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Mithridates, the ſon of Udiaſtes, who was one of Teriteuchmes's guards and greatly attached to his maſter, hearing that his father had committed this murder, uttered all manner of imprecations againſt him, and, to ſhew his abhorrence of ſo vile an action, ſeized on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting declared for the ſon of Teriteuchmes. Mithridates was by the king's forces blocked up in the city of Zaris, and with him the ſon of Teriteuchmes; all the reſt of the family of Hydarnes were apprehended and delivered to Paryſatis to execute her revenge upon them, for all the ill uſage done or intended againſt her daughter. That cruel princeſs began with Roxana, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of all this miſchief, and cauſed her to be ſawed in two, the others were all beheaded except Statira, whom ſhe ſpared at the earneſt entreaties and thro' the importunate tears of her huſband Arſaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius, who told her, that ſhe would afterwards have occaſion to repent it. Thus the caſe ſtood at the death of Darius. But Arſaces was no ſooner ſettled on the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to deliver Udiaſtes into her hands; whereupon ſhe cauſed his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, in revenge of the part he had acted in the ruin of her family. His ſon Mithridates ſhe appointed governor of his province, for the attachment he had ſhewn to Teriteuchmes. But Paryſatis, bitterly reſenting,

senting this fact, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself, as we shall hereafter relate [b].

Cyrus, returning to his government of Asia Minor, full of resentment for the sentence of death, which his brother had pronounced against him, resolved to revolt and use his utmost endeavours to drive him from the throne. With this view he employed Clearchus a Lacedæmonian general to raise a body of Greek troops for his service, under pretence of a war which the Lacedæmonians were to carry into Thrace. Alcibiades the Athenian, being well apprised of the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with a design to proceed from thence to the Persian court, and acquaint Artaxerxes with the whole scheme. Had he arrived there, a discovery of such importance had without all doubt procured him the favour of that prince, and the assistance he wanted for the re-establishment of his country. But the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, at Athens, that is the thirty tyrants, fearing the negotiations of so superior a genius, found means to induce Pharnabazus to put him to death, whereby the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily recovering their former state [c].

Cyrus designs a war against his brother. Year of the flood 2596. Before Christ 403.

The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolted from him to Cyrus. This incident, which was the effect of the secret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, assembled troops openly, and, to amuse the court more speciously, made grievous complaints to the king against that governor, demanding his protection and assistance in the most submissive manner. Artaxerxes, being deceived by these appearances, believed, that all Cyrus's preparations were designed only against Tissaphernes, and, not being displeased that they should be at variance with each other, suffered him to raise what forces he pleased [d].

The young prince lost no time on his side, and hastened the execution of his great design. As he had assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, and put them in a condition of gaining those victories which made them masters of Greece, he thought he might safely disclose to them his design, and ask their assistance for the accomplishing of it. The Lacedæmonians readily granted him his demand,

[b] Ctes. in Pers. [c] Xenoph de exped. Cyr. l. 1. Plut. in Artax. [d] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plut. in Artax.

demand, dispatching immediately orders to their fleet to join that of the prince, and to obey in all things the command of Tamos his admiral. But they took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him for what they had done [e].

The army, which Cyrus had raised, consisted of 13000 Greeks, who were the flower of his army, and 100,000 regular troops of other nations. Clearchus the Lacedæmonian commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotians were under Proxenus, a Theban, and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet consisted of 35 ships under Pythagoras a Lacedæmonian, and 25 commanded by Tamos an Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet [f]. Cyrus opened his design to none of the Greeks except Clearchus, fearing the boldness of the enterprise might disencourage the officers as well as the soldiers. Proxenus, between whose family and Xenophon's an ancient friendship subsisted, presented that young Athenian to Cyrus, who received him favourably, and gave him a commission among the Greek mercenaries [g]. Cyrus, having at length got all things ready, set out from Sardis, directing his march towards the upper parts of Asia, the troops neither knowing where, nor in what war, they were to be employed: For Cyrus had only given out, that he was marching against the Pisidians, who with frequent incursions harassed his province. However, Tissaphernes, judging these preparations to be too great for so small an enterprise, set out with all possible expedition from Miletus to give the king a true account of them. Artaxerxes, being now well apprised of his brother's designs, assembled a numerous army to receive him. In the mean time, Cyrus advancing with long marches arrived at the straits of Cilicia, where he found Syennesis, king of that country, prepared to dispute his passage; wherein he would have easily succeeded, had he not been obliged to abandon that important pass, to defend his own territories against Tamos

[e] Xenoph. ubi supra. Plutarch, ibid. Justin, l. v. c. 11.
[f] Xenoph. ubi. supra. p. 252.
[g] Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294.

mos and the Lacedæmonians fleet which appeared upon the coaſts [h].

When they arrived at Tarſus the Greeks refuſed to proceed any farther, ſuſpecting that they were marching againſt the king, and proteſting, that they did not enter into the ſervice upon that condition. Clearchus at firſt made uſe of his authority to quell the tumult, but with very ill ſucceſs; and therefore deſiſting from force he pretended to enter into their views, and adviſed them to ſend deputies to Cyrus, to know from his own mouth againſt whom they were to be employed. By this artful evaſion he appeaſed the tumult, and was himſelf choſen for one of the deputies. Cyrus, whom he had acquainted before-hand with what had happened, anſwered, that he was going to attack Abrocomas, who was at twelve days march diſtance encamped on the banks of the Euphrates. The Greeks plainly ſaw that this was not his true deſign, but nevertheleſs ſhewed themſelves willing to proceed, on condition that their pay was increaſed. This Cyrus willingly granted, and having gained their affections during the march, by treating them with extraordinary kindneſs and humanity, he at laſt declared that he marched againſt Artaxerxes. Upon this ſome complaints were heard at firſt, but they ſoon gave way to expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, occaſioned by that prince's magnificent promiſes to the army [i].

Cyrus arriving, after a long march, in the plains of Cunaxa in the province of Babylon, found there Artaxerxes with an army of 900,000 men ready to engage him. Whereupon, leaping out of his chariot, he ordered his troops to ſtand to their arms and fall into their ranks, which was done with great expedition, he not allowing them time to refreſh themſelves. Clearchus adviſed Cyrus not to charge in perſon, but to remain in the rear of the Greek battalions. This advice Cyrus rejected with indignation, ſaying, that he would not render himſelf unworthy of the crown for which he was fighting. As the king's army drew near, the Greeks fell upon them with ſuch fury, that the wing oppoſite to them, was at the very firſt onſet, put to flight; whereupon Cyrus was, with loud ſhouts of joy, proclaimed king by thoſe who ſtood round him. But he in the mean time perceiving, that Artaxerxes was wheeling about to attack him in flank, advanced againſt him with 600 choſen horſe, killed Artagerſes, captain

[h] Idem, l. i. p. 241——261. [i] Xenoph. & Plut. ibid.

tain of the king's guards, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. In this encounter diſcovering his brother, he cried out, I ſee him, and ſpurring on his horſe engaged him with great reſolution, which in ſome degree turned the battle into a ſingle combat, each of the two brothers endeavouring to aſſure himſelf of the crown by the death of his rival. Cyrus killed his brother's horſe, and wounded him on the ground; but he immediately mounted another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and had already lifted up his hand to give him a third, which the king's guards obſerving, they all diſcharged their arrows, aiming at him alone, and he at the ſame time throwing himſelf headlong upon the king was run through by his javelin and pierced with innumerable arrows. He fell dead upon the ſpot, and all the chief lords of his court, reſolving not to ſurvive their maſter, were killed in the place where he fell; a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chuſe his friends, and that he was truely beloved by them. Some writers tells us, that Cyrus, was killed by a Carian ſoldier. Mithridates, a young Perſian nobleman, boaſted that he had given him the mortal blow with his javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. Artaxerxes, after having cauſed his head and right hand to be cut off, purſued the enemy to their camp, and there poſſeſſed himſelf of great part of their baggage and proviſions. The Greeks had defeated the king's left wing commanded by Tiſſaphernes, and the king's right wing, commanded by himſelf, had routed the enemies left; and as neither knew what had happened elſewhere, both parties believed they had gained the day. But Tiſſaphernes acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the Greeks, he immediately rallied his troops in order to attack them. The Greeks under the command of Clearchus eaſily repulſed them, and purſued them to the neighbouring hills. As night was drawing near, the Greeks halted at the foot of the hill, much ſurpriſed that neither Cyrus himſelf nor any meſſenger from him appeared, for they yet knew nothing of his death, or the defeat of the reſt of the army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, which they did accordingly; but found there that the greateſt part of their baggage had been plundered, and all their proviſions taken, which obliged them to paſs the night in the camp without any ſort of refreſhment. The next morning, as they were ſtill expecting to hear from Cyrus, they received the ſad news of his death, and the defeat of

Cyrus ſlain. Year of the flood 2598. Before Chriſt 401.

that

that part of the army. Whereupon they ſent deputies to Ariæus, who had retired to the place whence they had marched the day before the action, offering him as conquerors the crown of Perſia in the room of Cyrus. Ariæus rejected the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to ſet out early the next morning on his return to Ionia, adviſing them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and under the conduct of Clearchus began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they ſet out on their return to Greece [k]. They were at a vaſt diſtance from their own country, in the very heart of the Perſian empire, ſurrounded by a numerous and conquering army, and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immenſe tract of the enemies country. But their valour and reſolution maſtered all theſe difficulties; and in ſpight of a powerful army, which purſued and haraſſed them all the way, they made a retreat of 2325 miles through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got ſafe to the Greek cities on the Euxine ſea. This was the longeſt march and moſt memorable retreat that ever was made through an enemy's country. Clearchus had the conduct of it firſt, but he being cut off by the treachery of Tiſſaphernes, Xenophon was choſen in his room, and to his valour and wiſdom it was chiefly owing, that at length they got ſafe into Greece. As the ſame Xenophon has given a minute account of this expedition, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of the battle to their own country, we ſhall refer the reader to that inimitable performance, and return to what paſſed in the court of Artaxerxes after the battle of Cunaxa.

As he believed that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that as the moſt glorious action of his own life, to diſpute that honour with him was wounding him in the moſt tender part. Being therefore informed, that the Carian ſoldier, whom we have mentioned above, laid claim to that glory, he cauſed him to be delivered to Paryſatis, who had ſworn the deſtruction of all thoſe who were any ways concerned in the death of her ſon. She made that unhappy wretch ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent during ten days, and then put him to a moſt cruel death. Mithridates likewiſe, having boaſted that it was he who gave Cyrus his mortal wound, was

[k] Xenoph. ibid, 272—292. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

was treated in the manner we have deſcribed, where we ſpoke of the puniſhments uſed among the Perſians. Maſabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who by his order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus, being delivered to Paryſatis, was flead alive, and his ſkin ſtretched before his eyes upon two ſtakes prepared for that purpoſe. Nor did the cruelty and reſentment of Paryſatis ſtop here; for having conceived an implacable hatred againſt Statira for reproaching her, as if ſhe had countenanced her ſon Cyrus's revolt againſt his brother, that revengeful woman poiſoned her own daughter-in-law in the following manner. Paryſatis, feigning to be reconciled to her, invited her one night to ſupper, and a certain bird being ſerved up, which was a great rarity among thePerſians, ſhe divided it between Statira and herſelf with a knife which was poiſoned on one ſide only: the ſound part ſhe immediately eat, which encouraged Statira, though upon her guard, to eat the other; whereupon ſhe was that inſtant ſeized with horrible convulſions and died in a few hours. Artaxerxes being greatly afflicted for the loſs of his beloved wife, and ſuſpecting his mother, cauſed all her domeſtics to be put to the rack, when Gygis one of her confidents diſcovered the whole. Artaxerxes cauſed Gygis, who was privy to the crime, to be put to a cruel death, and confined his mother to Babylon, telling her, that he would never ſet his foot within the gates of that city while ſhe was there; but at length, time having alleviated his grief, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire ſubmiſſion to his will, ſhe regained his favour, and bore a great ſway at court to her death [1].

The Lacedæmonians make war upon the Perſians. Year of the flood 2509. Before Chriſt 400

AFTER the death of Cyrus, Tiſſaphernes being ſent back to his former government, and moreover inveſted with the ſame power which had been given to Cyrus, he began to haraſs and oppreſs the Greek cities, that were within the verge of his authority and had ſided with that unfortunate prince. Whereupon they ſent embaſſadors to the Lacedæmonians imploring their aſſiſtance and protection. The Lacedæmonians, having now ended the long war which they had waged with the Athenians, laid hold of this opportunity of breaking again with the Perſians, and ſent Thimbro with an army againſt them, which being ſtrengthened by the conjunction of thoſe forces that Xenophon brought back from Perſia, they took the field againſt Tiſſaphernes. But Thimbro being ſoon recalled upon

[1] Plutarch. in Artax.

upon ſome complaints and ſent into baniſhment, Dercyllidas was appointed to ſucceed him. As he was both a brave general and a famous engineer, he was attended with far better ſucceſs than his predeceſſor. Upon his firſt arrival finding that Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus, governors of the two neighbouring provinces, were at variance with each other, he made a truce with the former, and marching againſt the latter with all his forces drove him quite out of Æolis and ſeveral cities of other provinces. Pharnabazus, fearing he might invade Phrygia the chief province of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, leaving him in poſſeſſion of what he had taken. Upon this truce he marched into Bithynia, where he took up his winter quarters to avoid being chargeable to his allies. At the ſame time Pharnabazus took a journey to the Perſian court, and there made loud complaints againſt Tiſſaphernes, for concluding a peace with Dercyllidas inſtead of aſſiſting him againſt the common enemy. He likewiſe earneſtly preſſed the king to equip a great fleet, and appoint Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral, telling him, that as Conon was the beſt ſea-commander of his time, he might by that means obſtruct the paſſage of all farther recruits from Greece, and ſoon put an end to the power of the Lacedæmonians in Aſia. His propoſal was approved of by the king, who immediately ordered 500 talents to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with inſtructions to give Conon the command of it [m].

In the mean time, Dercyllidas, having reduced Atarna, marched into Caria, where Tiſſaphernes uſually reſided. For the Lacedæmonians, believing that, if he were attacked there, he would comply with all their demands, in order to ſave that province, had ſent Dercyllidas expreſs orders to march thither. This Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabazus no ſooner heard, but they united againſt Dercyllidas, whom they came up with in ſo diſadvantageous a poſt, that had they charged him immediately, he muſt inevitably have periſhed. Pharnabazus was for attacking him, but Tiſſaphernes, who at the battle of Cunaxa had experienced their valour, could not be brought to venture an engagement; but ſent heralds to Dercyllidas to invite him to a parley, in which propoſals for a peace being offered on both ſides, they made a truce till the anſwer of their reſpective

[m] Diodor. l. xiv. p. 417. Juſtin. l. vi. c. 8. Pauſan. in Atticis.

ſpective maſters ſhould be known. Thus Dercyllidas and his army were ſaved from utter deſtruction, through the cowardice of his enemy, when nothing elſe could have delivered them [n].

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, receiving accounts from Aſia, that the king of Perſia was equipping a powerful fleet on the coaſts of Phænice, Syria, and Cilicia, and ſuppoſing it to be deſigned, as it truly was, againſt them, reſolved to ſend Ageſilaus, one of their kings, into Aſia, in order to make a diverſion. All things being ready for this expedition, Ageſilaus ſet ſail with a conſiderable body of troops, and arrived at Epheſus before any of the king's officers had the leaſt intimation of this deſign; with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition was the whole managed at Sparta. Ageſilaus upon his arrival took the field with 10,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, and, finding no body in a condition to oppoſe him, carried all before him. Whereupon Tiſſaphernes ſent a meſſenger to enquire for what end he was come into Aſia, and why he had taken up arms. Ageſilaus replied, that he was come to aſſiſt the Greeks inhabiting Aſia, and reſtore them to their antient liberty. Tiſſaphernes, being quite unprepared for a war, aſſured Ageſilaus, that his maſter would grant him what he demanded, provided, he committed no acts of hoſtility till the return of an expreſs which he had ſent to court. Ageſilaus believed him, and a truce was agreed on and ſworn to on both ſides. But Tiſſaphernes, without any regard to his oath, made no other uſe of this truce than to aſſemble troops on all ſides, and ſend to the king for more forces, and aſſoon as he received them, he ſent word to Ageſilaus to depart Aſia, denouncing war againſt him in caſe of refuſal. This meſſage greatly alarmed the Lacedæmonians and their confederates, as not believing themſelves in a condition to oppoſe the now numerous army of Tiſſaphernes, who had been joined by auxiliaries from all parts of the Perſian empire. As for Ageſilaus himſelf, he heard Tiſſaphernes's heralds with a gay and eaſy air, and deſired them to tell their maſter, that he was under great obligations to him, for having made the gods by his perjury enemies to Perſia and friends to Greece. Having with this anſwer diſmiſſed the heralds, he drew all his forces together, and made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but

Ageſilaus paſſes into Aſia.

Year of the flood 2603. Before Chriſt 396.

[n] Diodor. ibid. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii.

but aſſoon as he underſtood, that Tiſſaphernes had cauſed all his troops to march into that province, he turned ſhort and fell upon Phrygia. As his coming thither was wholly unexpected, he over-ran great part of that province without any oppoſition, took many towns, and, loaded with an immenſe booty, marched back by the ſea-coaſt into Ionia, and wintered at Epheſus [o].

EARLY in the ſpring Ageſilaus took the field, and gave out, that his deſign was to invade Lydia. But Tiſſaphernes, who had not forgot the ſtratagem of the former campaign, took it for granted, that he now truly intended to fall upon Caria, and accordingly made his troops march to the defence of that province. But Ageſilaus led his army, as he had given out, into Lydia, and approached Sardis. Whereupon Tiſſaphernes recalled his forces from their former rout, with a deſign to relieve the place. But Caria being a very mountainous country and unfit for horſe, he had marched thither only with the foot, and left the horſe behind on the borders of that province. Whence, on their marching back to the relief of Sardis, the horſe being ſome days marches before the foot, Ageſilaus took the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity, and fell upon them before the foot could come up to their aſſiſtance. The Perſians were routed at the very firſt onſet, and Ageſilaus, becomeing by this victory maſter of the field, over-ran the whole country, and enriched both himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of the conquered Perſians [p].

Tiſſaphernes put to death.

THE loſs of this battle greatly incenſed the king againſt Tiſſaphernes, and encreaſed the ſuſpicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had ſomething elſe in view beſides his maſter's intereſt. At the ſame time, Conon, arriving at the Perſian court, heighten'd the king's diſpleaſure with new complaints againſt him; for he had deprived the ſoldiers on board Conon's fleet of their pay, and thereby diſabled him from doing the king any ſervice. Queen Paryſatis, actuated by an irreconcileable hatred againſt all thoſe who had any ſhare in the death of her ſon Cyrus, did not fail on this occaſion to aggravate the charges brought againſt him. Hereupon the king reſolved to put him to death, but being afraid to attack him openly, by reaſon of the great authority he had in Aſia, he charged

[o] Xenoph. Heilenic. l. iii. Plut. & Cor. Nep. in Ageſilao.
[p] Xenoph. ibid. p. 501——657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022. & in Ageſil. p. 601.

ed Tithrauſtes, captain of the guards, with that important commiſſion, giving him, at the ſame time, two letters; the one directed to Tiſſaphernes, and impowering him to purſue the war againſt the Greeks in what manner he thought beſt; the other was addreſſed to Ariæus, governor of Lariſſa, commanding him to aſſiſt Tithrauſtes, with his counſel and all his forces, in ſeizing Tiſſaphernes. Upon the receipt of this letter, Ariæus deſired Tiſſaphernes to come to him, that they might confer together about the operations of the enſuing campaign. Tiſſaphernes, who ſuſpected nothing, went to him with a guard only of 300 men. But while he was bathing, according to the Perſian cuſtom, and diſarmed, he was ſeized and put into the hands of Tithrauſtes, who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off and ſent into Perſia. The king gave it to Paryſatis, an acceptable preſent to one of her revengeful temper [q].

Upon the death of Tiſſaphernes, Tithrauſtes, who was appointed to ſucceed him, ſent great preſents to Ageſilaus, telling him, that the cauſe of the war being removed, and the firſt author of all their differences put to death, nothing could prevent an accommodation; that the king his maſter would allow the Greek cities in Aſia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the cuſtomary tribute, which was all that the Lacedæmonians required when they firſt began the war. Ageſilaus replied, that he could not come to any agreement without orders from Sparta. However, as he was willing to give Tithrauſtes the ſatisfaction of removing out of his province, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabazus, Tithrauſtes paying him thirty talents to defray the charges of his march. Upon his march he received a letter from the magiſtrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet as well as of the land-forces. By this new commiſſion he was appointed ſole commander of all the troops in Aſia, both by ſea and land. This drew him down to the ſea-coaſt, where he put the fleet in good order, and appointed Piſander, his wife's brother, admiral, ordering him forthwith to put to ſea. In this he was more influenced by private affection for his brother-in-law, than by the due regard he ought to have had for the public good; for though Piſander was a man of great courage and valour, yet he was not in other reſpects equal to that truſt, as the event ſufficiently proved [r].

[q] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 220. Polyæn. ſtratag. l. vii. [r] Pauſan. in Laconicis. Xenoph. & Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

AGESILAUS, having ſettled the maritime affairs, purſued his deſign of invading Phrygia, where he reduced many cities, and amaſſed great ſums of money, maintaining his army on the territories of Pharnabazus in great affluence. From thence he marched into Paphlagonia, being invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Perſian, who had revolted from the king. There he concluded a league with Cotys, king of that country, and returning into Phrygia took the ſtrong city of Daſcylium, and wintered there in the palace of Pharnabazus, obliging the adjacent countries to ſupply his army with all ſorts of proviſions [s]. Tithrauſtes, finding that Ageſilaus was for carrying on the war in Aſia, ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with large ſums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, and rekindle a war againſt the Lacedæmonians. This ſtratagem produced the intended effect, for the cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and others entering into confederacy, obliged the Lacedæmonians to recal their king, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place. In the beginning of the next ſpring as Ageſilaus was ready to take the field, Pharnabazus invited him to an interview, and he accepting the invitation, Pharnabazus, after expatiating on the ſervices he had done the Lacedæmonians in their war with the Athenians, reproached them with ingratitude, ſince, in return for ſo many favours, they had pillaged his palace, and ravaged his lands at Daſcylium, which were his hereditary eſtate. As what he ſaid was true, Ageſilaus and the Lacedæmonians, that attended him, were to ſuch a degree aſhamed, in ſeeing themſelves ſo juſtly upbraided with ingratitude, that they knew not what to anſwer, nor how to excuſe ſuch an ungenerous proceeding. However, to make him the beſt amends they could, they obliged themſelves, by a ſolemn promiſe, not to invade any of the provinces under his government, ſo long as there were others into which they might carry the war againſt the Perſian king. They were as good as their word, and immediately withdrew with a deſign to invade the upper parts of Aſia, and proſecute the war in the very heart of the Perſian empire.

Ageſilaus recalled.

Year of the flood 2605. Before Chriſt 394.

But while Ageſilaus was projecting this expedition, a meſſenger arrived at the camp from Sparta, acquainting him, that the Ephori recalled him to defend his own country, againſt which ſeveral ſtates of Greece had formed a ſtrong confederacy. He readily complied with this order, and made

[s] Plut. in Ageſil. Xenoph. Hellenic. l. iv. p. 507. 510.

made all the haſte thither he could, complaining at his departure, that the Perſians had driven him out of Aſia with 30,000 archers, alluding to the Perſian Darics, which were pieces of gold ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an archer [t].

Conon, on his return from the Perſian court, having brought money enough to pay the ſoldiers and mariners their arrears, and ſupply the fleet with arms and proviſions, took Pharnabazus on board, and forthwith ſet ſail in queſt of the enemies. The Perſian fleet conſiſted of 90 veſſels and upwards; that of the Lacedæmonians was not ſo numerous, but their ſhips were larger. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Aſia Minor. Conon, who had in ſome meaſure occaſioned the taking of Athens by loſing the ſea-fight at Ægoſpotamos, or the Goats-river, was determined to uſe his utmoſt efforts in order to retrieve that misfortune, and efface, by a glorious victory, the diſgrace of his former defeat. On the other hand, Piſander was deſirous to juſtify by his conduct and valour the choice which Ageſilaus, his brother-in-law, had made, in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extraordinary courage, and had at firſt ſome advantage. But Conon having boarded his ſhip and killed him with his own hand, the reſt of the fleet betook themſelves to flight. Conon purſued them, took fifty of their ſhips, and, having gained a complete victory, put an end to the power of the Lacedæmonians in thoſe parts. The conſequence of this victory was a general revolt of all the allies of Sparta; ſome declaring for the Athenians, and others reſuming their antient liberty. After this battle the empire of the Lacedæmonians declined daily, till at length the over-throws, which they received at Leuctra, and Mantinea, completed their downfal [u].

The Lacedæmonians defeated at Cnidos.

After this victory Conon and Pharnabazus being maſters at ſea, ſailed round the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia, reducing the cities, which in thoſe parts were ſubject to the Lacedæmonians. Seſtus and Abydus were the only two cities that held out againſt them. Pharnabazus attacked them by land, and Conon by ſea; but neither ſucceeding in the attempt, the former on the approach of winter retired home, leaving Conon to take care of the fleet, and

[t] Xenoph ubi ſupra. p. 513. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604.
[u] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. p. 518. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 302, Juſtin. l. vi. c. 2, 3.

ſtrengthen it with as many ſhips as he could aſſemble, from the cities on the Helleſpont, againſt the enſuing ſpring [x].

CONON having aſſembled, purſuant to his commiſſion, a powerful fleet againſt the time appointed, he took Pharnabazus again on board, and ſteering his courſe thro' the iſlands, landed in Melos the moſt diſtant of them all. Having reduced this iſland, as lying very convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedæmonians, he made from thence a deſcent on the coaſts of that province, pillaged all the martimie places, and loaded his fleet with an immenſe booty. After this, Pharnabazus returning to his government of Phrygia, Conon obtained leave of him to repair to Athens with 80 ſhips and 50 talents, in order to rebuild the walls of that city, having firſt convinced him, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the weakening of Sparta, than putting Athens again in a condition to rival its power. He no ſooner arrived at Piræus, the port of Athens, but he began the work, which, as he had a great number of hands and was ſeconded by the zeal of all thoſe that were well inclined to the Athenians, was ſoon compleated, and the city not only reſtored to its former ſplendor, but rendered more formidable than ever to its enemies. Thus Athens was rebuilt by the Perſians, who had deſtroyed it, and fortified at the expence and with the ſpoils of the Lacedæmonians, who had diſmantled it. Conon, having rebuilt the walls of the city, of the port, and thoſe which led from the former to the latter, and were called the Long-walls, diſtributed the 50 talents, which he had received of Pharnabazus, among his citizens, and offered the gods a ſacrifice of an hundred oxen, in thankſgiving for the happy re-eſtabliſhment of his native country [y].

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens. Year of the flood 3606. Before Chriſt 393.

THE Lacedæmonians could not behold without great concern ſo glorious a revolution, and finding themſelves unable to maintain a war, with men as brave as themſelves, aſſiſted with the treaſures of Perſia, diſpatched Antalcidas, one of their citizens, to Tiribazus, governor of Sardis, enjoining him to conclude a peace with Artaxerxes upon the moſt advantageous terms he could. The other cities of Greece, in alliance with the Athenians, ſent at the ſame time their deputies, and Conon was at the head of thoſe from Athens. The terms, which Antalcidas propoſed, were, that the king ſhould poſſeſs all the Greek cities in Aſia;

[x] Xenoph. ibid. p. 534. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 441. [y] Xenoph. & Diodor. ibid.

Aſia; but the iſlands and other cities in Greece ſhould enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. As theſe propoſals were very advantageous to the king, and diſhonourable to the Greeks in general, the other embaſſadors were all unanimous in rejecting them. The Lacedæmonians, bearing an implacable hatred to Conon for the reſtoring of Athens, had charged Antalcidas to accuſe him to Tiribazus of having purloined the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and of having formed a deſign for the taking of Æolis and Ionia from the Perſians, and uniting them anew to the republic of Athens. Upon theſe accuſations Tiribazus ſeized him, and, having ſupplied the Lacedæmonians underhand with conſiderable ſums of money for the equipping of a fleet againſt the Athenians, ſet out for the Perſian court to give the king an account of his negotiations. Artaxerxes was well pleaſed with the terms which the Lacedæmonians had propoſed, and directed him to put the laſt hand to the treaty. At the ſame time, Tiribazus laid before the king the accuſations which the Lacedæmonians had brought againſt Conon. Whereupon he was, according to ſome writers [z], ſent to Suſa and there put to death by the king's command; but the ſilence of Xenophon, who was his cotemporary, as to his death, makes us doubt of the truth of this event [a].

WHILE Tiribazus was attending the court, Suthras was charged to guard the coaſts of Aſia in his abſence. On this occaſion obſerving the havock, which the Lacedæmonians had made in all the maritime provinces, he conceived ſuch an averſion to them, that he ſent what ſupplies he could ſpare to their enemies the Athenians. This obliged the Lacedæmonians to ſend Thimbro into Aſia to renew the war there; but, as they were not in a condition to ſupply him with men or money ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking, he was ſoon cut off, and his army diſperſed by the ſuperior power of the Perſians. Diphridas was ſent in his room to carry on the war with the ſcattered remains of his army; but was attended with no better ſucceſs, all their attempts upon Aſia, after the battle of Cnidus, being but faint ſtruggles of a declining power. In the mean time, Tiribazus returning from Suſa ſummoned all the deputies of the Greek cities to be preſent at the reading of the treaty, which had been already approved of by the king.

The peace of Altancidas. Year of the flood 2612. Before Chriſt 387.

[z] Cornel. Nep. in Cononе. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 442.

[a] Xenoph. ubi ſupra.

The terms were; that all the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould be ſubject to the king of Perſia, and beſides, the iſlands of Cyprus and Clazomeny; that the iſlands of Scæros, Lemnos, and Imbros ſhould be reſtored to the Athenians; and all the cities of Greece, whether ſmall or great, ſhould be declared free. By the ſame treaty Artaxerxes engaged to join thoſe who accepted the terms he propoſed, and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power againſt ſuch as ſhould reject them. Theſe conditions were equally diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to the Grecian name; however, as Greece was extremely weakened and exhauſted by domeſtic diviſions, and therefore no-ways in a condition to carry on a war againſt ſo powerful a prince, they were all forced to ſwear to the treaty. This is called the peace of Antalcidas, for he was the firſt that propoſed it, giving up to the Perſians, with the utmoſt injuſtice and baſeneſs, all the Greeks ſettled in Aſia, for whoſe liberty Ageſilaus had ſo long contended [b].

Artaxerxes, being now quite diſengaged from the Grecian war, turned his whole power againſt Evagoras king of Cyprus, whom he had long before deſigned to drive out of that iſland, but had never been at leiſure to put his deſign in execution. Evagoras was deſcended from the antient kings of Salamine, the capital city of the iſland of Cyprus. His anceſtors had held that city for many ages in quality of ſovereigns; but were at laſt driven out by the Perſians, who, making themſelves maſters of the whole iſland, reduced it to a Perſian province. Evagoras, who was a man of extraordinary parts, not brooking to live in ſubjection to a foreign yoke, expelled Abdymon a Citian, governor of Salamine for the king of Perſia, and took poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom. Artaxerxes attempted to recover that city, but being diverted by the Greek war, and finding Evagoras determined to hold out to the laſt, gave over, or rather put off, that enterprize. In the mean time, Conon, by means of Cteſias the Cnidian, who was chief phyſician to Artaxerxes, made up all differences between Evagoras and Artaxerxes, the latter promiſing not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of his ſmall kingdom. But Evagoras, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himſelf with the city of Salamine alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himſelf maſter, in a manner,

[b] Xenoph. l. v. p. 548—551. Diodor. ubi ſupra. p. 447

manner, of the whole iſland of Cyprus. The Amathuſians, Solians, and Citians, alone of thoſe Iſlanders, held out againſt him. Theſe had recourſe to Artaxerxes, who, becoming jealous of the power of this active and wiſe prince, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport. But being employed elſewhere, he could not perform his promiſe ſo ſoon as he expected. Having at length concluded a peace with the Greeks, he bent all his force againſt Evagoras, determined to drive him quite out of the iſland. The Athenians, notwithſtanding the treaty of peace lately made with the Perſians, and the many favours received at their king's hands, could not forbear aſſiſting their old ally, who had befriended them on all occaſions. Having therefore equipped ten men of war, they ſent them, with all poſſible expedition, under the command of Philocrates to aſſiſt him. But the Lacedæmonian fleet, commanded by Teleutias, brother to Ageſilaus, falling in with them near the iſle of Rhodes, ſurrounded them, ſo that not one ſhip could eſcape [c]. The Athenians, determined to aſſiſt Evagoras at all adventures, ſent Chabrias with another fleet and a conſiderable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new ſupply arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time obliged the whole iſland to ſubmit to Evagoras. But the Athenians being forced, by the articles of a new treaty concluded between Artaxerxes and the cities of Greece, to recal Chabrias, the Perſians attacked with all their forces the iſland of Cyprus, not doubting, but they ſhould ſoon reduce it, ſince no ſupplies could be ſent thither from Greece. The king's army conſiſted of 300,000 men, and his fleet of 300 ſhips. The land-forces were commanded by Orontes ſon-in-law to Artaxerxes, and the fleet by Gaus the ſon of Tamus, whom we have mentioned above. Tiribazus was commander in chief both of the ſea and land-forces. Evagoras, ſeeing himſelf threatened with ſo dreadful a war, had recourſe to all thoſe princes who were at enmity with the Perſians, receiving ſupplies, both of men and money, from the Egyptians, Lybians, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations. Beſides, as he had amaſſed immenſe treaſures, he hired a great number of mercenaries of various nations. As he had a great many ſmall veſſels, he intercepted all the enemies ſhips that brought proviſions from the continent, and thereby reduced their numerous army, after their landing in the iſland, to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to mutiny, and

The Perſians invade Cyprus with 300,000 men. Year of the flood 2613. Before Chriſt 386.

[c] Xenoph. ubi ſupra. Diodor. l. xv. p. 459.

and killed ſeveral of their officers. But the whole Perſian fleet putting to ſea, the army was again plentifully ſupplied from Cilicia. At the ſame time, Evagoras likewiſe received a great ſupply of corn and fifty ſhips from Egypt, which, together with thoſe he had fitted out himſelf, making up a fleet of 200 ſail, he advanced to attack the whole naval force of the Perſians. At firſt he had the advantage, and took or deſtroyed ſeveral of the enemies ſhips; but Gaus advancing with a few ſhips attacked him with ſuch vigor, that Evagoras was obliged to retire after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The reſt of the Perſian fleet, being encouraged by the example of their admiral, returned to the charge, and at laſt obtained a complete victory, driving the enemy's ſhips into their harbours. Evagoras with a few ſhips eſcaped to Salamine, where he was immediately cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land. After this victory Tiribazus went in perſon to acquaint the king with the ſucceſs that attended his arms in Cyprus, and having obtained 2000 talents for the uſe of the army, he returned with that new ſupply to carry on the war more vigorouſly than ever. During his abſence, Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon Pythagoras, got through the enemies fleet in the dead of the night with ten ſhips and ſailed for Egypt, in hopes of engaging Achoris, king of that country, to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the laſt extremities, and himſelf deſtitute of all means of raiſing the ſiege, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamine, which he ſhould hold of the king, as a ſervant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could by no means be brought to conſent to that of holding of Salamine, as a ſervant under his maſter, and perſiſted in declaring, that he would hold it no otherwiſe than as a king under a king. Tiribazus, who commanded in chief, would not make the leaſt alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretenſions; whereupon Evagoras, being determined to die ſword in hand rather than yield to ſuch terms, broke off the conference, and applied himſelf entirely to the defence of the city [d].

In

[d] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

In the mean time, Orontes, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the ſuperiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being intruſted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the ſucceſs that attended him, wrote ſecretly to court, accuſing him amongſt other things of forming deſigns againſt the king's intereſt, and holding a private correſpondence with the Lacedæmonians. Upon the receipt of theſe letters, Artaxerxes immediately diſpatched orders to Orontes to ſeize Tiribazus and ſend him priſoner to court, which being without delay put in execution, the chief command was conferred upon Orontes. But the army being very much diſſatified with the change, many left the ſervice, and others refuſed to obey their new commander. Whereupon Orontes was obliged to renew the treaty with Evagoras, and conclude it upon terms which Tiribazus had rejected; for he conſented, that he ſhould hold Salamine as king of that city, paying only a ſmall tribute to the king of Perſia. Thus the ſiege was raiſed, and a peace concluded with Evagoras, after a war which had coſt the Perſians above 50,000 talents, that is near ten millions of our money [e]. For the eulogy and character of this prince we refer the reader to Iſocrates.

The peace concluded with Evagoras did not put an end to the war in thoſe parts. For Gaus reſenting the unjuſt uſage of Tiribazus, whoſe daughter he had married, and fearing to be involved in the ſame proſecution with his father-in-law, and put to death on bare ſuſpicions, ſent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and having concluded an alliance with him againſt the king of Perſia, openly revolted, and was joined by a great part both of the fleet and army, moſt of the officers being intirely at his devotion. He likewiſe ſolicited the Lacedæmonians to come into the league, aſſuring them, that he in his turn would, at the end of the war, employ all his forces in their favour, and make them maſters of all Greece. They hearkened favourably to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy ſuch an opportunity of making war upon the Perſians, being highly diſſatisfied with the peace of Antalcidas. But, before matters were ripe for execution, Gaus was treacherouſly ſlain by one of his own officers, and Tachos, who took upon him to carry on the ſame deſign, ſoon died; whereby the vaſt preparations they had made came

[e] Iſocrat. in Evag.

came to nothing; and the Lacedæmonians never afterwards medled with the affairs of Aſia [f].

Artaxerxes invades the Caduſians with ill ſucceſs. Year of the flood 2615. Before Chriſt 384.

ARTAXERXES had no ſooner finiſhed the Cyprian war, but he entered upon another againſt the Caduſians, who perhaps had revolted, for authors are ſilent as to the occaſion of this war. This people inhabited the mountains between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, and, being from their infancy inured to a hard and laborious life, were accounted a very warlike race. The king marched in perſon againſt them at the head of 300,000 foot and 20,000 horſe: But, the country by reaſon of its barrenneſs not affording proviſions ſufficient to maintain ſo numerous an army, they were ſoon reduced to feed upon the beaſts of burden which accompanied the army; and theſe became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was ſold for ſixty drachmas. The king's proviſions too began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained. In this ſad poſture of affairs, Tiribazus contrived a ſtratagem which ſaved the king and the army. He followed the court in this expedition, or rather was carried about as a priſoner, being in diſgrace by reaſon of the crimes laid to his charge by Orontes, as we have ſaid above. The Caduſians had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. Tiribazus, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed in the enemy's camp, found, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that the jealouſy and miſtruſt, which they had of each other, prevented their acting in concert. Whereupon he adviſed the king to enter into a treaty with them, and, taking upon himſelf the whole management of it, went in perſon to one of the kings, and ſent his ſon to the other. Each of them informed the king, to whom he applied, that the other had ſent embaſſadors to treat ſeparately with Artaxerxes, and adviſed him to loſe no time, but make his peace as ſoon as poſſible, that the conditions might be the more advantageous. Their negotiations had the deſired effect, and both princes were brought ſeparately to ſubmit to the king, which ſaved both him and his army from impending deſtruction [g] (Q).

THE

[f] Diodor. l. xv. [g] Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024. Diodor. l. xv. p. 462.

(Q) A modern writer is of opinion (76), that the Caduſians were deſcended from the Iſraelites of the ten tribes, which the king of Aſſyria carried out of the land of Canaan; but as

(76) Fuller Miſcel. l. ii. c. 5.

THE king loſt, in this ill projected expedition, a great number of his beſt troops, and all his horſes. Among others who loſt their lives on this occaſion, was Camiſſares, by nation a Carian, a man of extraordinary courage and conduct. He was governor of Leuco-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia, and was ſucceeded in that government by his ſon Datames, who attended Artaxerxes in this expedition, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner. Datames was the greateſt commander of his time, and by none ever exceeded, as Cornelius Nepos, who has wrote his life, informs us, in courage, boldneſs, and abilities for contriving and executing military ſtratagems. But his eminent qualities and too great merit occaſioned his ruin, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate hereafter.

ON the king's return to Suſa, the eminent ſervice which Tiribazus had done him in that expedition inclined him to have his cauſe thoroughly examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. For that purpoſe he appointed three commiſſioners, who were all of eminent rank and diſtinguiſhed probity. Theſe, after an impartial diſcuſſion of the whole affair, were unanimous in declaring him innocent; whereupon he was by the king reſtored to his former honours, and Orontes, his accuſer, with diſgrace baniſhed the court [h].

ARTAXERXES, being now at leiſure from all other engagements, reſolved to reduce the Egyptians, who had long before ſhaken off the Perſian yoke; and accordingly made great preparations for that war. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, foreſeeing the ſtorm, was not wanting on his ſide to provide againſt it the beſt he could. He joined a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian, to his own ſubjects. Pharnabazus, being charged with the management of this war, ſent embaſſadors to Athens, complaining of Chabrias for engaging to ſerve againſt the king of Perſia, with whom the king of Athens lived in amity, and threatening the republic with his maſter's reſentment, if he were not immediately recalled. He demanded at the ſame time Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the beſt general of

[h] Diodor. ubi ſupra. p. 463.

as he has no other foundation to ground his opinion upon but the ſimilitude between the words Caduſian and Keduſhim, which ſignifies Holy People, we cannot fall in with him.

of his time, to command the Greek mercenaries in the Persian service. The Athenians, who at that time had [a] great dependence on the Persian king's friendship to support them against their domestic enemies, recalled Chabrias, ordering him to repair to Athens on pain of death by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to take upon him the command of the Greek mercenaries in the Persian army. On his arrival having mustered the forces he was to command, he so exercised them in all the arts of war, that they became very famous among the Greeks under the name of Iphicratesian soldiers. And indeed he had time enough to instruct them before they entered upon action; for the Persians being very slow in their preparations, two whole years elapsed before they were in a condition to take the field. Achoris, king of Egypt, died in the mean time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned only a year. After him Nepherotes reigned four months, and then Nectanebis, the first of the Sebennytic race, twelve years [i].

ARTAXERXES, that he might draw more auxiliaries out of Greece for his Egyptian war, sent embassadors thither to put an end to their domestic broils, and declare in his name, to the different states and cities of that country, that it was his pleasure they should live in peace with each other upon the terms of the treaty of Antalcidas, and that, all garisons being withdrawn, each city should be left to enjoy their liberty, and live according to their own laws. This declaration was received with pleasure by all the cities of Greece, except the Thebans, who, aspiring to the empire of all Greece, refused to conform to it [k].

His unsuccessful expedition against Egypt. Year of the flood 2625. Before Christ 374.

AT length, all things being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, the Persian army was drawn together at Ace, since called Ptolemais, the place of the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to consist of 200,000 Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and 20,000 Greeks led by Iphicrates. Their forces by sea were in porportion to those by land; for their fleet consisted of 300 gallies; besides an incredible number of vessels which followed to furnish both the fleet and the army with necessary provisions. The army and fleet began to move at the same time, and that they might act in concert, they separated as little as possible. The war was to

[a] Euseb. Chron. Syncell. p. 257. [k] Diodor. l. xv. p. 355.

to begin with the ſiege of Peluſium; but Nectanebis, having had ſufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by ſea and land. The fleet therefore, inſtead of making a deſcent, as had been at firſt projected, ſailed from thence to the Mendeſian mouth of the Nile; for the Nile at that time emptied itſelf into the ſea by ſeven different channels, and each of theſe was defended by a fort and a ſtrong gariſon. But the Mendeſian mouth of the Nile not being ſo well fortified as the Peluſian, where the enemy was expected, they landed their forces there without great oppoſition, carried the fortreſs that guarded it, and put all the Egyptians that were found in it to the ſword. After this action Iphicrates was for reimbarking the troops without loſs of time, and attacking Memphis the capital of Egypt. Had this opinion been followed, before the Egyptians recovered from the conſternation, which ſo formidable an invaſion and the blow already recieved had thrown them into, they would have found the place without any defence, and muſt have certainly taken it and re-conquered all Egypt. But the main body of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would undertake nothing before their arrival. Iphicrates, in the utmoſt deſpair to ſee ſo favourable an opportunity loſt, which perhaps might never be retrieved, made preſſing inſtances for leave to attempt the place, with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus, out of a mean jealouſy of the honour that would redound to Iphicrates, ſhould he ſucceed in the enterprize, would by no means hearken to his propoſal. This delay gave the Egyptians time to recover their courage, and put themſelves in a condition to oppoſe any further attempts. For Nectanebis having lodged a ſufficient gariſon in Memphis, with the reſt took the field, and ſo haraſſed the Perſians, that they could not advance farther into the country; and the Nile at the accuſtomed period overflowing the land, the Perſians were obliged to return into Phœnice, having loſt great part of their army in this unſucceſsful expedition. Thus ended this war, which had coſt immenſe ſums, two whole years having been ſpent in making the neceſſary preparations for ſo fruitleſs an attempt. The only effect that it produced was, an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals. For Pharnabazus to excuſe himſelf, laid the whole blame of the miſcarriage upon Iphicrates, and he, with more reaſon, on Pharnabazus; but being well appriſed, that Pharnabazus

nabazus would find more credit at the Perſian court than he, and remembering what had happened to Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ſhip and retired to Athens. Pharnabazus ſent embaſſadors to Athens, accuſing him of making the Egyptian expedition miſcarry, and requeſting the republic to puniſh him according to his demerit. The Athenians made no other anſwer, than that if he were found guilty he ſhould undergo the puniſhment he deſerved. But, it ſeems, they were ſo well convinced of his innocence, that they never called him to a trial on that account; nay, he was not long after appointed ſole admiral of their whole fleet [1].

TWELVE years after this expedition, Artaxerxes, who had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting Egypt, notwithſtanding his many miſcarriages in that attempt, began to make new preparations for the invading of that country. Tachos who had ſucceeded Nectanebis, drew together what forces he could to defend himſelf againſt ſo powerful an enemy. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more, he ſent into Greece to raiſe mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedæmonians, who were at that time exaſperated againſt Artaxerxes, for obliging them to include the Meſſenians in the late peace, to ſend a good number of troops under the command of Ageſilaus. This commiſſion did no ways redound to the honour of Ageſilaus, for it was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great commander, who had acquired ſuch reputation in the world, and was then above eighty, to become a mercenary, and hire himſelf to a Barbarian. However, Ageſilaus, either out of vanity to be ſtill at the head of an army, for Tachos had promiſed to make him commander in chief of all his forces, or out of a proſpect of great gain, willingly accepted the commiſſion, and ſet ſail for Egypt. On his landing he was met by Tachos, who in their firſt interview conceived ſuch diſadvantagious ideas of him, that he ever after ſlighted his counſels and deſpiſed his perſon. For both he and his Egyptian generals expected to ſee a great and magnificient prince, with an attire and equipage equal to the fame of his exploits; and not a little old man, of a mean aſpect, and dreſt in an old robe of coarſe ſtuff, without any pomp, magnificence, or outward ſhew. This haſty and ill-grounded impreſſion proved the ruin of Tachos; for he would allow Ageſilaus no

Year of the flood 2637. Before Chriſt 362.

[1] Diodor. l. xv. p. 478.

no other command but that of the mercenaries, which alone had been ſufficient to diſguſt ſo great, ſo old, and ſo experienced a commander, and was the firſt cauſe of his averſion to Tachos. The charge of the fleet he gave to Chabrias, reſerving to himſelf the chief command over all. Having joined the Egyptians and mercenaries into one body, he reſolved to march into Phœnice, thinking it more adviſeable to make that country the theatre of the war, than to expect the enemy at home. Ageſilaus, being appriſed of the bad conſequences that might attend this reſolution, adviſed him againſt it, remonſtrating, that his affairs were not ſo well ſettled in Egypt, as to admit of his abſence, and that it would be more for his intereſt to manage the war abroad by his lieutenants, and ſtay himſelf in his kingdom to be at hand in caſe of any diſturbance. Tachos deſpiſed this wiſe counſel, and expreſſed no leſs diſregard for him on all other occaſions. But the event ſhewed, that Ageſilaus's advice was the reſult of a very prudent forecaſt; for, while Tachos was in Phœnice, the Egyptians revolting ſet up Nectanebus his couſin, or, as Diodorus calls him, his ſon, in his ſtead. Ageſilaus, laying hold of this opportunity to vent his reſentment againſt Tachos, joined the revolters, and drove him quite out of Egypt. The dethroned prince fled firſt to Sidon, and from thence to the Perſian court, where he was not only received with great kindneſs, but entruſted with the command of the troops againſt the rebels [m] (R). TOWARDS

[m] Diodor. l. 15. 397—401. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 616, 618. Corn. Nep. in Ageſ. c. 8.

(R) Plutarch condemns Ageſilaus as guilty of treachery in thus turning his arms againſt the prince who had hired him. But Ageſilaus alledged in his juſtification, that he had been ſent to aſſiſt the Egyptians, and that therefore, as they had taken up arms againſt Tachos, he could not ſerve againſt them without new orders from Sparta. He accordingly diſpatched meſſengers thither, and the inſtructions he received were, to act as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for his country; whereupon he immediately declared for Nectanebus. Thus Ageſilaus pretended to cover ſo criminal a conduct, ſays Plutarch; but if we remove that deluſive blind of the public good, the only true name that can be given to this action is, that of perfidy and treaſon (77). Xenophon endeavours to palliate this conduct by ſaying, that Ageſilaus joined that king who ſeemed the beſt affected to Greece (78).

(77) Plut. in Ageſil. (78) Xenoph. de reg. Ageſil. 663.

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances arose in the Persian court, rent into factions by his sons, each making parties among the nobility to support their pretensions to the crown. He had 115 sons by his concubines, and three by his queen, viz. Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practises and contentions, he declared Darius the eldest his successor, and, the better to settle him on the throne, allowed him to assume the title of king, and wear the Tiara, even in his own life-time. But this not contenting the young prince's ambition, who was also disgusted with his father for refusing him one of his concubines whom he demanded, he formed a design against the old king's life, and engaged in the conspiracy fifty of his brothers. Tiribazus, whom we have often mentioned in this history, contributed the most to his taking this unnatural resolution, and that for a like subject of discontent. Artaxerxes had promised him in marriage one of his daughters, but falling in love with her married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another daughter, he married that likewise. These two disappointments provoked Tiribazus to such a degree, that to revenge the affront he stirred up the young king to that wicked attempt. The number of the conspirators was already very formidable, and the day fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king. Whereupon the conspirators were seized, as they were entering the king's palace, and all put to death.

DARIUS being thus cut off, the same contention was revived, which before his being declared king had rent the court into several factions. Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames. The two first claimed the crown in right of their birth, being the king's sons by his queen; the third only by the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the son of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, found means to get rid of his two rivals. For Ariaspes being of an easy temper and very credulous, he suborned the eunuchs of the palace to threaten him in the king's name in such manner, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid a more cruel death. But Arsames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being for his wisdom and other princely virtues, in the opinion of his father and

all

all others, the most worthy of the crown, he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss added to the former, and the wickedness which attended both, overwhelmed the king, who was then 94 years old, with such grief, that, not being able to bear up against it, he broke his heart, and died in the 46th year of his reign [n]. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected, throughout all the empire. This Ochus was sensible of, and well knew that it would be quite otherwise with him, the death of his two brothers having alienated the minds both of the nobility and people. To avoid the inconveniences that might attend this general hatred and aversion, he prevailed with the eunuchs and others, that were about the king's person, to conceal his death, and took upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and issuing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; by one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's order, to be proclaimed king thoughout the whole empire. After having thus governed near ten months, believing his authority sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and openly ascended the throne, takeing the name of Artaxerxes. Historians however, most frequently call him Ochus, and under this name we shall speak of him in the sequel of this history.

Artaxerxes Memnon dies. Year of the flood 2640. Before Christ 359. Ochus.

It was no sooner known that Artaxerxes was dead, and Ochus in possession of the throne, but all Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnice, and many other provinces openly revolted. The chief men concerned in this revolt were Ariobarzanes governor of Phrygia, Mausolus king of Caria, Orontes governor of Mysia, and Autophradates governor of Lydia. Datames likewise, whom we have mentioned before, was engaged in the rebellion, being at that time governor of Cappadocia. By this, as we may call it, general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were on a sudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder had not been sufficient to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they acted in concert. But they did not long keep firm to each other, and those, who had been the first and most zealous in shaking off the yoke, strove who should soonest betray the others, and thereby make their peace with the king. The provinces of Asia Minor on withdrawing their

[n] Diodor. l. 15. p. 327—401. Plut. in Artax.

their obedience had entred into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and chosen Orontes for their general. They had also resolved to add 20,000 mercenaries to their own troops, and charged Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had received a sufficient sum both for the raising of those forces and maintaining of them for a year, he kept the money for himself and delivered up to the king those who had brought it to him from the revolted provinces. Rheomitres, another of the chiefs of Asia Minor, being sent into Egypt to negociate succours in that kingdom, was guilty of a like treachery. For having brought from thence 500 talents and 50 ships of war, and assembled the ring-leaders of the revolt at Leucas, a city of Asia Minor, under pretence of giving them an account of his negociations, he seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands. Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, came to nothing; and Ochus was without striking a blow settled on the throne [o]. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having possessed himself also of Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. By what we read of him in Cornelius Nepos [p] and Polyænus [q], it appears, that he maintained himself a long time in both those provinces, and was at last murdered by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his intimates (S).

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of that race in Persia. For he had not been long on the throne, when he filled the palace and the whole empire with blood and slaughter. That the revolted provinces might have none of the blood royal to set up against him, and to rid himself at once of all the uneasiness which the princes

[o] Diodor. l. xv. p. 506. Polyæn. Stratag. l. vii. [p] Corn. Nep. in vita Datam. [q] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. vii.

(S) Diodorus Siculus (79) places this revolt in the last year of Artaxerxes; but as he was greatly esteemed and beloved by his subjects, it is not likely, that so great an insurrection should have happened under him. We have therefore placed it in the reign of his successor Ochus, whose cruelty, chiefly in the murder of his two brothers, incensed the nobility and governors of the provinces against him, who therefore refused to submit to him. As he took the name of Artaxerxes, this may have led Diodorus into the mistake of placing in the father's reign what happened in the son's.

(79) Diodor. l. xv. p. 400.

princes of the royal family might give him, he put them all to death, without any regard to ſex, age, or proximity of blood. He cauſed Ocha, his own ſiſter and mother-in-law, for he had married her daughter, to be buried alive; and having ſhut up one his uncles with an hundred of his ſons and grandſons in a court of the palace, he ordered his archers to diſpatch them with their arrows [r]. This uncle ſeems to have been the father of Syſigambis, mother to Darius Codomannus. For Q. Curtius tells us, that Ochus cauſed 80 of her brothers, together with their father, to be maſſacred in one day. With the ſame barbarity he treated all thoſe who gave him any umbrage, ſparing none of the nobility, who betrayed the leaſt mark of diſcontent or diſaffection to his perſon.

But all the cruelties he practiſed could not keep his ſubjects in awe. Artabazus, governor of one of the Aſiatic provinces, rebelled, and engaged Chares the Athenian to join him with a fleet and body of troops, which he commanded in thoſe parts. Ochus ſent an army of 70,000 men againſt the rebels; but they were by Chares and his Athenians all cut in pieces. Artabazus, in reward of ſo great a ſervice, gave Chares a ſum of money ſufficient to pay his fleet and the forces he had on board. The king highly reſented this conduct of the Athenians, and, as they were then engaged in a war with the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, he threatened to join their enemies with a numerous fleet, if they did not recal Chares. The Athenians, fearing to provoke ſo powerful an enemy, ordered Chares to return forthwith into Greece [s].

Artabazus, being thus deſerted by the Athenians, had recourſe to the Thebans, who ſent to his aſſiſtance a body of 5000 men under the command of Pammenes. With this reinforcement Artabazus again took the field, and gained two very conſiderable victories over the king's forces, which greatly redounded to the honour of the Thebans and their commander [t]. However, they made their peace ſoon after with the king, who having given them 300 talents, they returned home. Artabazus, thus deſtitute of all ſupport, was at laſt overcome and forced to take refuge with Philip of Macedon [u].

[r] Juſtin, l. x. c. 3. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [s] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 527, 528. [t] Diodor. ibid. [u] Idem, p. 438.

Year of the flood, 2648. Before Christ 351.

THIS rebellion was scarce quelled, when several others broke out in divers parts of the empire. The Sidonians and other Phœnicians, being oppressed by those the king had set over them, taking up arms entered into a confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt. The Persians were then making vast preparations to reduce Egypt; but as they could not approach the borders of that kingdom any other way than by marching through Phœnice, the revolt of that country happened very opportunely for the king of Egypt. Therefore, to keep up their courage, he detached a body of 4000 Greek mercenaries under the command of Mentor the Rhodian to join them, in hopes of making Phœnice a barrier to Egypt, and keeping the war at a distance. The Phœnicians encouraged by this supply took the field, and having routed the governors of Syria and Cilicia that were sent to reduce them, they drove the Persians quite out of their territories [w].

THE Cypriots, being likewise ill-used by their Persian governors, and encouraged by this success of the Phœnicians, joined with them and the Egyptians in the same alliance [x]. Hereupon Ochus dispatched his orders to Idriens king of Caria, enjoining him to invade the island of Cyprus, and make war upon the inhabitants, putting all to fire and sword. Idriens, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it with 8000 Greek mercenaries, under the command of Phocion an Athenian and Evagoras, (T) to make a descent in the island. The troops landed without any considerable opposition, and, being

[w] Idem. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533. [x] Idem. ubi supra. p. 532.

(T) Another Evagoras had formerly reigned in the city of Salamine, whom we have spoke of above. On his death he was succeeded by Nicocles his son, and this Evagoras seems to have been the son of Nicocles, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but, being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began. He gladly joined the Persians in hopes of recovering his crown; and the knowledge he had of the country made him a very proper person to command in this expedition (80). Cyprus had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject and tributary to the king of Persia. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the Persian yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city (81).

(81) Isocrat. in Evag. & Nicol. (81) Diodor. l. vi. p. 532.

being reinforced with other bodies from Syria and Cilicia, beſieged Salamine by ſea and land [y].

OCHUS, finding that his lieutenants made no progreſs againſt the Egyptians and Phœnicians, reſolved to head his forces in perſon; and accordingly having drawn together an army of 300,000 foot and 30,000 horſe, marched at the head of them into Phœnice. Mentor the Rhodian, who was then at Sidon with the Greek mercenaries, being terrified at the approach of ſo great an army, ſent privately one of his intimate friends to Ochus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but to join him with the troops under his command. Ochus glad of this proffer ſpared no promiſes to draw him over to his party, knowing what ſignal ſervice he could do him in the Egyptian war, as being thoroughly acquainted with the country. And accordingly Mentor, having received ſuch aſſurances as he deſired, engaged Tennes, king of Sidon, in the ſame treacherous deſign, and by his aſſiſtance delivered Sidon up to the Perſians. The Sidonians, ſeeing themſelves thus betrayed and the enemy within the walls, ſhut themſelves up, with their wives and children, in their houſes, and ſetting fire to them conſumed themſelves, to the number of 40,000 men, beſides women and children. Tennes met with no better fate than his ſubjects, for Ochus ſeeing he could do him no farther ſervice, and deteſting in his heart the treachery of the man, cauſed his throat to be cut, leaſt he ſhould out-live the ruin which he had brought upon his country, as we have related elſewhere [z]. The ruin and total deſtruction of Sidon terrified the other cities of Phœnice to ſuch a degree, that they all voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror, each of them makeing peace with the king upon the beſt terms they could. Neither was Ochus unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the deſigns he had upon Egypt [a].

Sidon betrayed by Mento. the Rhodian.

BUT before he marched thither, his army received from Greece a reinforcement of 10,000 mercenaries. For the Thebans ſent him 1000 men under the command of Lachares, and the Argives 3000 commanded by Nicoſtratus; the reſt joined him from the Greek cities of Aſia. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians excuſed themſelves, telling the king's embaſſadors, that they ſhould be glad to

[y] Idem, ibid. [z] Vol. ii. p. 370, 371, 372. [a] Diodor. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, &c.

maintain peace and friendſhip with their maſter, but could not at that time ſpare him any ſuccours [b]. The Jews alſo ſeem to have been engaged in this revolt of Phœnice. For Ochus from Sidon marched into Judea, where he beſieged and took Jericho, carrying along with him into Egypt a great many captive Jews, and ſending others into Hyrcania, where they were planted in the provinces bordering on the Caſpian ſea [c].

Ochus at the ſame time put an end to the Cyprian war, and compounded with the nine Cyprian kings, having his mind entirely bent on the reducing of Egypt. He willingly redreſſed all their grievances, and confirmed them in their reſpective governments [d].

Ochus, having thus ſettled the affairs both of Phœnice and Egypt, ſet out on his Egyptian expedition. On his march he loſt a great many men, drowned in the lake of Serbonis, which lies between Phœnice and Egypt, and extends about 30 miles. When the ſouth-wind blows, the whole ſurface of the water is covered with ſand from the deſart, in ſuch manner, that no one can diſtinguiſh it from the firm land. Several parties of Ochus's army, for want of good guides, were loſt in it, and we are told, that entire armies have there met with the ſame fate [e]. When he arrived on the frontiers of Egypt, he detached three bodies to invade the country, each body being commanded by a Perſian and a Greek general. The firſt was led by Lachares the Theban, and Roſaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; the ſecond by Nicoſtratus the Theban, and Ariſtazanes; the third by Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs. The main body of the army he kept with himſelf, and encamped near Peluſium, with a deſign to watch there the events of the war. In the mean time Nectanebus drew together an army of 100,000 men, conſiſting of 20,000 mercenaries from Greece, as many from Lybia, and the reſt Egyptians; but they did not all amount to a third of the Perſian army. With ſome of theſe he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes, through which the enemy was to enter the country. The firſt Perſian detachment, under the command of Lachares, ſat down before Peluſium, gariſoned by 5000 Greeks. While the ſiege was carrying on,

[b] Idem. ibid. p. 533. [c] Solin. c. xxxv. Syncell. ex Africano, p. 256. Oros. l. xxxi. c. 7. Joſeph. l. i. contra Apion. [d] Diodor. ibid. p. 534. [e] Idem, 534, 535.

on, Nicoſtratus with his detachment embarked on board a ſquadron of the Perſian fleet, and ſailing up the Nile landed his forces in the heart of the country, and there formed a ſtrong encampment. Hereupon all the gariſons of the neighbouring caſtles, taking the alarm, joined Clinias of the iſland of Cos in order to diſlodge him. This led them to a battle, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the Egyptians were put to flight, having loſt Clinias with above 5000 of his men; the reſt were utterly broken and diſperſed, which, we may ſay, determined the fate of this war. For Nectanebus, fearing leſt Nicoſtratus ſhould ſail up the Nile with his victorious forces, and take Memphis the metropolis of his kingdom, haſtened thither, and left open the paſſes which he ought chiefly to have defended. The Greek mercenaries, who gariſoned Peluſium, hearing of the king's retreat, gave all for loſt, and therefore coming to a parley with Lachares, delivered up the city to him, upon condition, that they and their effects ſhould be ſafely conveyed to Greece. Mentor with the third detachment, finding the paſſes deſerted, entered the country, and giving out, that Ochus would graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted, and utterly deſtroy ſuch as reſiſted, treating them as he had treated the Sidonians, both the Egyptians and Greeks ſtrove which ſhould firſt make their ſubmiſſion. Nectanebus, ſeeing he could no longer hold out, took with him what treaſures he could carry, and withdrew into Ethiopia. Ochus, having thus reduced all Egypt, diſmantled their ſtrong-holds, plundered their temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with immenſe treaſures[f]. Henceforward Egypt was a province of Perſia, till Alexander overturned that monarchy, and delivered the Egyptians from the Perſian tyranny.

Egypt reduced by Ochus. Year of the flood, 2649. Before Chriſt 350.

Ochus, having ended with ſuch ſucceſs the Egyptian war, ſent back the Greek mercenaries to their reſpective countries with ample rewards. But as all his conqueſts were chiefly owing to Mentor, he diſtinguiſhed him above all the reſt, not only rewarding him with an hundred talents and other preſents to a great value, but appointing him governor of all the coaſts of Aſia, and committing to his care the whole management of the war, which he was ſtill carrying on againſt ſome provinces that had revolted in the beginning of his reign. Theſe, what by cunning and ſtratagems, what by open force, he reduced, and reſtored

[f] Idem, ibid.

reſtored the king's authority in all the parts of that vaſt empire.

ALL the revolted provinces being reduced, and peace eſtabliſhed throughout the whole empire, Ochus gave himſelf up to eaſe, luxury, and pleaſure, leaving the adminiſtration of public affairs entirely to his miniſters. The chief of theſe were Bagoas his favourite eunuch and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper Aſia, and the latter thoſe of the lower [g]. Bagoas, being by birth an Egyptain, had a great zeal for the religion of his country, and endeavoured, on the conqueſt of Egypt, to influence the king in favour of the Egyptian ceremonies; but, in ſpite of all his endeavours, the king not only plundered the temples, but carried away the ſacred records that were lodged in them; and, in contempt of their religion, ſlew the god Apis, that is, the ſacred bull, which they worſhipped under that name. This irreligious behaviour Bagoas deeply reſented, and ever afterwards watched an opportunity of revenging the affront offered to his religion. The records he redeemed with a great ſum of money and ſent them back into Egypt; but the injury done to his god he thought could be no otherwiſe atoned for, but by putting the ſacrilegious king to death; which he did accordingly with poiſon in the twenty-firſt year of his reign. Nor did his revenge ſtop here; for the king's body he kept, cauſing another to be buried inſtead of it; and, becauſe the king had cauſed his attendants to eat the fleſh of the Apis, he cut his fleſh in pieces, and gave it ſo mangled to the cats, making of his bones handles for ſwords. Having in this barbarous manner diſpatched his maſter and benefactor, and ſeeing the whole power of the empire in his hands, he placed Arſes, the youngeſt of the dead king's ſons on the throne, and put all the reſt to death, that he might the better ſecure to himſelf the authority which he had uſurped. For the bare name of king was all that he allowed to Arſes, reſerving for himſelf the whole power and authority of the government [h].

Bagoas the eunuch poiſons Ochus, and raiſes Arſes to the throne. Year of the flood, 2661. Before Chriſt 338.

Arſes.

ARSES did not long enjoy even the ſhadow of power, being ſlain by the ſame Bagoas, who, finding that the king, well appriſed of his wickedneſs and treachery, was taking meaſures to bring him to condign puniſhment, was before-

[g] Idem, p. 537. [h] Diodor. p. 564. Ælian. var. hiſt. iv. c. 8. Sever. Sulpit. l. ii.

before-hand with him, putting to death him and his whole family in the second year of his reign [i].

THE throne becoming again vacant by the death of Arses, Bagoas, who durst not yet usurp it himself, placed it on Darius, the third of that name in Persia. Before his accession to the crown he was called Codomannus, and is said not to have been of the blood-royal, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal family, being descended from Darius Nothus, whose grandson Arsanes marrying his own sister Sysigambis had by her Codomannus. Ostanes, the son of Darius Nothus and father to Arsanes, was put to death by Ochus on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons [k]. How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is no where said. In the reign of Ochus he made but a very poor figure, being only an Astanda, that is one employed to carry the royal dispatches to the governors of the provinces; a mean employment for one of the royal family [l]. In the war which Ochus made upon the Cadusians, towards the latter end of his reign, one of these Barbarians having challenged the whole Persian army, to find a champion that durst encounter him in a single combat, Codomannus accepted the challenge, after all the others had declined it, and slew the Cadusian. For this gallant action he was rewarded with the government of Armenia [m], and thence raised to the throne by Bagoas in the manner we have already related. But he had not long enjoyed the sovereign power, when Bagoas, finding that he would not be entirely governed by him, which was all he aimed at in advancing him to the crown, resolved to remove him in the same manner as the had done his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion; but Darius being acquainted with his design, when the potion was brought him, made Bagoas himself drink it, and having thereby got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, he settled himself on the throne, without any further difficulty or opposition [n]. Authors represent Darius as a prince of a mild and generous disposition, of great personal valour, and for his stature and shape far preferable to any of the whole Persian empire. But having such a fortunate rival as Alexander the Great to encounter, he was not able with all

Darius Codomannus. Year of the flood 2663. Before Christ 336.

[i] Diodor. ibid. [k] Diodor. ibid. Plut. in Artax. [l] Plut. de vita & fortuna Alexandri. [m] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 564. Justin. l. x. c. 3. [n] Diodor. ubi supra.

all his good qualities and personal courage to withstand him; and he was scarce warm on the throne when he found this powerful enemy preparing to drive him from it.

For Alexander, having settled his affairs in Macedon, and used all imaginable precautions to prevent any troubles that might arise there during his absence, set out for Sestos, and thence passed over the Hellespont into Asia, in the second year of Darius's reign. A war against the Persians had been resolved on some time before, in a general assembly of the Amphictyons, to revenge the many injuries, which Greece had received from the Barbarians during the space of 300 years, and Philip king of Macedon had been appointed commander in chief of the forces destined for this expedition. But Philip being in the mean time murdered, his son Alexander summoned a general assembly of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet at Corinth, and having prevailed with them to chuse him in his room, he obliged each city to furnish its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war. His army, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than 30,000 foot and 3000 horse. But they were all chosen men, well disciplined, and inured to the toils of war, most of them having served under Philip during his long wars, and all of them been employed in several expeditions. Parmenio commanded the infantry, Philotas his son had the command of 1800 horse, all Macedonians; Callas, the son of Harpalus, led the same number of Thessalian cavalry; the rest of the horse had their particular commanders, each being set over those of of his own nation. With this army he crossed the Hellespont, as we have hinted above, and, pursuing his march, arrived at the River Granicus, where he found the Persian governors of the neighbouring provinces encamped with an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse, with a design to dispute his passage(U). Memnon the Rhodian whom Darius had appointed governor over all the coasts of Asia, had advised the generals not to venture a battle, but to lay waste the whole country, and even destroy the cities, that the enemy might be obliged for want of provisions to return back into Europe. But Arsites, governor of Phrygia, opposed

(U) Justin and Orosius tells us, that the Persian army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 20,000 horse; Arrianus makes it amonnt to 200,000 foot. We have chosen to follow Diodorus's account, which to us seems the most rational. In the history of the Mysians the authors follow Justin and Orosius.

oppoſed the opinion of Memnon, proteſting, that he would never ſuffer the Greeks to make ſuch havock in the countries he governed. This raſh and impolitic counſel prevailed, and Memnon was even ſuſpected to hold intelligence with the enemy, or at leaſt to be deſirous of ſpinning out the war, and thereby continuing the command to himſelf [o].

THE Perſian cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the Granicus, and formed a large front in order to oppoſe Alexander, where-ever he ſhould attempt a paſſage; and the foot, conſiſting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, was poſted behind the cavalry on an eaſy aſcent. Parmenio, obſerving the diſpoſition of the enemy's army, adviſed Alexander to encamp on the oppoſite banks of the river, that his troops might have time to reſt, and not to attempt the croſſing over till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks very craggy and ſteep, his troops tired with their march, and thoſe of the enemies quite freſh, as having been encamped in that place for ſeveral days. But all the reaſons he could produce made not the leaſt impreſſion on Alexander, who anſwered, that it would be a diſgrace to him and his army, ſhould he, after croſſing the Helleſpont, ſuffer his progreſs to be ſtopt by a rivulet; for ſo, out of contempt, he called the Granicus [p]. The battle of Granicus. Year after the flood 2665. Before Chriſt. 334.

THE two armies being drawn up in battle-array on the oppoſite banks of the river continued ſome time in ſight of each other, as though they dreaded the event. The Perſians waited till the Macedonians ſhould enter the river, that they might attack them to advantage on their landing; and the Macedonians were looking for a convenient place to croſs in, which they no ſooner found, than Alexander ordered a ſtrong detachment of horſe to advance into the river, he himſelf following with the right wing, which he commanded in perſon, the trumpets in the mean time ſounding, and loud ſhouts of joy being heard throughout the whole army. The Perſians let fly ſuch ſhowers of arrows, againſt the detachment of the Macedonian horſe, as cauſed ſome confuſion, ſeveral of their horſes being killed or wounded; and as they drew near the bank a moſt bloody engagement enſued, the Macedonians endeavouring to land, and the Perſians puſhing them again into the river. As Memnon commanded in this

[o] Arrian. l. i. Plut. in Alex. Q. Curt. l. iii. [p] Diodor. Arrian. Plutarch. Curt. ubi ſupra.

this place with his sons, the first ranks of the Macedonians were entirely cut off, and the rest, after having with the utmost difficulty gained the shore, driven anew into the river. Alexander, who followed them close, observing the confusion they were in, headed them himself, and, landing in spite of all opposition, attacked the enemy's cavalry with great vigor, and obliged them, after an obstinate resistance, to give way. However, Spithrobates, governor of Ionia and son-in-law to Darius, being surrounded by forty Persian lords, all of them his relations, still maintained his ground, and did all that lay in his power to lead the Persians back to the charge. Alexander, seeing in how gallant a manner he signalized himself, advanced full gallop to engage him; neither did he decline the combat, and both were slightly wounded at the first encounter. Spithrobates, having thrown his javelin without effect, immediately advanced sword in hand against Alexander, who, being upon his guard, ran him through with his pike, as he was lifting up his arm to discharge a blow with his scymetar. But Rosaces, brother to Spithrobates, gave Alexander at the same time so furious a blow on the head with his battle-ax, that he beat off his plume, and slightly wounded him through his helmet. As he was ready to repeat the blow, Clitus with one stroke of his scymetar cut off Rosaces's head, and by that means saved the life of his sovereign. The Macedonians, animated by the example of their king, attacked the Persian horse with new vigor, who, not being able to stand so violent a a shock, first gave ground, and soon after betook themselves to a precipitous flight. Alexander did not pursue them, but immediately charged, at the head of the right wing, the enemy's foot, who, seeing themselves attacked at the same time by the cavalry and the Macedonian phalanx which had crossed the river, made no great resistance. The Grecian infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to Alexander, demanding leave to march off unmolested; but he, instead of coming to a parley with them, rushed sword in hand into the middle of this small body, where he was very near being cut in pieces, his horse being killed under him. The Greeks defended themselves a long time with incredible valour, but, being at last over-powered with numbers, were almost all killed on the spot. In this engagement the Persians lost 20,000 foot and 2500 horse; of the Macedonians 25 men of the king's own troop fell in

the

the firſt attack, whoſe ſtatues, made by Lyſippus, Alexander ſome time after cauſed to be ſet up in Dia, a city in Macedon, whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About 60 others of the horſe were killed, and 30 of the foot, who were all buried the next day with great ſolemnity, the king exempting their parents and children from all taxes and burdens [q].

THIS victory was attended with all the happy conſequences that could be expected. For Sardis, which was the key of the Perſian empire, immediately ſurrendered, and was by Alexander declared a free city, the citizens being permitted to live according to their own laws. From Sardis he advanced to Epheſus, where he was received with great joy. Here he offered a great number of ſacrifices to Diana, and aſſigned to the temple of that goddeſs, all the tributes that were paid to the Perſians. Before he left Epheſus the deputies of Trallis and Magneſia waited upon him with the keys of their cities. From Epheſus he advanced to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of being ſoon relieved, refuſed him admittance; and indeed the Perſian fleet, which was very numerous, made as if they would ſuccour the city; but after various fruitleſs attempts they ſailed off. Memnon had ſhut himſelf up in this ſtrong hold, with a conſiderable number of his men who had eſcaped from the battle on the Granicus, and was reſolved to make a vigorous reſiſtance. Alexander, having ſurrounded the city with his whole army, planted ſcaleing ladders on all ſides, thinking that the moſt expeditious manner of becoming maſter of the place. But his men being every where repulſed, and the city well ſtored with proviſions for a long ſiege, he began to batter the walls with all his engines night and day without intermiſſion. Several breaches were made, but ſtill he could not maſter the town, the beſieged ſuſtaining all his efforts with incredible bravery. At laſt the town being almoſt quite diſmantled, and the beſieged tired out with the hard ſervice, Memnon demanded to capitulate, and ſurrendered the city upon honourable terms; the Mileſians were allowed to live according to their own laws, and Memnon with his Greeks to march out unmoleſted, but the Perſians were either put to the ſword or ſold for ſlaves [r].

HAVING thus poſſeſſed himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to beſiege the city of Halicarnaſſus, which

[q] Plut. in Alex. Diodor. p. 503. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 6. Arrian. l. i. c. 18. [r] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Arrian l. i. c. 19.

which refuſed to ſubmit. The place was both by nature and art one of the beſt fortified in all Aſia; and beſides Memmon had thrown himſelf into it with a conſiderable body of choſen men, reſolved to ſignalize, in the defence of ſo important a place, his courage and attachment to the intereſt of Darius. And accordingly he made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, being ſeconded by another general of great proweſs, by name Ephialtes. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the art of war, was practiſed on this occaſion, both by the beſiegers and the beſieged. After the Macedonians had, with the utmoſt difficulty, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, their works were all demoliſhed in an inſtant, and the engines ſet on fire by the beſieged. No ſooner was any part of the wall beat down by the battering rams, but a new one was raiſed in its ſtead, the Macedonians finding themſelves no farther advanced after an immenſe labour, than they were when they firſt ſat down before the place. The city held out ſo long, and the beſiegers had ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with, that any general beſides Alexander would have given over the enterprize. But his troops were encouraged to purſue the undertaking, by thoſe very difficulties, which would have diſheartened others; and their patience at laſt proved ſucceſsful, Memnon being obliged to abandon the city, which he could no longer defend. As the ſea was open, he placed a ſtrong gariſon in the citadel, which was ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and going on board the Perſian fleet, whereof himſelf was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the iſland of Cos, not far diſtant from Halicarnaſſus. Alexander, finding the city empty both of riches and inhabitants, razed it to the ground; but the citadel he did not think proper to beſiege, it being of little importance to him after the city was deſtroyed [s].

After the reduction of Halicarnaſſus, all the Greek cities in Aſia declared for Alexander, he giving out whereever he came, that he had undertaken this war with no other view but of freeing them from the Perſian bondage. In the ſecond year of this war he reduced the province sof Phrygia, Lycia, Piſidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, and Cappadocia, and appointed ſuch of his friends to govern them as he thought fit. Theſe tranſactions we ſhall relate more at length in the life of this great warrior.

In

[s] Diodor. Arrian ibid.

In the mean time, Darius was not wanting to prepare for a vigorous defence. Memnon adviſed him to carry the war into Macedon; and a wiſer reſolution could not have been taken; for the Lacedæmonians and ſeveral other Greek ſtates, that were diſaffected to the Macedonians and jealous of their over-grown power, would have readily joined his enemies; which would have obliged Alexander to leave Aſia, and return to the defence of his own country. Darius, being well appriſed of the reaſonableneſs of this advice, willingly embraced it, and charged Memnon to put it in execution, appointing him admiral of the fleet, and commander in chief of all the forces that were to be employed in this expedition. That prince could not have made a better choice, for Memnon was by far the beſt general in his ſervice, and had for many years given undoubted proofs, not only of his courage and conduct, but of an extraordinary fidelity and attatchment to the Perſian intereſt, not abandoning his ſovereign, as other mercenaries had done, when his arms were unſucceſsful. Having received this new commiſſion, he aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and appointed the fleet to rendezvous at the iſland of Cos, where he took on board the land-forces, and with them reduced the iſlands of Chios and Leſbos, except the city of Mitylene. From thence he deſigned to paſs over into Eubœa, and make Greece and Macedon the ſeat of the war; but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could befal the Perſian empire, having defeated the wiſe meaſures which he had propoſed; for Darius not having one general capable of carrying on that enterprize, the only one that could have ſaved his empire, was obliged to drop it, and entirely depend upon his eaſtern armies. Theſe he appointed to aſſemble at Babylon, and having ſet up his ſtandard there, and muſtered his forces, he found, that they amounted in all to the number of four, five, or ſix hundred thouſand men, according to the various accounts of authors [t].

The news of Memnon's death confirmed Alexander in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Aſia. Accordingly he marched with all poſſible expedition into Cilicia, and arriving at a place

[t] Vide Plut. in Alexand. Arrian. l. ii. c. 6. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 9. Curt. l. iii. c. 8.

place called Cyrus's camp (whether from Cyrus the Great, as Curtius tells, or from the younger, as we read in Arrian, is uncertain), about fifty ſtades diſtant from the ſtraits of Cilicia, he was informed, that the enemy guarded that important paſs with a conſiderably body of troops. Whereupon, leaving Parmenio there, he marched in perſon at the firſt watch to ſurprize them; but the Perſians, having intelligence of his deſign, betook themſelves to flight, and abandoned the paſs, which Alexander entered, and, after viewing with attention the nature of the place, admired his good fortune, and owned, that he might have been ſtopped with great eaſe, ſeeing the road was ſo narrow, that four men could ſcarce paſs a breaſt, and ſo broke in ſeveral places, and encumbered with large ſtones rolling down from the mountains, that a very ſmall number of reſolute men might have kept back, with no other weapons but ſtones, a numerous army. From the ſtraits of Cilicia the whole army marched to the city of Tarſus, where they arrived the inſtant the Perſians were ſetting fire to the place, in order to prevent the Macedonians from enriching themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy and flouriſhing a city. They arrived very ſeaſonably to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, and ſave the city from utter deſtruction [u].

In the mean time, Darius had begun his march at the head of his numerous army, and was advanced as far as the vaſt plains of Meſopotamia. Here the commanders of the Greek mercenaries earneſtly preſſed him to wait for the enemy, that he might engage them with all the advantage his numbers gave him. But Darius would not hearken to their advice, haſtening blindly to the mountainous parts of Cilicia, where his cavalry and the number of his troops would rather be an incumbrance to each other, than of any ſervice in an engagement [w].

The order he obſerved in his march was as follows. Before the army was carried on ſilver altars the ſacred and eternal fire, as they called it, attended by the Mages, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country, and three hundred and ſixty-five youths in ſcarlet robes. After theſe came a chariot conſecrated to Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by one of an extraordinary ſize, whom they called the horſe of the ſun; all the equerries were cloathed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand

[u] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iii, c. 8. [w] Arrian. & Curt. ibid.

hand. Next appeared ten ſumptuous chariots, enriched with curious ſculptures in gold and ſilver; and then the van-guard of the horſe, compoſed of twelve different nations, and all armed in a different manner; this body of horſe was followed by another of foot, called by the Perſians immortal, becauſe if any of them died, his place was immediately ſupplied by another; they were ten thouſand in number, and remarkable for the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel; for they all wore collars of pure gold, and were cloathed in robes of gold tiſſue, having large ſleeves garniſhed with precious ſtones. About 30 paces diſtance came the king's relations or couſins, to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and ſurpaſſing even the immortal body in the pomp and richneſs of their attire; they were honoured with the title of the king's couſins, and poſſibly ſeveral of the king's relations were in this body. After theſe came Darius himſelf, attended by his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, as on a throne; the chariot was ſupported on both ſides by the gods of his nation caſt in pure gold; from the middle of the beam, which was ſet with jewels, roſe two ſtatues of pure gold, a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, and both ſhaded with the wings of a ſpread-eagle of the ſame metal. The king was cloathed with a garment of purple ſtriped with ſilver, wearing over that a long robe enriched with a great number of precious ſtones, and the ſcabbard of his ſcymetar, as our author tells us, was made out of a ſingle precious ſtone. On either ſide of the king walked 200 of his neareſt relations, followed by 10,000 horſemen, whoſe lances were plated with ſilver, and tipt with gold; after theſe marched, 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and laſtly 400 led horſes belonging to the king. At a ſmall diſtance followed Syſigambis, the king's mother, and his conſort, both ſeated on high chariots, with a numerous train of female attendants on horſe-back, and fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who where charged with the care of their education. Next to theſe were the royal concubines to the number of 360, all attired like ſo many queens; they were followed by 600 mules and 300 camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a body of bow-men; the march was cloſed by a great many chariots carrying the wives of the crown-officers, and lords of the court, and guarded by ſome companies of foot lightly armed [x]. One would

[x] Arrian. & Curt. ubi ſupra.

take this to be the deſcription of a maſquerade rather than of an army, and imagine, that Darius's chief care was not to provide for his own ſafety, but to ſet out his own glory and riches, as though the Macedonians were to be dazled with pomp, and frightened with pageants.

ALEXANDER, upon advice that Darius was advancing towards the Euphrates in order to enter Cilicia, detached Parmenio to poſſeſs himſelf of another narrow paſs (W), leading from Aſſyria, or rather Syria, into Cilicia. As for himſelf, he marced from Tarſus to Anchialos, and thence to Soli, which city he reduced, obliging the inhabitants, who refuſed at firſt to admit him into their city, to pay 20,000 talents for the maintenance of his army. While he was at Caſtabala, a ſmall city not far from mount Amanus, news was brought him, that Darius with his whole army was advanced as far as the city of Sochus in Syria, within two days march of Cilicia. Hereupon Alexander ſummoned a council of war, wherein it was determined, that the whole army ſhould march the next day, and wait for Darius among the mountains of Cilicia; which they did accordingly, encamping on a ſpot of ground, which, being wide enough only for two ſmall armies to act in, reduced both in ſome degree to an equality. When intelligence was brought to the Perſian camp, that Alexander had halted in the midſt of the mountains, the Greek commanders, who ſerved in Darius's army, adviſed him again to wait for the enemy in the plains where he was then encamped, or return to the plains of Meſopotamia, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, bring them all to engage at the ſame time, and ſurround the enemy; whereas, within thoſe ſtraits, there not being room any where to draw up above 30,000 men in battle-array, the Macedonians could bring all their men to engage, and the Perſians not the twentieth part of theirs. If he did not approve of this counſel, they then adviſed him to divide his army into ſeveral bodies, and not put all to the chance of one battle. But his adverſe fate did not ſuffer him to follow ſo wholeſome an advice; nay, the courtiers traduced

(W) For the clearer underſtanding of Alexander's march and that of Darius, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtraits, the firſt leading from Cappadocia into Cilicia, through which Alexander marched his army; the ſecond leading from Cicilia into Syria, which Parmenio took poſſeſſion of; and the third called the ſtraits of mount Amanus lying to the north of the paſs of Syria; through this Darius's army from Aſſyria entered Cilicia.

traduced thoſe who had ſuggeſted it, as traitors, telling Darius, that they adviſed him to divide his troops with no other view, than that they might have, after ſuch a ſeparation, a fair opportunity of delivering up into the enemies hands whatever ſhould be in their power. However, Darius thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and even condeſcended to lay before them the motives that induced him to reject their advice. The courtiers had made him believe, that Alexander was flying before him, and that therefore he ought to march forward with all poſſible expedition, and fall upon him while entangled in thoſe ſtraits, leſt he ſhould make his eſcape. Upon this it was agreed in a council of all the Perſian generals, that they ſhould engage the enemy in the narrow paſſes, the Gods, ſays our hiſtorian [y], blinding that prince, that they might pave a way to the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. Darius, having ſent his treaſures and moſt valuable moveables to Damaſcus in Syria under a ſmall convoy, led the main body of the army towards the ſtraits of mount Amanus, through which he entered Cilicia, and advanced as far as the city of Iſſus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been told, that the Macedonians were retired in great diſorder into Syria. In the city of Iſſus he barbarouſly put to death the ſick and wounded Macedonians that had been left there by Parmenio, ſparing only a few, whom he diſmiſſed, after making them view his camp, that they might be eye-witneſſes of the immenſe number of his forces. Theſe brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could ſcarce believe, though he deſired nothing more earneſtly. However, having offered a ſacrifice to the gods of the place, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a ſpot of ground near the city of Iſſus, bounded on one ſide by the mountains, and by the ſea on the other. Here Darius, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the Macedonians, by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the place, could diſpoſe of his great army no otherwiſe, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the Macedonians ſoon breaking the firſt line, and that recoiling upon the ſecond, and the ſecond again upon the third, and ſo on, the whole Perſian army was put in diſorder; and the Macedonians purſuing the advantage by preſſing forward, the confuſion was increaſed to ſuch a degree, that even the braveſt among the Perſians, who were deſirous to

The battle of Iſſus. Year of the flood 2666. Before Chriſt 332.

[y] Arrian. l. ii. Curt. iii. c. 11.

ſignalize themſelves, could neither ſtand their ground, nor manage their arms. As the crowd, which was made in the flight of ſo numerous an army, was very great, thoſe who fell that day were for the moſt part trampled to death by their own men, as they preſſed to eſcape. Darius, who fought in the firſt line, with much difficulty got out of the crowd, and fled in his chariot to the neighbouring mountains, where he mounted on horſe-back, and purſued his flight, leaving behind him his bow, his ſhield, and royal mantle. Alexander was prevented from following him by the Greek mercenaries, who, charging the Macedonian phalanx with incredible bravery, killed Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus with 120 officers of diſtinction, beſides a great many private men, and, though attacked in flank by Alexander in perſon, maintained their ground, till they were from twenty reduced to eight thouſand; they retired then in good order over the mountains towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the tranſports, that had conveyed them from Leſbos, lying on the ſhore, they fitted out ſuch a number as ſuited their purpoſe, and ſailed to Cyprus, after having burnt the reſt to prevent their being purſued. Alexander no ſooner ſaw them put to flight than he haſtened after Darius; but growing weary of the purſuit, and night drawing on, he returned to the enemies camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. Syſigambis, Darius's mother, and his wife, who was alſo his ſiſter, with his ſon Ochus not full ſix years old, and his two daughters both marriageable, and beſides ſome noblemens daughters, who attended them, were found in the camp and taken priſoners. The reſt had been ſent to Damaſcus, with part of Darius's treaſure and all the rich furniture, which the Perſian monarch uſed to carry with them into the field; ſo that in the camp they found only three thouſand talents of ſilver; but the reſt of the treaſures fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio at his takeing the city of Damaſcus [z]. In this engagement the Perſians loſt, according to Arrian [a], 10,000 horſe, and 90,000 foot, and with him other writers agree, as to the number of the horſe; but as to the foot they all vary, not only from him, but from each other, ſome making the number of the dead amount to 80, others to 90, others to 100, and ſome to 120, thouſand, adding, that 40,000 were taken

[z] Plut. in Alex. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Diodor. l. xvii.
[a] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

taken priſoners, while Alexander, according to the higheſt computation, loſt in all but 300 men [b].

THE next day, Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the dead to be buried with great pomp in the preſence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle-array. The ſame honours he paid to the manes of the Perſians of rank, and allowed Darius's mother to bury as many as ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies of her country. But the prudent princeſs uſed that permiſſion with great modeſty and reſerve, burying only a few, who were her near relations. Alexander treated her and the other captive princeſſes with great humanity; they were, ſays Plutarch [c], in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple deſigned for the aſylum of virtue, they all living ſo retired, that they were not ſeen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion, but ſuch as were appointed to attend them. As Darius's conſort and her two daughters were princeſſes of an extraordinary beauty, Alexander after the firſt viſit reſolved never to ſee them any more, that his frailty might not expoſe him to any danger. This memorable circumſtance we find in a letter which he wrote to Parmenio, commanding him to put to death certain Macedonians who had abuſed the wives of ſome captives. In ſhort, he uſed them with ſuch reſpect, good nature, and humanity, that nothing but their captivity could make them ſenſible of their misfortune [d].

ALEXANDER, ſeeing himſelf now maſter of the field, detached Parmenio to Damaſcus, where Darius's treaſures were lodged, with the Theſſalian horſe. As he was on his march thither, he met with a meſſenger ſent by the governor of that city with a letter to Alexander, wherein he offered to betray the city to the king. The fourth day Parmenio arrived at Damaſcus, when the governor, pretending that he was not able to defend the city againſt a victorious army, cauſed by day-break a vaſt number of beaſts of burden to be loaded with the king's treaſure and rich furniture, as if he intended to retire and ſave them for his maſter, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter directed to the king. At the firſt ſight of the forces, which this general headed, the Perſians, who convoyed the treaſures, betook themſelves to flight, and left the Macedonians maſters of all the gold and ſilver that was deſigned to

[b] Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian. Curt. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. [c] Plutarch. de fortuna Alexandri. [d] Plut. ibid.

pay ſo numerous an army. Among the priſoners of diſtinction taken in the city were three young princeſſes, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius, and his widow; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, or Artabanus, the greateſt lord at court, with his ſon Ilioneus; the wife of Pharnabazus, whom Darius had appointed governor of all the cities on the coaſt, three daughters of Mentor; the wife and ſon of Memnon, that illuſtrious and renowned commander; inſomuch, that there was ſcarce one noble family in all Perſia which did not ſhare in this calamity. Beſides the immenſe treaſures which the Macedonians had already taken, they found in the city 2600 talents in ready money, and 500 in bullion, which was afterwards coined; they took 30,000 priſoners, and with the plunder of the city loaded 7000 camels. The Theſſalian horſe had the beſt ſhare of this booty, having been ſent by Alexander on this expedition, that they might enrich themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy a city, in regard they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt in the late engagement [e]. The governor of the place was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to Darius [f].

After this victory Alexander marched into Syria, moſt of the cities of that country voluntarily ſubmitting to the conqueror, and even Darius's governors and commanders delivering themſelves and their treaſures up into his hands. Being arrived at Marathus, he received a letter from Darius, in which he ſtiled himſelf king without beſtowing that title on Alexander. He rather commanded than entreated him to aſk what ſum he pleaſed for the ranſom of his mother, wife, and children; and as to their diſpute about empire, they might decide it, if he thought proper, in a general engagement, to which both parties ſhould bring an equal number of troops; but if he were ſtill capable of wholeſome counſel, he would adviſe him to be contented with the kingdom of his anceſtors, and not invade that of another to which he had no right; that for the future they ſhould live in friendſhip and amity, and that he was ready to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe articles, and receive Alexander's oath. This letter, which was wrote with ſuch an unſeaſonable pride and haughtineſs, provoked Alexander to a great degree, who therefore in his anſwer began thus; Alexander the king to Darius; he

[e] Plutarch, de fort. Alex. & Curt. l. iii. c. 25. [f] Curt. ibid.

he then enumerates the many injuries and calamities which the Greeks and Macedonians had ſuffered from the Perſians, reproaches that nation with the baſe and treacherous murder of his father Philip, and Darius in particular with ſetting a price upon his own head; whence he concludes, that he is not the aggreſſor, but has taken up arms in his own defence, and to revenge the death of his father and the injuries done to his country; and that the gods, who always declare for the juſt cauſe, approved of this war, he ſhews from the ſucceſs that attended it, ſince with their protection he had already ſubdued great part of Aſia, and defeated the mighty hoſt of the Perſians in a pitched battle with a handful of men. However, he engaged his word, that he would reſtore to him his wife, mother, and children, provided he repaired to him in the attire of a ſuppliant, and humbly begged him to give them their liberty, aſſuring him, that he might do it without the leaſt danger. He concluded by deſiring him to remember, when he next wrote, that he not only addreſſed a king, but his king. Theſippus was ordered to carry this letter [g].

ALEXANDER marched from thence into Phœnice, where the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by other cities, in proportion as he advanced into the country; but none received him with greater joy than the Sidonians, whoſe city Ochus had lain in aſhes about eighteen years before, and put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword. Since that time they bore ſuch a hatred to the Perſian name, that they were over-joyed at this opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke; and indeed were the firſt in Phœnice who ſubmitted to Alexander by their deputies, in oppoſition to Strabo their king, who was in the Perſian intereſt. Alexander depoſed him, and permitted Hephæſtion to elect in his room whomſoever of the Sidonians he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation [h], as we have elſewhere related at length [i].

WHILE Alexander was in Phœnice, ſome of the Perſian generals, who had eſcaped from the battle at Iſſus, drawing together the remains of the ſcattered army, attempted, with the aſſiſtance of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians to recover Lydia; but were in ſeveral engagements routed, and at laſt entirely diſperſed by Antigonus, whom Alexander had appointed governor of that province.

At

[g] Diodor. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 10. [h] Curt. l. iv. c. 2. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 10. [i] Vol. ii. p. 374.

At the ſame time, theMacedonian fleet ſailing from Greece fell in with that of the enemies commanded by Ariſtomenes, whom Darius had ſent to recover the cities on the Helleſpont, and attacked them ſo briſkly that not one ſingle ſhip eſcaped [k].

ALL Syria and Phœnice were already ſubdued, except the city of Tyre, which he beſieged and took by aſſault, after the inhabitants had held out with incredible bravery for ſeven whole months, as we have related in the hiſtory of Phœnice [l].

WHILE Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre he received a ſecond letter from Darius, who at laſt condeſcended to give him the title of king; he offered him ten thouſand talents by way of ranſom for the captive princeſſes, and his daughter Statira in marriage with all the country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates; he put him in mind of the inconſtancy of fortune, and ſet out in moſt pompous terms the vaſt number of troops he could ſtill bring into the field; he repreſented the difficulties he might meet with in croſſing the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Araxes, and the Hydaſpes, which were ſo many barriers to the Perſian empire; that he would not have always the opportunity of ſhutting himſelf up among rocks and mountains, but would be obliged, ſome time or other, to engage in an open champain country, where he would be aſhamed to appear before him with a handful of men. Upon the receipt of this letter Alexander ſummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept the offers of Darius, declaring, that he would agree to them were he Alexander; and ſo would I, replied Alexander, were I Parmenio. Without hearkening therefore to his advice, he anſwered, that he did not want the money Darius offered him; that it did not become him to offer what he no longer poſſeſſed, nor pretend to diſpoſe of what he had already loſt; that if he was the only perſon who did not know which of the two was the beſt commander, a battle would ſoon determine it; that he ſhould not be frightened with rivers after having croſſed the ſea, and would not fail to purſue Darius, and come up with him at laſt, to what place ſoever he ſhould think proper to retire [m]. Darius, upon the receipt of this letter, loſt all hopes

[k] Curt. l. iv. c. 4. [l] Vol. ii. p. 386. & ſeq. [m] Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian l. ii. p. 101.

hopes of an accommodation, and began anew to prepare for war.

ALEXANDER having reduced Tyre marched from thence to Jeruſalem, and from Jeruſalem to Gaza. On his arri val at that city he found it defended by a ſtrong gariſon under the command of Betis, or, as ſome call him, Babemeſis [n], one of Darius's eunuchs, who, being a man of great experience in military affairs, and very faithful to his ſovereign, reſolved to hold out againſt Alexander till he was reduced to the laſt extremities. As this place was the only inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not paſs thither till he was become maſter of it, and therefore was forced to beſiege it. But notwithſtanding his men behaved with the utmoſt intrepidity, and his commanders exerted the utmoſt of military ſkill, yet it coſt him and his whole army two entire months to reduce it. The ſtop which this put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the ſiege, provoked him to ſuch a degree, that on his taking of the place he treated the commander, inhabitants, and ſoldiers in a manner no-ways becoming a conqueror. For having cut 10,000 of them in pieces, he ſold the reſt with their wives and children for ſlaves. When Betis, who had been taken priſoner in the laſt aſſault, was brought before him, inſtead of uſing him kindly, as his valour and fidelity juſtly deſerved, and a generous enemy ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, a cord to be drawn through them, and the unhappy captive, thus tied to a chariot, to be dragged round the city till he expired, bragging, that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer relates, cauſed the dead body of Hector to be thus dragged round the walls of Troy, as though a man ought ever to take pride in imitating a bad example. Both acts were barbarous and inhuman, but that of Alexander much more ſo; for Achilles cauſed only Hector's dead body to be ſo abuſed, whereas Alexander thus treated Betis while alive, and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſerved his ſovereign with fidelity in the poſt committed to his charge, which even Alexander, though an enemy, would have admired and rewarded, had he made the true principles of virtue and generoſity the rule of his actions; but his ſentiments and conduct began now to change with his fortune [o]. He ſent

The city of Gaza beſieged and taken by Alexander.

[n] Joſeph. antiquit. l. xi. c. ult. [o] Curt. l. iv. c. 10. Arrian. l. ii. prope finem. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

ſent great part of the booty he found in the city to Olympias, to Cleopatra and his friends, and having left a gariſon there, he marched directly for Egypt, and in ſeven days arrived before Peluſium, where he was met by great numbers of Egyptians, who flocked thither to make their ſubmiſſion to him. The hatred they bore to the Perſians was ſuch, that they willingly embraced all opportunities of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, and ſeemed not to care by whom they were governed, provided they could but meet with one who was able to reſcue them from that inſolence and indignity, with which the Perſians treated them and their religion. Ochus had ſlain their god Apis, in a manner highly injurious to themſelves and their religion; and the Perſian governors treated their gods in the ſame manner; which raiſed their indignation to ſuch a height, that when Amyntas (X) came thither a little before with a handful of men, he found them ready to join him in driving out the Perſians. Alexander therefore no ſooner appeared on the frontiers, but the Egyptians flocked to him from all parts, and received him with open arms. His arrival at the head of a powerful and victorious army gave them ſecure protection, which they could not promiſe themſelves from Amyntas, and on this conſideration they openly declared, without reſerve, in his favour. Hereupon Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, ſeeing he was not in a condition to oppoſe this general

(X) This Amyntas, having fled from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the Greek mercenaries at the battle of Iſſus, from whence having brought off 4000 of his men, he got ſafe to Tripoli in Syria, where he embarked, as we have related above, and ſailed firſt to Cyprus, and then to Peluſium in Egypt, which city he ſeized, making the gariſon believe, that he had been appointed governor of Egypt in the room of Sabaces, who had been killed in the battle of Iſſus. Aſſoon as he found himſelf poſſeſſed of this important place, he threw off the maſk, and declared his deſign of ſeizing Egypt for himſelf, and driving the Perſians from thence. Whereupon the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Perſians, readily joined him, and he, having formed a conſiderable army, marched directly for Memphis, where he defeated the Perſians in a pitched battle, and ſhut them up in the city. But, after this victory, permitting his ſoldiers to ſtraggle up and down the country in queſt of booty, thePerſians ſallied out upon them thus diſperſed, and cut them all to pieces with Amyntas their leader (82)

(82) Arrian. l. ii. Curt. l. iv. c. 3. Diodo. l. xvii. p. 587, 588.

neral inſurrection, opened the gates to the conqueror, and put him in poſſeſſion of the metropolis of that kingdom, with 800 talents and all the king's rich furniture [P]. Thus Alexander, without any oppoſition, became maſter of all Egypt.

Egypt ſubmits to Alexander.

At Memphis Alexander formed a deſign of viſiting the temple of Jupiter Hammon, and in his way thither built Alexandria, which ſoon became the metropolis of that kingdom. On his return from the temple he ſettled the affairs of Egypt, and marched from thence in the beginning of the ſpring to find out Darius. On his return into Phœnice he ſtaid ſome time at Tyre, that he might there ſettle the affairs of the countries which he was to leave behind him, before he ſet out to make new conqueſts; and having ordered matters as he thought fit, he began his march, and with his whole army arrived at Thapſacus, where he croſſed the Euphrates, and continued his march towards the Tigris in queſt of the enemy. Darius in the mean time, after ſeveral overtures for a peace, finding, that there were no hopes of an accommodation, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire, applied himſelf to make the neceſſary preparations for another engagement. For this purpoſe having aſſembled at Babylon an army half as numerous again as that with which he fought at Iſſus, (for it conſiſted of 1,100,000 men) he took the field, and marched towards Niniveh. Advice being brought him, that the enemy was not far off, he detached Satropates, commander of the cavalry, at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe, and Mazæus, governor of that province, with ſix thouſand, to prevent Alexander from croſſing the Tigris, and to lay waſte the country through which he was to paſs. But they came too late, Alexander having, with the utmoſt difficulty, croſſed the river a little before they arrived. He encamped two days on the banks of the river, during which time there happened an eclipſe of the moon, which ſo terrified the Macedonians, that they refuſed to proceed in their march, crying out, that heaven diſplayed the marks of its anger, that they were dragged againſt the will of the gods to the utmoſt extremities of the earth, and that even the moon refuſed to lend them her uſual light. Hereupon Alexander, having ſummoned the officers of the army into his tent, commanded the Egyptian ſoothſayers to declare what they thought of this phænomenon.

[P] Curt. l. iv. c. 20. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 11. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 526—529.

phænomenon. Theſe were well acquainted with the natural cauſes of eclipſes, but, without entering into ſuch enquiries, they replied, that the ſun was predominant in Greece, and the moon in Perſia, whence as often as the moon ſuffered an eclipſe, ſome great calamity was thereby portended to the latter. This anſwer, being immediately ſpread abroad among the ſoldiers, revived their hopes and courage; and Alexander, taking advantage of this ardor, began his march after midnight, having on his right the Tigris, and the Gordyæan mountains on his left [q]. At day-break the ſcouts, he had ſent out to reconnoitre, brought word, that Darius was on full march to meet him; whereupon he immediately drew up his forces, and put himſelf at the head of the army. But as they drew near, he found, that it was only a detachment of 1000 horſe, which, as the Macedonians advanced, retired in great haſte to the main army; they were perſued by Ariſto, commander of the Pæonian horſe, who having defeated that body and killed Satropates their leader, brought back his head, and threw it down at Alexander's feet, telling him, that in his country ſuch a preſent was uſually rewarded with a cup of gold; Alexander replied ſmiling, with an empty one, but I will give you a golden cup, and that full of wine [r]. Not long after Alexander received intelligence, that Darius was not above 150 furlongs off; whereupon he halted to refreſh his ſoldiers before the engagement, having in the camp great ſtore of proviſions. During this time he intercepted ſome letters wrote by Darius to the Greeks, ſoliciting them with great promiſes either to kill or betray Alexander. The king was in doubt with himſelf whether he ſhould read them in full aſſembly, for he relied as much on the fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians; but Parmenio diſſuaded him from it, telling him, that even the raiſing of ſuch thoughts in the minds of ſoldiers might be attended with ſome danger, and that the hopes of a great reward were capable of prompting a man to attempt the moſt enormous crimes. The king followed his prudent advice, and ordered his army to march forward [s]. He was ſcarce ſet out, when an eunuch brought him word, that Statira, Darius's wife, was dead, whereupon he immediately returned, and entering the pavilion, where Syſigambis and the other royal priſoners were kept, comforted them in ſo kind and

[q] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 24. [r] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 23. Plut. in Alex. [s] Curt. l. iv. c. 25.

and tender a manner, as plainly ſhewed his deep concern. He cauſed the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed princes to be performed with the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence, which Darius hearing, and at the ſame time being informed with what reſpect Alexander had treated her in her life-time, he is ſaid to have prayed the gods, that if the time ordained by the fates for the transferring of the Perſian empire into other hands was come, none might ſit on the throne of Cyrus, but ſo juſt, ſo merciful, ſo generous a conqueror as Alexander [t]. And although he had twice ſued in vain for peace, yet being overcome by the tenderneſs and humanity, which Alexander had ſhewn his wife, mother, and children, diſpatched ten of his relations as embaſſadors, offering him new conditions of peace more advantageous than the former, and returning him thanks for the kind treatment he had indulged his family. He had in his former propoſals offered him all the provinces of Aſia as far as the Halys; but now he added the countries lying between the Helleſpont and the Euphrates, that is, whatever Alexander was already maſter of, and offered 30,000 talents by way of ranſom for his family. Parmenio again adviſed Alexander to accept of the conditions, telling him, that the provinces between the Euphrates and the Helleſpont would be a great addition to the kingdom of Macedon, and that the Perſian priſoners were only an incumbrance to the army, whereas the treaſure offered for their ranſom might be employed for the uſe of his troops, or to reward the ſervices of his friends. But Alexander, without hearkening to his advice, returned the following anſwer to the embaſſadors; that the clemency he had ſhewn to the wife and children of Darius proceeded from his own good nature, without any regard to their maſter; that he did not make war upon women and children, but upon ſuch only as appeared in arms againſt him; that if Darius had ſued for peace in good earneſt, he would have hearkened to his propoſals; but ſince he continued to ſpirit up, with large bribes, his own ſoldiers to murder or betray him, he could not believe that his offers were ſincere, and therefore was determined to purſue him, with the utmoſt vigor, not as a fair enemy, but as a traytor and aſſaſſin; that as to the provinces he offered him, they were already his own, and if Darius could force him to retire beyond the Euphrates, which he had already croſſed, he might then offer them

[t] Curt. & Plutarch. ibidem.

them as his ; that he propoſed to himſelf, as a reward for the toils he had already endured, all thoſe kingdoms which Darius ſtill enjoyed, wherein whether he flattered himſelf with a vain hope or no, the next day's engagement ſhould determine ; he concluded by telling the embaſſadors, that he was come into Aſia to give, and not to receive ; that the heavens could not hold two ſuns, and therefore if Darius would ſubmit to him, acknowledging him his lord and ſovereign, he would then hearken to propoſals [u]. The embaſſadors returned back, and told Darius, that he muſt prepare for an engagement ; whereupon that prince encamped near a village called Gaugamela, in a large plain at a conſiderable diſtance from the city of Arbela, having before-hand levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more eaſe. Alexander, hearing that Darius was ſo near, continued four days in his camp to reſt the army, and ſurrounded it with deep trenches and palliſades, being determined to leave there his baggage and ſuch of his men as were indiſpoſed. He ſet out about the ſecond watch with a deſign to engage the enemy at break of day, and arriving at a riſing ground, whence he could diſcover their whole army, he halted, and ſummoned a council, being in doubt whether he ſhould encamp there, or immediately fall upon the enemy. Parmenio adviſed him to attack their camp in the night-time, alledging, that they might eaſily be defeated, if taken by ſurprize and in the dark, but the king anſwered, that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. Accordingly he encamped there in the ſame order in which the army had marched, and after giving the proper orders he retired to repoſe the remaining part of the night, but, being under no ſmall concern, he could not ſleep till towards the morning, ſo that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, they were greatly ſurprized to find that he was not yet awake. Parmenio, after waiting ſome time, thought fit to call him, and ſeeming amazed that he ſhould ſleep ſo ſound, when he was upon the point of hazarding a battle, on which depended the empire of Aſia ; Alexander told him, that Darius, by bringing all his forces into one place, had freed him from the trouble of thinking how he might purſue them into different countries [w]. He then without delay

[u] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 12. [w] Juſtin. l. xi. c xiii. Curt. l. iv. c. 3—31. Plut. in Alex.

delay put on his armour, mounted on horſeback, and, having drawn up his men in battle array, advanced to encounter the enemy, who was at a very ſmall diſtance.

BOTH armies were drawn up in the ſame order, the infantry in the center and the cavalry on the wings; Darius's front was covered with 200 chariots, armed with ſcythes, and 25 elephants. Beſides his guards, which were the flower of his army, he had poſted the Grecian infantry near his perſon, believing this body alone capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army took up a far greater ſpace of ground than Alexander's, his deſign was to ſurround and charge them at the ſame time in front and flank, which Alexander ſuſpecting, ordered thoſe who led the wings to extend them as wide as poſſible without weakening the center. His baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, were left in the camp under a ſmall guard. Parmenio commanded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right. When the two armies were in ſight of each other, the Macedonians halted, waiting till the enemies ſhould advance to attack them, which they did accordingly, Darius himſelf charging in the firſt line. Arrian and Curtius [x] deſcribe this battle at length; they tell us, that the Perſians were often repulſed, but returned again to the charge; that victory inclined ſometimes to one ſide, and ſometimes to another; that Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was in great danger, and his men obliged to give ground; that Alexander's rear was put in diſorder, and the baggage taken; that both kings wrought wonders, &c. But after all Curtius tells us, that the Macedonians, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition they met with, loſt only 300 men, and Arrian allows not a third of that number ſlain; whereas of the Perſians there fell 40,000 ſays Curtius, 30,000 according to Arrian, and 90,000 if we believe Diodorus. From theſe accounts, we can form no other judgment of this great encounter, but that the Perſians at the very firſt onſet betook themſelves to flight, and the Macedonians purſued them: for had the ſeven or eight hundred thouſand men, which Darius brought into the field, thrown each one dart or ſtone, the Macedonians could not have bought the empire of the eaſt at ſo an eaſy

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[x] Arrian. l. iii. Curt. l. iv. c. 25. & ſeq.

a rate. In the heat of the battle, when the Macedonians were in the greateſt danger, Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, cloathed in his white robes, and holding a branch of olive in his hand, is reported to have advanced among the firſt ranks, and in concert with Alexander to have cried out, that he ſaw an eagle hovering over the king's head, a ſure omen of victory; he pointed with his finger at the pretended bird; and the ſoldiers believing him, and ſome even fancying they ſaw it, renewed the attack with more courage and reſolution than ever. We are told, that Darius, ſeeing his numerous army put ſo ſhamefully to flight, drew his ſcymetar, and was ſome time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould lay violent hands on himſelf, rather than fly in ſo ignominious a manner, but at laſt reſolved to ſave himſelf by flight, and arrived at Arbela the ſame night (Y). After he had paſſed the Lycus, ſome, who attended him in his flight, adviſed him to break down the bridge in order to ſtop the enemy's purſuit; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were haſtening to paſs over the ſame bridge, replyed, that he had rather leave an open way to a purſuing enemy, than ſhut it to a flying friend [y]. (Z). He arrived about midnight at Arbela, whither he was followed by a great many of his nobles and commanding officers, whom he called together, and acquainted them

[y] Curt. l. iv. c. 36, 37. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 14.

(Y) This battle was fought at Gaugamela near the river Beumelus, as Ptolemy Lagi and Ariſtobulus, who were preſent, aver; they are followed both by Strabo (83) and Plutarch (84), and nevertheleſs becauſe Gaugamela was only a ſmall village, and the name not agreeable to the ear, ſignifying the camels houſe, the battle is ſaid to have been fought at Arbela, which was a great and famous city in thoſe parts (85). Gaugamela and Arbela were at a conſiderable diſtance from each other; for between the river Beumelus, on which ſtood Gaugamela, and the Lycus, on the banks of which Arbela was ſituated, Curtius reckons 80 furlongs (86). According to Strabo's deſcription of thoſe places Arbela in Ptolemy's fifth map of Aſia ought to be placed where we find Gaugamela (87).

(Z) In Juſtin we read Cydnus inſtead of Lycus, which laſt river runs through the City of Tarſus in Cilicia; and hence it is, that Oroſius, who ever follows Juſtin, was led into ſo groſs a miſtake as to think that this great battle was fought at Tarſus (88).

(83) Strabo, lib. 26. p. 737. (84) Plut. in Alexand. (85) Arrian. l. 6. p. 101. Strabo, ubi ſupra. (86) Curt. l. iv. c. 22. (87) Vide Strab. l. ii. p. 79. (88) Oroſ. l. iii. c. 17.

them that he deſigned to leave all for the preſent to Alexander and fly into Media, from whence and from the reſt of the northern provinces he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle. Alexander purſued him as far as Arbela, but, before his arrival there, Darius was by the quickneſs of his flight got over the mountains of Armenia, attended by ſome of his relations, and a ſmall body of guards called Melophori, becauſe each of them bore a golden apple on the point of their ſpear. In Armenia he was joined by 2000 Greek mercenaries, who, under the command of Pharon an Ionian and Glaucus an Æolian, had eſcaped from the battle. Alexander took the city of Arbela, where he ſeized on immenſe ſums of money, with all Darius's rich furniture and equipage, and returned to his camp. After having allowed his army ſome days of reſt, he ſet out on his march to Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and province, and had after the late battle retired thither with the ſcattered remains of the body he commanded. But, on the approach of Alexander's victorious army, he had not courage enough to oppoſe him; marching therefore out to meet him he delivered the city and himſelf with his children into the conqueror's hands. Bagaphanes governor of the caſtle, where all Darius's treaſures were lodged, did the ſame, and Alexander entered the city at the head of the whole army, as though he had been marching againſt an enemy. After a ſtay of 30 days in that city, he continued Mazæus in the government of that province, but giving the command of the caſtle and gariſon to a Macedonian, he took Bagaphanes along with him, and marched towards Suſa, where he arrived twenty days after his departure from Babylon. As he drew near the city, Abulites governor of the place, ſent his ſon to meet him, and acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver the city and all the king's treaſure into his hands. The king's received the young nobleman with great marks of kindneſs, and, uſing him as a guide, advanced to the river Choaſpes, where Abulites himſelf met him with preſents worthy of ſo great a prince; among other things he preſented him with dromedaries, or running camels, of incredible ſwiftneſs, and twelve elephants which Darius had ſent for out of India. Having entered the city, the governor delivered up to him 50,000 in bullion, and 40,000 talents in ready money, with all the king's furniture to an immenſe value. Here he found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought out of Greece, namely, the brazen

ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which he ſent to Athens, where they were ſtill ſtanding in Arrian's time. As for the purple and ſcarlet robes, he ſent them all to Syſigambis together with ſome others curiouſly wrought, which had been ſent him out of Macedon, adding in his meſſage to her, that if ſhe liked the Macedonian robes, he would ſend her thoſe who had wrought them, that her grand children might learn the art by way of amuſement. At theſe words ſhe could not help betraying ſome concern and uneaſineſs, it being looked upon by the Perſian women as mean and unbecoming to employ themſelves in works of that nature; which when Alexander underſtood, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done; and accordingly went immediately to wait upon her, and begged, that ſhe would not conſider that as an affront, which was entirely owing to his ignorance of the Perſian manners; adding, that the robes he then wore were not only a preſent from his ſiſters, but wrought with their own hands [z].

ALEXANDER having thus comforted Syſigambis took his leave of her, and, leaving a ſtrong gariſon in the city of Suſa, advanced towards the province of Perſis. He arrived in four days march on the banks of the Paſitigris, which river he croſſed with 9000 foot and 4000 horſe, and entered the country of the Uxians. This province extends from Suſiana to the frontiers of Perſis, and was governed by one Madates, who had married the niece of Syſigambis. Madates, who was not, like the other Perſian governors, a time-ſerver, but faithful to his ſovereign, reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, and with this deſign retired into a ſtrong hold, in the midſt of craggy mountains, and ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep precipices. Here he held out for ſome time with great bravery, and, when the city was taken by aſſault withdrew into the citadel, whence, ſeeing there were no hopes of being relieved, he ſent 30 deputies to Alexander to treat of a ſurrender. The king, who was greatly provoked againſt Madates, would not at firſt hearken to any propoſals; but, in the mean time, receiving letters from Syſigambis, wherein ſhe intreated him to pardon her relation, he not only complied with her requeſt, but ſet all the priſoners at liberty, reſtored Madates to his former dignity, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges [a].

HAVING

[z] Curt. l. v. c. 8. [a] Curt. l. v. c. 9.

HAVING reduced the Uxians, he ordered Parmenio with part of his army to march through the plain, while he himſelf, at the head of the light-armed foot, advanced by the way of the mountains, which extend to the frontiers of Perſia. The fifth day he arrived at the ſtraits of Perſia. Theſe Ariobarzanes held with 4000 foot and 700 horſe, which he had poſted on the tops of the hills out of the enemies reach. Aſſoon as Alexander advanced to attack him, the Perſians from the tops of the mountains rolled down ſtones of ſuch a prodigious ſize, that they cruſhed at once whole ranks. The king, being greatly frightened at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and withdrew about 30 furlongs from the paſs, where he lay encamped ſome time, not knowing how to advance, and being aſhamed to return; but, in the mean time, a Greek deſerter coming to his camp offered him readily to conduct him through by-paths to the very top of the mountain, whence he might eaſily ſo annoy the Perſians, as to oblige them to abandon the ſtraits and leave an open paſſage to the whole army. He was as good as his word; for Alexander, at the head of ſome choſen troops, having followed his guide all that night through rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break at the top of a mountain, which commanded all the hills where the enemies were poſted; which they obſerving betook themſelves to flight; and at the ſame time Craterus, who had been left in the camp, advancing with the troops under his command, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtraits. Ariobarzanes with part of the cavalry, breaking through the Macedonians with great ſlaughter both of them and his own men, made his eſcape over the mountains, with a deſign to throw himſelf into Perſepolis; but finding all the paſſes leading to that city guarded by the enemy, he returned back upon thoſe that purſued him, and was killed with all thoſe that followed him, after having cut in pieces great numbers of the Macedonians [b].

BEING now poſſeſſed of the ſtraits, Alexander purſued his march into Perſis, or Perſia, properly ſo called. When he was at ſome diſtance from Perſepolis the metropolis of that province, he received letters from the governor of the place, acquainting him, that the citizens, upon the news of his approach, were ready to plunder Darius's treaſures with which he had been intruſted, and deſired him to

[b] Curt. Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra & Polyænus. l. iv. ſtratagem.

march with all poſſible expedition, that he might ſeize them himſelf. Alexander, upon the receipt of this letter, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of the cavalry, and having paſſed the Araxes on a bridge, which by his order had been built ſome days before, arrived by day-break within two furlongs of Perſepolis. The next day having aſſembled the generals of his army, he repreſented to them, that no city had ever been more fatal to Greece than Perſepolis, the antient reſidence of the Perſian monarchs and the capital of their empire; that from thence thoſe mighty armies had been ſent, which had over-run and laid waſte great part of Europe, and that it was therefore incumbent upon them to revenge on that proud metropolis the many injuries and calamities which their anceſtors had ſuffered. The commanders, being encouraged by this ſpeech, allowed their ſoldiers to practiſe all manner of cruelties againſt the miſerable inhabitants, who were maſſacred in a moſt barbarous manner. After this cruel execution, leaving Craterus and Parmenio in the place, the king with a ſmall body went to reduce the neighbouring cities and ſtrong holds, which all ſubmitted at the approach of his troops; he then returned to Perſepolis, and there took up his winter quarters. In this city he is ſaid to have found 120,000 talents, lodged in the treaſury to defray the expences of the war [c].

During his ſtay at Perſepolis he gave himſelf up to feaſting and drinking, making daily great entertainments for his officers to refreſh them after the great fatigues they had endured. In one of theſe entertainments both the king and his gueſts having drunk to exceſs, Thais, a famous Athenian courtezan, and at that time miſtreſs to Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt, propoſed the burning of Darius's palace, telling Alexander, with a gay air, that it would be matter of inexpreſſible joy to her, were ſhe permitted to burn the ſtately palace of Xerxes, who had burnt Athens, and ſet it on fire with her own hands, that it might be ſaid in all parts of the world, that the woman, who had followed Alexander in his expedition into Aſia, had revenged more ſeverely the many calamities Greece had ſuffered from the Barbarians, than all the generals that had been employed againſt them. As the whole company was drunk, the propoſal was received with general applauſe, and the king himſelf, riſing from table, and taking a torch in his hand, followed Thais. The reſt of the

[c] Curt. l. v. c. 13. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 14.

the Macedonians, crowding at this noise to the palace, armed themselves, after the king's example, with lighted tapers, and surrounding the palace burnt it with the city, for the flames could not be stopt, down the ground [d]. Thus the most stately edifice in the world was, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, reduced to ashes.

From Persepolis Alexander marched early in the spring to Pasargada, resolved to pursue Darius, who was fled to Ecbatan in Media. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks, who continued faithful to the last. Besides these he had 4000 slingers and 3000 horse, most of them Bactrians, and commanded by Bessus, governor of Bactria. When he heard, that Alexander was in full march towards Ecbatan, he left that city with a design to retire into Bactria, and there raise another army. But he was not far advanced when he altered his resolution, and determined to venture a third battle with the forces then about him. While he was making the necessary preparations for the engagement, Bessus, governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes, a Persian lord of great distinction, formed a conspiracy against him, proposing to seize his person, and, if Alexander pursued them, to gain his friendship and protection by betraying their master into his hands; but if they escaped, their design was to murder him, usurp the crown, and renew the war. They easily won over the troops by representing to them, that Darius was draging them to destruction, that they were no-ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy, that they would inevitably perish if they followed Darius, crushed under the ruins of an empire which was ready to fall. Though these practices were carried on with great secrecy, yet they came to Darius's ear, but he could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, earnestly entreated him to encamp among them, and trust the guard of his person to men on whose fidelity he might depend. Darius replied, that he had rather suffer any misfortune among those of his own nation, than seek for shelter among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them, and that he could not die too soon, if his own Persians thought him unworthy to live. Not long after Darius had occasion to repent his not following Patron's advice; for

[d] Curt. l. v. c. 15. Diodor. Plut. in Alex. Arrian. l. iii. Justin. l. xi.

Bessus and Nabarzanes, seizing his person, bound him, out of respect to his royal dignity, in chains of gold, and, shutting him up in a covered cart, fled with him towards Bactria. The cart, was covered with skins, and strangers appointed to drive it, without knowing who the prisoner was they had in their custody [e]. Bessus was proclaimed commander in chief in Darius's room by the Bactrian horse; but Artabazus and his sons, with the forces they commanded, and the Greeks under the command of Patron retired from the body of the army under Bessus, and marched over the mountains towards Parthiene [f]. In the mean time, Alexander, arriving at Ecbatan, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. Here the Thessalians shewing a great reluctancy to accompany him any further, he gave them leave to return to their own country, and at their parting divided 2000 talents among them over and above their full pay; to such as were willing to continue in his service he gave three talents a piece [g]. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up in the castle of Ecbatan the remaining part of the treasures, which, according to Strabo [h], amounted 180,000 talents, and afterwards to march with the Thracians and great part of the cavalry into the country of the Cadusians. He dispatched orders to Clitus, who had fallen sick at Susa, to repair as soon as he recovered, to Ecbatan, and from thence to follow him into Parthia with the cavalry and 6000 Macedonians that were left in Ecbatan. Alexander with the rest of his army pursued Darius, and the eleventh day arrived at Rages, having marched in that space of time 3300 furlongs. Most part of those who accompanied him died through the fatigues of so long and expeditious a march; insomuch, that, on his arrival at Rages, he could muster but 60 horsemen [i]. Finding, that he could not come up with Darius, who had already passed the Caspian straits, he staid five days at Rages, in order to refresh his army, and settle the affairs of Media. From thence he marched into Parthia, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the Caspian straits, which he passed the next without any opposition. He had scarce entered Parthia when he was informed by Bagisthenes a Persian nobleman, that Bessus and Nabarzanes had conspired against Darius, and designed to

[e] Curt. l. v. c. 18. 22, 23. Arrian. l. iii. p. 67. [f] Curt. l. v. c. 23. Arrian. l. iv. p. 68. [g] Curt. l. vi. c. 3. Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex. [h] Strabo, l. xv. p. 741. [i] Arrian. l. iii. Plut. in Alex.

to ſeize him. Hereupon, leaving the main body of the army behind under the command of Craterus, he advanced with a ſmall troop of horſe lightly armed, and, having marched night and day without ever halting, except a few hours, came the third day to a village where Beſſus with his Bactrians had encamped the day before. Here he underſtood, that Darius had been ſeized by the traitors, that Beſſus had cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cloſe cart, which he had ſent before that he might be the ſurer of his perſon, and that the whole army, except Artabazus and the Greeks, who had taken another rout, obeyed Beſſus and acknowledged him for their general. This was a freſh motive for Alexander to haſten his march; taking therefore along with him a ſmall body of light-armed horſe, for the others could not poſſibly proceed any further, he ſet out again the ſame night, and early next morning was acquainted by Orcillus and Mithracenes two Perſian officers, who in deteſtation of the treachery of Beſſus had fled over to him, that the Bactrians were not above 500 furlongs off, and that they could lead him to them by a nearer way. Taking them therefore for his guides, he ſet out again the ſame night, and after marching 300 furlongs was met by the ſon of Mazæus, formerly governor of Syria, who informed him, that Beſſus was not above 200 furlongs off, and that his army, as not apprehending any danger, was marching in diſorder, and might eaſily be ſurprized and cut in pieces. Hereupon Alexander again doubled his pace, and at laſt came in ſight of the enemy. His unexpected arrival ſtruck the Barbarians, though far ſuperior in number, with ſuch terror, that they immediately betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and becauſe Darius refuſed to follow them, Beſſus and thoſe that were about him diſcharging their darts at the unfortunate prince, left him wallowing in his blood to the mercy of the Macedonians. This done they ſeparated and took different routs, Beſſus flying towards Hyrcania, and Nabarzanes into Bactria, that by this means they might elude the purſuit of the enemy or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. They were attended only by a few horſe, the reſt, now deſtitute of leaders, diſperſing themſelves up and down the country, as fear or hope directed their ſteps. Alexander, ſeeing what confuſion the enemies were in, ſent Nicanor with a troop of light-armed horſe to ſtop their flight, and himſelf followed at the head of 3000 Macedonians. Nicanor put near 3000 of the ſtragglers to the ſword, but could not come up either with Beſſus or Nabarzanes, which Alexander obſerve-

Darius Codomanus ſlain, Year of the flood 5968. Before Chriſt 331.

ing

ing ſent him orders to give quarters to all thoſe that ſhould throw down their arms and ſubmit. In the mean time, the horſes that drew the cart in which was Darius halted of their own accord, for the drivers had been killed by Beſſus, near a certain village about four furlongs from the highway, whither Polyſtratus a Macedonian, being preſſed with thirſt in the purſuit of the enemy, was ſoon after conducted by the inhabitants to refreſh himſelf, at a fountain not far from the place wherethey ſtopt. As he was filling his helmet with water he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round him diſcovered a cart with a team of horſes, not able to move for the many wounds they had received. As he drew near he ſaw Darius lying in the cart and very near his end, having ſeveral darts ſtill ſticking in his body. However, he had ſtrength enough to call for ſome water, which Polyſtratus, being by a Perſian captive informed of this barbarous tragedy, readily brought him. Darius after drinking turned to the Macedonian, and told him with a faint voice, that, in the deplorable ſtate to which he was reduced, it was no ſmall comfort to him that his laſt words would not be loſt; he then charged him to return his hearty thanks to Alexander for the kindneſs he had ſhewn to his wife, mother, and children, and acquaint him, that with his laſt breath he beſought the gods to proſper him in all his undertakings, and make him ſole monarch of the univerſe; he added, that it did not ſo much concern him as Alexander to purſue and bring to condign puniſhment thoſe traitors, who had treated with ſuch cruelty their lawful ſovereign, that being the common cauſe of all crowned heads; then taking Polyſtratus by the hand, "Give Alexander, ſaid he, your hand, as I give you "mine, and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I "am able to give in this condition of my gratitude and affection". Having uttered theſe words he expired in the arms of Polyſtratus. Alexander coming up a few minutes after, and beholding Darius's body, burſt out in tears, bewailing the cruel lot of a prince, who, ſaid he, deſerved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his own military cloke and covered it, cauſing it to be embalmed, and ſent in a rich and magnificent coffin to Syſigambis, that it might be interred with the other Perſian monarchs. Thus died Darius, in the fiftieth year of his age and ſixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unſullied with injuſtice, cruelty, or any of thoſe vices which moſt of his predeceſſors had been greatly addicted to. In him the Perſian empire ended, after it had laſted

from

from the firſt of Cyrus 209 years under thirteen kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyſes, Smerdis, Darius Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II. Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, Darius Codomannus [k]. Upon the death of Darius all his commanders ſubmitted to the conqueror, by whom they were reſtored to their former honours and employments; but above all others he deſtinguiſhed Artaxerxes, in regard of his conſtant and unſhaken fidelity to his maſter, and Oxathres, Darius's brother, whom he ever treated in a manner becoming his high ſtation and noble birth. He was even, to his great diſhonour, prevailed upon to receive and pardon Nabarzanes, who together with Beſſus had murdered Darius. But Beſſus having fled into Bactria, and there aſſumed the title of king, Alexander in the beginning of the next ſpring marched againſt him: but his march out of Perſia into theſe northern countries is by authors deſcribed with great confuſion, for, after they had told us, that he was reſolved to find out Beſſus in Bactria, they make him take the way of Hyrcania, from thence wander northwards into the country of the Mardi, bordering on the Caſpian ſea, and after ſubduing the Mardi croſs mount Coronus into Aria and Drangiana. Be that as it will, he arrived at laſt after a long and tedious march in Bactriana, and having reſted his army ſome time at Drapſaca, he advanced againſt and reduced Aornos and Bactra, the two ſtrongeſt cities of that province. Alexander had no ſooner reached the confines of Bactria, but 8000 Bactrians, who till that time had followed Beſſus, abandoning him, withdrew to their reſpective homes. Hereupon Beſſus, at the head of the few troops that continued faithful to him, croſſing the river Oxus, retired into the province of Sogdiana, with a deſign to raiſe there a new army. In order to prevent Alexander from purſuing him, he burnt all the boats he had made uſe of in paſſing over his troops, hoping, that, as the river was no way fordable, and the country afforded no timber, he would thereby be obliged to return and give over the purſuit. But no difficulties were unſurmountable to that conqueror, who, finding no timber wherewithal to make boats or floats, cauſed the hides, which covered the ſoldiers tents and carriages, to be filled with ſtraw, and tied together. By this means he ſupplied the want

[k] Curt. l. v. c. 25. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 15. Arrian. p. 69. Plut. in Alex.

want of timber, and paſſed his whole army over that large and deep river in the ſpace of five days; which Beſſus might have eaſily prevented had he but dared to look the Macedonians in the face. When the Bactrians, who were encamped at a place called Nautaca, heard that Alexander had croſſed the river, and was on full march to fall upon them, Spitamenes, whom Beſſus moſt confided in, together with Catanes and Dataphernes, formed a conſpiracy to ſeize Beſſus, and purchaſe their own ſafety by delivering him up to Alexander; which they did accordingly, tearing in pieces his diadem and royal robes, of which he had ſtript his lawful ſovereign Darius, and carrying him loaded with chains to the Macedonian camp. Spitamenes himſelf preſented the traitor to Alexander, not only bound, but ſtark naked, holding him by a chain round his neck; a ſight no leſs agreeable to the Perſians than the Macedonians. Alexander, having amply rewardedSpitamenes and his companions, and cauſed the traitor's noſe and ears to be cut off, delivered him into the hands of Oxathres, Darius's brother, to ſuffer whatever puniſhment he ſhould think proper to inflict for ſo baſe and treacherous a murder [l]; Plutarch [m] has left us an account of this execution; he tells us, that ſeveral trees being by main force bent down to the ground, and to each one of the traitor's limbs faſtened, the trees, as they were let return to their natural poſition, flew back with ſuch violence, that each carried with it the limb that was tied to it. Thus Beſſus ſuffered the puniſhment that was due to his treachery, and at his death Alexander ſaw himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the whole Perſian empire. This is what we have gathered from theGreek and Latin hiſtorians of the beſt account, concerning the affairs of the antient Perſians: In the following ſection we ſhall hear the orientals on the ſame ſubject.

Beſſus put to death. Year of the flood 2669. Before Chriſt 330.

SECT

[l] Curt. l. 7. c. 12. Arrian. l. 3. Diodor. l. 17. [m] Plut. in Alex. & Diodor. l. 17. p. 554. Arrian. l. iv. c. 7. Curt. l. 7. c. 10.

In ſtating the times of the Perſian empire we have followed all along Ptolemy's canon, and the records of the Greek and Latin authors. For the Jews own ſuch kings only as they find mentioned in the books of the Old Teſtament; whence, according to their computation in the greater chronicle Seder Olam Rabbah, the Medo-Perſian empire, from the building of the temple in the ſecond year of Darius Hyſtaſpis, flouriſhed only 34 years. Joſephus

SECT. V.

The hiſtory of Perſia according to the Oriental writers.

What degree of certainty may be expected in the following hiſtory.

WE have been ſo long uſed to hear every thing tranſcribed from eaſtern authors cenſured as vain and fabulous; that how unwilling ſoever we may be to trouble the reader with preparatory diſcourſes, yet in this caſe there ſeems to be a neceſſity of ſaying ſomewhat in ſupport of the narratives we are going to recite, that they may not be taken for mere figments, or romances void of all foundation. It is far from being our opinion, that every thing recorded by the Perſian writers is ſtrictly fact, that would be to place them not on a level with the beſt hiſtorians of other nations, but in a claſs high above them. For what people, what kingdom, what republic, can boaſt of ſuch a faultleſs ſeries of hiſtory? or why ſhould we expect a greater degree of clearneſs in the hiſtory of Perſia, as written by Oriental authors, than we find in the hiſtory of Greece, though written by Greeks, who were ſo proud of their own abilities, that they ſtiled all the reſt of the world Barbarians? It is ſufficient for our purpoſe, (which is no more than to gain the reader's proper attention for what we have collected of the Perſian hiſtory from eaſtern writers) that we ſhew there is as juſt reaſon to ſuppoſe they have delivered us a great many truths in their accounts of theſe early times, as can be produced in favour of any other hiſtory as antient. In order to this we ſhall neither multiply arguments nor words. In the firſt place we are told by Moſes [a], that there were kings in Perſia in the age immediately following that in which the Perſian writers placed the beginning of their monarchy. It is therefore evident, that theſe writers are not wrong in making their king

[a] Genes. xiv. 1. 9.

phus acknowledges only the following kings of Perſia, Cyrus Cambyſes, Darius Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius; this Darius, who was Darius Nothus, he confounds with Darius Codomannus, who was conquered by Alexander, and refers to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, whatever happened in the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus.

kingdom ſo antient as they do. But ſecondly, there is no juſt cauſe to doubt, that either as ſoon as, or within a ſmall time after, the ſettling of regal government amongſt them, hiſtories, or at leaſt hiſtorical poems, were alſo introduced. This was the cuſtom in all places, at leaſt as far as we are able to trace things back. Firſt, a people lived miſerably and without order, then ſome great genius reformed and reduced them into ſociety, ſucceſſive kings cheriſhed and encreaſed that ſociety, and men having leiſure and eaſe conſidered theſe benefits, and gratefully ſung the praiſes of their benefactors. Moſes hath preſerved two fragments of an Amoritiſh poem, as old in all probability as the times we are ſpeaking of; and if the bards of that country ſung ſo early the praiſes of Sihon [b], why might not the Perſians have perſons among them as capable of tranſmitting to poſterity the memorable deeds of their princes? Thirdly, it is univerſally allowed, that the preſent Perſians have not only quick wits but are wonderfully ſtudious, and in a particular manner addicted to the converſation of the antiquities of their country. It may indeed be objected to this, that the modern and antient Perſians are not one and the ſame people; but hereto it may be replied, that the Perſees, the unadulterated remnant of the old inhabitants of this wide empire, are ſtill more ſtudious and more thoughtful than the preſent Perſians [c]. We may therefore conclude, that there were formerly many authentic hiſtories of the reigns of the moſt antient kings of this realm, I ſay we may conclude this from the reaſons already given if we had no other proof, but as we have, it would be unfair not to mention it, eſpecially ſince it may be drawn into very little room. The authorities which may be adduced in ſupport of this aſſertion, that the antient Perſians kept authentic records of their affairs, may be reduced under theſe two heads, viz. ſacred and profane. The authors of the books of [d] Ezra and [e] Nehemiah ſpeak frequently not only of the immutability of the Perſian laws, which implies that they were recorded, but alſo of public acts and regiſters. In the book of [f] Eſther, we have not only frequent mention of theſe, but alſo of the chronicles of the kingdom, or rather of the kings, of Perſia, wherein every thing of moment was ſet down. As to prophane writers, [g] Herodotus and [h] Xenophon are ſufficient to ſatisfy

[b] Numb. xxi. 27. [c] Chardin. tom. iii. p. 130. [d] vi. 2. [e] ii. 7. [f] ii. 23. vi. 1. [g] Clio, p. 25. [h] Cyropædia.

tisfy any impartial perſon as to the wiſdom and virtue of the ancient Perſians, and their care of all things which had regard to the honour and welfare of their country.

How the antient hiſtories have been preſerved.

SUPPOSING it therefore as clear as the nature of the thing will admit, that the Perſians had amongſt them of old the hiſtories of their kings and heroes, we are next to ſhew how theſe can be reaſonably believed to be yet in being, and to have reached theſe diſtant times. Ofthis, however, we are not poſitive ourſelves; all that we can ſay is this, that the Perſians having lived under their own laws down to the time of Yezdegherd, there ſeems to be no difficulty in allowing that till then their hiſtories were frequent among them; for though the Macedonians might burn and deſtroy their records, yet it is incredible, that they ſhould deſtroy all the books in the empire; beſides, we know that the modern Perſees have the Zend or original Code of Zerduſht among them, with many other antient books: now it being generally agreed, that Zerduſht flouriſhed in the days of Darius Hyſtaſpis, it will be hard to aſſign a reaſon, why ſome of their antient hiſtories might not be preſerved, as well as theſe books of their law. But farther ſtill, Mohammed Ben Emir Khoandſchah commonly called Mirkhond, or Mirhound, with other modern Perſian authors, conſtantly and uniformly aſſert, that they write from ſuch authorities, and therefore we have no juſt reaſon to doubt them, unleſs we could ſhew the contrary (A).

IT

(A) This famous hiſtorian is quoted by various names, and thoſe names have received ſome alterations from the different orthographies uſed in oriental apellations; ſometimes he is called Mirchond, ſometimes Mirkhond, and ſometimes Chondemir; he wrote a general hiſtory from the beginning of the world to the year of the Hegira 900, under the title of Raoudhat al Safa; he was a perſon of great natural parts, and of much learning, perfectly well ſkilled in the Perſian antiquities, and wrote from the beſt hiſtories extant in his time (1); for this reaſon we find him often quoted by the very learned D. Hyde (2), and indeed by all the writers of note on Perſian affairs. His fame became known in Europe by an abridgment of his work, publiſhed in Spaniſh by Texeira, which is, however, far from being correct. There is a better extract extant in a book cited at the bottom of the page (3); we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter of this author and his works, when we come to the hiſtory of the age in which he lived, and ſhall therefore put an end to this note here.

(1) D'Herbelot. tit. Mirkhond. (2) Hyde rel. vet. Perſ. cap. viii. 152. (3) Les Eſtats, Empires, & Principautes du Monde. Paris 4to, 1662. p. 999.

On what authorities this hiſtory is founded.

It is from the author beforementioned that we take, for the moſt part, what is delivered in the following pages concerning the Oriental hiſtory of Perſia. He is allowed to have been a perſon of great learning and judgment by ſuch as are well verſed in oriental hiſtory, and his works are eſteemed as oracles throughout the eaſt. We may juſtly hope therefore, that what we tranſcribe from him, with the addition of ſuch circumſtances as we can meet with elſewhere, will render this ſection as uſeful and as agreeable as could be expected on ſo abſtruſe a ſubject. Without farther introduction, therefore, let us proceed to the catalogue of kings afforded us in his writings.

A Table of the kings of Persia, to the time of Alexander the Great, according to Mirkhond.

The firſt Race,

Or the Dynaſty of the Pischdadians.

1	Kejomaras, or Cajoumarras	40
2	Siamek	
	Kejomaras reſumes the kingdom	
3	Hûſhangh, or Houſchenk	
4	Tahmuraſb	50
5	Gjemſhîd, or Giamſchid	30
	Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk	
6	Aphridûn, Phredûn, or Feridoun	
7	Manugjahr, or Manougeher, ſirnamed Phirouz	120
8	Nodar	7
9	Apherâſiab, or Afraſiab	12
10	Zab, Zaab, or Zoub	

The ſecond Race,

Or the Dynaſty of the Kaianites.

1	Kaikobad	100
2	Kaikaus	150
3	Kiakhoſru	60
4	Lohraſp or Lohoraſb	120
5	Guſhtâſp, or Guſtaſp, or Kiſchtaſp	120
6	Ardſchir, ſirnamed Bahaman	112
7	Queen Homai	32
8	Darab 1.	4
9	Darab 2.	14

A Table of the ſame kings, with the years of their reigns, according to other oriental authors.

The firſt Race,

1	Kejomaras, or Cajoumaras	560
	Siamek ſlain after a ſhort reign	
	Kejomaras reſumes the kingdom, and reigned	30
	An interregnum	200
2	Hûſhang, or Houſchenk, ſirnamed Piſchdad	50
3	Tahmuraſb	700
4	Gjemſhîd, or Giamſchid	30
5	Dahâc, Zahâk, Zoâk	1000
6	Aphridûn, Phridûn, or Feridoun	120
7	Manugjahr, or Manougeher, ſirnamed Phirouz	500
8	Nodar	7
9	Apheraſiab, or Afraſiab	12
10	Zab, Zaab, or Zoub	30
11	Guſtaſp ſon of Zoub	30

The ſecond Race,

1	Kaikobad	120
2	Kaikaus	150
3	Kaikhoſru	60
4	Lohraſp, or Lohoraſb	120
5	Guſhtâſp, or Guſtaſp, or Kiſchtaſp	120
6	Ardſchir, ſirnamed Bahaman	112
7	Queen Homai	32
8	Darab 1.	14
9	Darab 2.	

IT is evident enough from the years ſet down in the two tables above, that there is a great mixture of fable and uncertainty in the accounts we have of theſe princes reigns, but there may, notwithſtanding this, be a great deal of truth in theſe relations, and, by comparing them with what the Greek and other writers of the Perſian affairs have given us of the ſame times, it may be very poſſible to extract a better idea of the antient Perſian empire, than could have been had without conſidering the oriental writers at all. Reaſon will be everlaſtingly the ſupreme judge of facts, and if a hiſtory be attended with continual im-

The nature thereof in point of ſtile, &c.

probabilities or abſurdities, men of ſenſe will either doubt or reject its authority, whether its author lived in the eaſt, or in the weſt. On the other hand, where a hiſtory is compoſed of a ſeries of mixt facts, ſome probable and ſome romantic, the candid reader will receive thoſe, though he throw away theſe, and will not deſtroy the wheat, becauſe there are tares amongſt it. As to the ſtile of the following hiſtory, we have not pretended to follow the rhetorical pomp of the Perſian authors; on the contrary, we have delivered ourſelves with the utmoſt plainneſs and perſpicuity, and have endeavoured, as far as in our power lay, to reſcue truth out of thoſe metaphoric clouds, which often obſcure the writings of the eaſtern hiſtorians. Farther remarks of the ſame nature we leave to the diſcernment of our readers.

Keyomaras. KEYOMARAS, or Cajumarath, is allowed by all the oriental authors to have been the firſt king of the firſt race, ſirnamed the Piſchdadians, from Piſchdad, which ſignifies a juſt judge, and was the ſirname given to Huſhangh the ſecond king of this race, afterwards, however, attributed to them all. The manner wherein Keyomaras aſcended the throne was this. In the province of Aderbayagjan the inhabitants feeling the ſad effects of anarchy, and finding that liberty could not be enjoyed, where every one was free to do what he pleaſed, they unanimouſly reſolved to elect one who ſhould be obeyed by all, and to whoſe judgment they would ſubmit as to an irrefragable law. His conſpicuous virtues determined them on this occaſion to Keyomaras, whom therefore they immediately owned for their monarch, inveſted him with royal robes, and put a bonnet called Tagi on his head, kiſſing his feet in token of ſubmiſſion, which cuſtoms laſt mentioned were preſerved in uſe by his ſucceſſors [i]. His elevation had a proper effect on the mind of this new king; he applied himſelf to every branch of his duty; he erected courts of juſtice; he taught men to build houſes and to live in villages; he invented various manufactures, ſuch as the making of woollen cloth, and ſpinning, and weaving ſilk; in a word, he civilized his people, and merited, by his wiſdom, juſtice, and goodneſs, that dignity, which, out of modeſty and a foreſight of the cares it would be attended with, he for a long time refuſed [k]. The happineſs enjoyed by ſuch as lived under ſo excellent a prince invited the neighbouring people to put

[i] Mirkhond. Procem. Hiſt. [k] Tarik Montekheb, i. e. The ſelect chronicle.

put themselves under his protection. Thus his empire was extended by the same means that it began, viz. thro' an opinion of his worth, and he upon their submission treated his new subjects with the same care and kindness as he had always shewn to his old. He sent his brother to take a view of these new-acquired dominions, and went afterwards to look upon them himself. In the province of Chorasan he met with his brother, and embracing him tenderly, he to perpetuate the memory of that inverview erected the city of Balch where it happened, that word being derived from a verb, which signifies to embrace. He was also the founder of abundance of other cities of Persia, particularly Kabulstan, Sigistan, Gom, &c [l]. This prince had two sons, the name of the elder was Nazek, a young man of wonderful prudence, who addicted himself intirely to study, for which reason he withdrew himself from his father's court, and lived with his wife in a little hermitage, where he gave himself over to contemplation; his father, who was himself a very learned man, went frequently to visit and converse with his son in his cell. Once going thither on the same errand, he found his son dead with several wounds upon his body: on a strict enquiry he was informed, that this cruel fact was committed by certain robbers of Tabrestan. These Keyomaras pursued into their own country, defeated them, and after putting many to the sword made slaves of the rest, and employed them in his buildings [m]. The other son of Keyomaras, or rather his grandson, was Siamek, with whom the wife of Nazek was big when he was murdered. This child as soon as he was born Keyomaras adopted, bred him up with the utmost care, and having instructed him in all the arts of reigning, he with the consent of the people transferred the sovereignty to him, and made him king in his life-time. An event singular enough, if we consider, that Keyomaras was the first to whom a crown in this country was offered, and the first also, who, disgusted with the weight of regal authority, desired to lay it down.

Siamek. SIAMEK proved a gracious and a warlike prince. Within a short time after his accession, some of his neighbours entered his dominions in a hostile manner, whereupon he immediately raised an army, marched against them, and gave them battle, where fighting valiantly he received a

[l] Mirkhond. Hist. Sect. 1. [m] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. tit. Caiumarath.

mortal wound; he was carried out of the battle and died in the arms of his wife, whom he left, as his father left his, big with child, conjuring her with his laſt words, if ſhe brought forth a ſon to put him continually in mind of his unfortunate death, and to exhort him to revenge it on the people, who in ſo ſhort a time had deprived him both of his life and empire. Keyomaras by this unlucky accident was forced to aſcend the throne again. The firſt thing he did was to celebrate the obſequies of his deceaſed grandſon with great magnificence, the next to take vengeance on thoſe who had ſlain Siamek; after which he reigned for many years with great applauſe.

THERE is nothing more uncertain than the lineage of this king, and the time in which he flouriſhed. Some oriental writers have fancied him Adam, and becauſe he was the firſt king would needs have him to be the firſt man alſo; but men of better judgments and cooler imaginations have conceived, that this notion was owing to a miſtake, and that the antient Perſians called him Adam by way of honorary ſirname, ſignifying, that he was as much the father of their nation as Adam of mankind. The moſt judicious among the Perſian writers believe him to have been the ſon of Aram, the ſon of Shem, the ſon of Noah, and that he choſe to erect the ſeat of his empire not far from mount Ararat and the countries firſt planted after the flood. His religion is another diſputable point, ſome holding him an idolater, and believing, that the magnificent pile he reared for the burning of the body of his ſon Siamek gave birth to the fire-worſhip, aſcribed to the Magians. But if we may credit graver authorities, Keyomaras, like moſt antient kings, was at once both prince and prophet, taught his people the true religion of the patriarchs, particularly the exiſtence of one infinite Almighty Being, and of a created evil being, the indefatigable enemy of mankind. The romance writers allow him a thouſand years of life, and ſay, that of theſe he reigned five hundred and ſixty. How long he reigned before he reſigned his throne to Siamek is uncertain, but from his reſuming the ſceptre to his death it is generally allowed there intervened thirty years [n].

Huſhang. HUSHANG, or Houſchenk, ſirnamed Piſchdad, was a perſon of great parts, as well as great courage, and is equally famous throughout the eaſt, for the extent of his knowledge and

[n] Shariſtani ap. Hyde rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxv. p. 175.

and his mighty feats of valor. He is ſaid to have given a regular body of laws to his ſubjects, whence he was called Piſchdad. He alſo divided his country, and eſtabliſhed governors throughout, encouraged the working of mines, and invented moſt of the inſtruments of agriculture, as alſo the art of conveying water through ſubterraneous paſſages, for the moiſtening of their grounds; to him likewiſe they aſcribe the taming of leopards and other beaſts of chace, and the introducing of furs for keeping the body warm in winter. As he made his kingdom flouriſh thro' his wiſdom, ſo he extended it by his courage, and after a reign of fifty years was killed by the fall of a piece of rock, thrown from the mountains of Damavend, by an army of barbarians who came to invade his territories. Some are of opinion, that he made the province of Chuſiſtan the ſeat of his empire, by erecting there the famous city of Suſa or Shuſhan [o].

THERE is hardly an antient prince in the world whoſe name is more famous in romance than that of Huſhang, there is a Perſian book which bears the title of Huſhang Nameh, i. e. Huſhang's hiſtory, which, for the many wonderful things it contains, has been tranſlated into the Turkiſh tongue. In this famous piece it is recorded, that our hero beſtrid a monſtrous animal, called Rakhſche, which he found in the dry iſland, or new world, being the iſſue of a male crocodile and a female hippopotamus; this ſteed fed upon nothing but the fleſh of Serpents and Dragons. After Huſhang had made this animal ſubmit to the ſaddle, there was no giant ſo terrible, no monſter ſo frightful, but he attacked and ſubdued; amongſt the reſt of his conqueſts he reduced the people of Mahiſer, ſo famous in the eaſtern romances for their having fiſhes heads, and thence eſteemed a race of formidable monſters. The truth ſeems to be, that this prince ſubdued that people on the Perſic gulph, called by the Greeks Ichthyophagi from their living upon fiſh, whence the fruitful imagination of eaſtern poets deduced a people with fiſhes heads. The ſame fabulous writers aſcribe to this monarch a certain book bearing the title of Giavidan Khird, i. e. the wiſdom of all times; this is a very famous piece, and is certainly very antient, and has been tranſlated into various languages, particularly into Arabic, by the ſon of the vizier of the Caliph Almamon, and into Turkiſh under the title of

[o] Leb. Tarik. Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. iii.

Anvar Sohaili, it has alſo been in part rendered into French, and is in itſelf a very excellent treatiſe, whence in all probability it came to be attributed to this monarch, ſo famous for giving laws and teaching wiſdom and civility to his people; the reader will find a fuller account of the treatiſe beforementioned at the bottom of the page [P] (B).

Tahmuraſh. TAHMURASB, ſirnamed Diùbend, i. e. the humbler of the devil, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſon, by others the grandſon, of Huſhang, and by a third party his couſin, ſucceeded that famous monarch, and governed with great reputation.

[P] D'Herbelot. Art. Houſchenk.

(B) This piece is penned with all the enthuſiaſm natural to eaſtern writers; there are in it, however, ſome very fine ſentences, amongſt others theſe which follow:

" Great kings are gods on earth, and have all the attributes " of power, wiſdom, and mercy, in a ſuperior degree with " reſpect to private perſons, as the Almighty hath over them. " Let not this, however, encourage them to uſe their ſubjects " with rigor. Thunder is ſeldom heard, but the ſun ſhines " every day; we ſee ten thouſand inſtances of God's goodneſs, " for one extraordinary act of vengeance; let kings imitate him " by doing all the good they can, and always remember, that " though death is in their power, yet life is not; they may or- " der a man to be cut into a thouſand pieces, but there their " dominion ends, they cannot call him into being again; be- " ware therefore of ſudden judgments, and of penitence coming " too late.

" Miniſters are as the hands or inſtruments of kings; men " look not for an account of their actions from them, but from " their maſters; a king therefore ſhould look well to his mini- " ſters; for it is as vain to throw the weight of crimes upon them, " when the people riſe in rebellion, as it would be for a mur- " derer to tell the judge, that it was not he but his ſword that " killed his neighbour. Bad princes have ſometimes had good " miniſters, but good princes never have bad ones long.

" The paſſions of men may by long acquaintance be thorough- " ly known, but the paſſions of women are inſcrutable; there- " fore they ought to be ſevered from men, leſt the mutability " of their tempers ſhould infect others. Their natures, hu- " mours, and conſtitution, require reſtraint; large and coarſe " ſtones are employed in ordinary buildings; marble and alabaſ- " ter in palaces; but diamonds we lock up in cabinets; and as " things are rare or common, of ſmall value or of great price, " we ſet them to ſhew, or ſhut them up cloſe (4).

(4) Humaioun Namsh. ap; Beauchamp's eſſays, Sect. iii.

reputation. For finding that the wars of his predeceſſor had introduced both poverty and confuſion in his dominions, he to remedy the firſt remitted all taxes for three years, and to reduce things into order, made new laws, and took care that the magiſtrates ſhould every-where put them in execution. He is the firſt Perſian prince recorded to have had a vizier or prime miniſter; it is very poſſible, that the diſorder in which he found the affairs of his empire, engaged him to make uſe of ſuch an officer. The king fortified the frontiers of Perſia to prevent ſudden invaſions, and ſhewed ſo happy a mixture of wiſdom and valour, in his diſpoſition, that ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, ſtruck with the felicity of his ſubjects, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to him, and acknowledged him for their ſovereign. At laſt, after a glorious reign of thirty years, a peſtilence, which raged throughout his dominions and deſtroyed with equal rapidity both man and beaſt, cut the thread of his life at Balch, to the great grief of his ſubjects [q].

GJEMSHID, or Giamſchid, or rather Gjem Schid, his name being Gjem, to which Schid as a ſirname was added, becauſe of his wonderful beauty, Schid in the Perſic language ſignifying the ſun, his eyes having ſuch a luſtre that none could look him ſteadily in the face, tho' ſome authors are of opinion, that he received this addition to his name, not from the beauty of his perſon, but from the glory which reſulted from his actions. It is not very certain, whether this prince was the ſon of his predeceſſor, his nephew, or his grandſon, but all agree, that he was of the family of Keyomaras, and had a juſt right to the throne. The reputation of his anceſtors inſpired him with a laudable ambition of equalling at leaſt, if not excelling, them. With this view he encouraged all learned and wiſe men to come to his court, where he highly preferred them; amongſt the reſt were two perſons of ſingular abilities, on whom he chiefly relied, the one, a Jew, ſays our author Mirchond, whoſe name was Faël Iſſuf Rabban, and the other a Greek, called Fithagores, i. e. Pythagoras; but this muſt be a miſtake; for though we have no certainty as to the chronology of theſe times, yet it is eaſy to diſcern from the circumſtances of things, that Gjemſhid flouriſhed at a conſiderable diſtance from Pythagoras; but ſuch errors as theſe are not infrequent among Oriental writers, through their want Gjemſhid.

[q] Mirkhond hiſt. Sect. iv. D'Herbelot tit Tamuraſb.

want of underſtanding thoroughly the hiſtory of Greece, of which, however, they have moſt of them a general idea. By the advice in all probability of theſe wiſe counſellors, Gjemſhid divided his ſubjects into three claſſes; the firſt conſiſting of ſoldiers; the ſecond of huſbandmen; and the third of artizans [r]. In his time muſic, vocal and inſtrumental, and aſtronomy were firſt introduced in Perſia. He was alſo the firſt who built granaries in Perſia, into which he cauſed every year a certain quantity of corn to be carried, that in caſe of any deficiency in their harveſts famine might not be felt. In his time likewiſe wine came to be eſteemed, or rather brought into general uſe, throughout his territories from the following accident. A woman, who was much in Gjemſhid's good graces was afflicted with an inyeterate head-ach, which all the phyſicians in the court of Gjemſhid were not able to alleviate or remove; this woman went into the place where the king's wine was kept, and drank of it very freely; and finding that it in ſome meaſure relieved her, ſhe returned thither again after reſting herſelf for ſome hours, and drank yet a greater quantity which completed her cure; this ſhe told to the king, and it being divulged through the court, every body began to regard wine as an univerſal medicine, capable of removing the moſt ſtubborn diſeaſes. Among the moſt illuſtrious events of this great monarch's reign, we may juſtly place the rectification of the kalendar which he undertook and perfected, inſtituting two years, a civil or ordinary year and an eccleſiaſtic year, in which there was in the ſpace of one hundred and thirty years a month intercalated [s]. (C). He likewiſe inſtituted the Nauruz. i. e. the ſolemn obſervation of the new year, concerning which we are told that it had its riſe thus; king Gjemſhid going in progreſs through his provinces arrived in Aderbayagian

[r] Mirkhond hiſt. Sect. v.

[s] Hyde, rel. vet. Perſar. c. xiv.

(C) The reader might probably expect here an account of the kalendar, as it was ſettled by Gjemſhid; but as we ſhall be obliged to treat at large of this matter in another place, viz. when we come to ſpeak of the æra of Yezdegherd, we thought it needleſs to interrupt the ſeries of our hiſtory here with an imperfect account of this matter. The curious and learned reader may have recourſe to Dr. Hyde's book, where he will find this intricate ſubject treated at large (5).

(5) Relig vet. Perſar. c. xiv.

agjan, and ſhewing himſelf on a royal throne to his people, the ſun ſhone with ſuch luſtre on his crown adorned with precious ſtones and feathers, that the people ſhouted aloud, and ſaid, This is Nauruz, i. e. the new day, whence the king took the opportunity of inſtituting a feſtival, wherein, beſides the preſents made to the prince, 'twas uſual for him to receive and grant the petitions of all ſorts of people, to releaſe priſoners, and to do all other acts of clemency and benevolence which could be expected from him. As to the particular ceremonies attending this feſtival, the reader may probably be pleaſed to know that it laſted ſix days. On the firſt of theſe the king gratified his people, or, if the phraſe may be allowed, his commons. The ſecond day he paid the ſame regard to the learned men attending his court. On the third his prieſts and privy counſellors preſented their petitions. On the fourth he heard the ſuits of his nobility and kindred. On the fifth thoſe of his children. The ſixth belonged to himſelf. In the evening of the fifth day a young man handſome in his perſon was picked out, and appointed to wait at the king's door all night. At day-break he entered the chamber without ceremony, upon which the king with an air of familiarity aſked him whence he came, whither he went, what his purpoſe, and his name, wherefore he came and what he carried? to which the youth anſwered, I am Al Manſur, i. e. Auguſt; my name is Al-Mobarek, i. e. the Bleſſed, I come hither from God, bearing the new year. Then he ſat down, and immediately entered the nobility, bearing each a ſilver veſſel, in which were wheat, barley, peaſe, vetches, pulſe, a ſugar cane, and two pieces of gold freſh from the mint. Out of this baſon firſt the Waſir or Vizier, then the treaſurer, afterwards the nobility, according to their rank, each offered his ſilver veſſel to the king. At the concluſion of the ceremony a very great loaf made of ſeveral kinds of corn was brought in and placed before the king, who, after eating ſome of it himſelf, intreated ſuch as were preſent to eat the reſt in theſe words, this is a new day of a new month, the beginning of a new year; it is fit therefore that we renew our ties to each other. Then riſing up in his royal robes he ſolemnly bleſſed his nobility, beſtowing on them rich gifts [t]. The evening of this day the Perſians called Phriſtaph, on which they did every thing that might teſtify joy and ſtrong hopes of ſeeing

[t] Caſuini, ap. Hyde. p. 237.

ing a pleaſant year. A great part of his reign Gjemſhid remained in Segjiſtan, thinking it the propereſt province of his empire for his court, till affairs in the eaſt were thoroughly ſettled; then he changed it for the proper Perſia, where he erected the noble city of Eſtechar, which moſt take to be the Perſepolis of the Greeks, though ſome believe it the city of Schiras. If what the antient Perſian writers deliver of the extent of this city of Eſtechar be true, viz. that it contained a ſquare of twenty four leagues, then it is poſſible that both opinions may be true; but if we meaſure the probability of this account by the other things related of this prince, ſuch as that he made the tour of the whole earth, was ſkilled in the occult ſciences, and poſſeſſed a magic cup of incomparable virtues; we may ſafely reſtrain the bounds of this city, and though we allow it to have been very great, eſpecially for thoſe times, yet we may conceive it not to have taken up more than a third part of the ſpace they have aſſigned it. It is univerſally allowed, that Gjemſhid gave himſelf up entirely to the ſtudy of the arts of reigning, and ſome ſay, that he was much helped in his political contemplations, by conſidering the tranſactions among the bees, and that he drew many cuſtoms from the hive into the court of Perſia. Among other inventions the ſignet ring is aſcribed to him, and that mode, which ſtill prevails throughout the eaſt, of preferring the left hand to the right as the more honourable; he likewiſe directed, that the different degrees of people ſhould be diſtinguiſhable from their garb; in a word, he made it the whole buſineſs of his life to render his kingdom flouriſhing and his people happy, in which he ſucceeded to his utmoſt wiſh. But this great felicity proved the ſource of the deepeſt misfortunes; for, having reigned long and gloriouſly, he unaccountably took it in his head that he was immortal, ſent pictures of himſelf throughout his empire, and ordered them to be worſhipped with divine honours. This madneſs ſoon loſt him the hearts of the people, ſo that the province of Sigjiſtan, by the perſuaſion of a certain great captain, who was related to the king and whoſe name was Ahad, took arms, and, when they had formed themſelves into a regular army, marched under the command of Zoak or Dahâc towards Schiras, where Gjemſhid met him with a powerful army which he had raiſed; the engagement was fierce and bloody, but in the end Gjemſhid was defeated and taken priſoner, upon which the tyrant ordered him to be immediately ſawn aſunder, which

was

was performed in Zoak's ſight. This is the account given by Mirchond and the beſt Arabian hiſtories; others ſay, that he eſcaped from the battle and wandered through his dominions. He left behind him a ſon whoſe name was Phridun or Aphridun of three years old, whom his mother Phramak found means to conceal from his enemies, and to breed up privately, till providence enabled him to aſcend the throne of Perſia [u].

DEHOC, Dahac, Zahak, Zoâk; ſome authors affirm, Dehoc. that the name of this prince is only an alteration of a nick-name beſtowed on him by the Perſians, viz. Deh-ak, ſignifying, that he had ten ill qualities, which made him hateful and abominable, and that his real name was Piuraſb. It is very uncertain of what family this prince was; ſome report, that he was lineally deſcended from Siamek the grandſon of Keyomaras; others that he was an Arabian, the ſon of Uluan, deſcended in a direct line from Ahad, the chief of the Adites. The truth ſeems to be, that he was an Arab by the father's ſide, but deſcended of the houſe of Keyomaras by the mother. There is indeed another fabulous genealogy or two, which ſcarce deſerve to be mentioned, becauſe they are glaringly falſe; the one ſuppoſes but two generations between him and Adam, the other that he was deſcended from Ham the ſon of Noah, and is to be looked on as the Nimrod of the ſcriptures. It is very likely, that all theſe ſtories were invented to diſgrace a prince whoſe cruelty rendered him odious, or that they happened through ſome miſtakes in reading or tranſcribing the works of antient poets. As this monarch gained the crown by his ſword, ſo he governed fiercely, and with little regard to his ſubjects. He was, however, a perſon of great genius, and deeply ſkilled in the occult ſciences, in one word, he is repreſented to us as a completely wicked man; one whoſe abilities anſwered the evil intentions of his ſoul, and whoſe perſon ſtruck beholders with horror, for he had a meagre pallid viſage, eyes wild and ſparkling, an air fierce and haughty; at the ſame time that his body was deformed, and his whole appearance terrible. The natural ſourneſs of his temper was irritated by a ſharp and incurable diſeaſe, conſiſting in two painful ulcers, one on each ſhoulder, the anguiſh of which reſembled the pain following the bite of a ſerpent, whence the ſtory inſerted in a famous oriental romance, that

[u] D'Herbelot. tit. Gjemſchid.

that the devil, having for many years obeyed him, demanded at laſt as a full reward, that he might have leave to kiſs his ſhoulders, which being granted, an ugly ſerpent immediately took poſt in each, and gnawed itſelf a den in his fleſh. Either ſome ſorcerer, or the devil in a dream, ſuggeſted to Zoak an inhuman remedy for this evil, viz. that of waſhing theſe ulcers frequently with the warm blood of men; or, as others ſay, applying to them the brains of men newly ſlain. At firſt the tyrant put to death criminals of all ſorts; but when there were no more of theſe, he fell without mercy upon the innocent, that he might have wherewith to alleviate his pain. The prieſts and other perſons in authority had recourſe to all the arguments they could uſe to engage him to have recourſe rather to the blood or brain of ſheep, but to no purpoſe; thoſe, however, who were entruſted with the care of theſe unhappy wretches deſtined to ſlaughter for the tyrant's eaſe, often out of mere pity let them ſlip through their fingers, ſo that flying to the mountains in order to preſerve themſelves and their benefactors from danger, they there formed themſelves into a particular nation, called ſince the Curdes [x]. All his reign long Zoak cauſed Phridun, the ſon of his predeceſſor, to be ſearched for, but to no purpoſe, his mother took care to hide him out of the reach of Zoak and his enemies. However, the tyrant diſcharged his wrath upon her father, whom he put to death, as he did many others, whom he ſuſpected inclined to the intereſt of the young Phridun. The chief cauſe of theſe proceedings was a dream, wherein the tyrant beheld three men who came to attack him; theſe he thought threw him down and bound him. Afterwards, one of them gave him a mortal wound on the head, then the other two looſened his girdle, tied his feet therewith, and carried him into the territory of Damavand. Having applied to the moſt ſkilful interpreters of dreams in his dominions to know what this ſignified, they unanimouſly agreed, that it portended the loſs of his kingdom and of his life, becauſe amongſt the Perſians the girdle is a mark of dignity, now this Zoak conceived could never be done but by Phridun and his party. Among the numbers put to death, on various accounts, by Zoak, were the ſons of a certain ſmith, whoſe name was Gao, or, as others write it, Kaoh. This man, driven to madneſs at the ſight of his children's blood, ran up

[x] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. vi.

up and down the ſtreets, crying out for juſtice and help againſt the tyrant, holding up a leathern apron in his hand, as if it had been a ſtandard. In a ſhort time the army he got together became very formidable, ſo that he made himſelf maſter of various ſtrong forts and great cities, particularly of the city Heri, or Herat, the capital of Choraſan, where he ſtaid for ſome time to put his affairs in order; and when he found that he was in a condition to bid Zoak battle, he made a long oration to encourage his people, aſſuring them amongſt other things, that he had not taken arms with any view to his private advantage, but that, as ſoon as he had reſtored them to their liberty, he would leave them to elect whom they would for a king. The people with one accord offered the ſovereignty to him, which he as poſitively refuſed, telling them, that as the ſenſe he had of his own injuries had put him upon firſt taking arms, ſo he would never conſent to injure others; that Phridun the ſon of Giamſhid was their lawful prince; that they ought to bring him immediately from his retreat, and put him at their head. Popular humours are eaſily turned; the army on this ſpeech grew as loyal to Phridun as they had been grateful to the ſmith. Phridun obſerving the ſpirit of his people, and being informed that Zoak's army was by no means hearty in his intereſt, marched with the utmoſt expedition to meet him, and the armies engaging, after a briſk action Zoak's troops abandoned him, and he was taken priſoner, whereupon Phridun ordered him to be conducted to the mountains of Damavand, and gave directions for his being impriſoned in a cave there. This victory being gained about the time of the autumnal equinox, the Perſians inſtituted a feaſt in memory thereof, which they called Mihirgian, or rather Mihragjân [y] (D).

PHARIDUN

[y] Hyde, rel. vet. Perſ. c. viii. p. 158. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. orient. art. Feridoun, Gaoh.

(D) The hiſtory of Zoak makes a prodigious figure in the Perſian romances; what is related in them of him being to us abſurd as well as fabulous, it would be to no purpoſe to ſwell out a note with ſuch ſtories. It is very likely, that the poets immediately after the time of this cruel prince drew the moſt invidious characters of him they could deviſe, and heightned all the miſchievous things he did with the utmoſt force of their inventions. If we conceive to ourſelves poets writing with this view, and at the

Phridun. PHRIDUN, Aphridun, or Feridoun, this prince proved one of the greateſt, wiſeſt, and moſt ſucceſsful monarchs that ever ruled in the eaſt; his firſt act, after being quietly ſeated on the throne, was to make Kaoh the ſmith general of his armies; after which he ſent him towards the weſtern parts of his dominions in order to reduce ſuch provinces as, during the troubles of the kingdom, had ſhook off the Perſian yoke. Kaoh ſpent twenty years in this enterprize, in which ſpace he added many fine countries to the Perſian empire; at length the king recalled him and made him governor of Aderbayagjan, which he ruled ten years with equal ſatisfaction to the people and to his prince,

and

the ſame time advert to the genius of oriental writers in general, and to poets in particular, we need not be at a loſs for all the ſtrange things that we now read of Zoak, and yet allow the firſt authors of them to have been men of good ſenſe too. Metaphors well underſtood, alluſions readily apprehended, and allegories eaſily explained in one age, appear all as matters, or at leaſt as circumſtances, of fact in ages which ſucceed; and hence it comes to paſs, that a ſtroke of poetic ſatyr, or the rhetorical flouriſh of an author is miſapprehended for a ſtrict aſſertion, and ſo delivered by hiſtorians, who come after, and tranſcribe all they find, without weighing or conſidering how or in what manner it was wrote. The firſt hiſtorians in all countries were poets, the ſecond race proſe-writers who copied from them; and hence it is, that antient hiſtories are full of grave fables, which through length of time are hard to be underſtood: this has been the fate of Greece, of Rome, of Britain, of Ireland, and why not of Perſia? But fiction, though it may obſcure, yet it does not abſolutely deſtroy truth. Zoak was in all probability an Arabian invader, who, after making himſelf maſter of Perſia, uſed his new ſubjects ill, till the weight of the loads he laid upon them grew too heavy to be borne, and then they did what a people may always do, viz. threw them off their ſhoulders and would bear no more. As to what we are told of his being confined in the caverns of Damavand, or rather of Dunbavand, we think it may be underſtood to mean no more than that he was kept there in ſome ſtrong caſtle. Theſe mountains are in the province of Aderbayagjan, which, as we have more than once remarked, is part of the antient Media; they are rocky, full of caverns, and conſequently have a gloomy appearance. The poets therefore, taking the ſame licence here allowed them elſewhere, have feigned, that Tamurah after overcoming the Divs or evil Genii, impriſoned them in theſe grottoes, and by degrees theſe expreſſions grow ſo frequent, that a wizard or a tyrant was as readily ſent to the mountains of Damavand as among our common people ghoſts are chained, or to preſerve the true phraſe, laid in the bottom of the red-ſea.

and then died much regretted by Phridun, who to do honour to his memory gave all his eſtates among his relations, and then taking his ſons into his own court, bred them up there in a moſt honourable manner; and when they grew up gave each of them greater poſſeſſions than their father had acquired [z]. To ſhew his gratitude yet more, he made the leathern apron, which Kaoh had hung upon a ſtick at the beginning of the inſurrection, the royal ſtandard of Perſia, calling it Dirfeſch Kaviani, i. e. the ſtandard of Kaoh, that he might perpetuate his name and ſervices to all poſterity. This ſtandard he adorned with precious ſtones, to which his ſucceſſors continually adding, it became at laſt of ſuch ineſtimable value, that being taken by the Arabians in the battle of Cadeſia, it enriched the whole army [a]. As Phridun was deſirous of reſtoring peace and good order throughout all his dominions, he ſent perſons, not only of great parts but eminent for their integrity, to govern all the provinces under his dominion. He married alſo, with a view of intereſt only, the daughter of his predeceſſor Zoak, by whom he had two ſons, Salm and Tur, but theſe proving like their grandfather, haughty, obſtinate, and cruel, he took a Perſian lady to his bed, by whom he had a ſon named Irege, equally wiſe and courteous, ſo that he became at once the darling of his father and the delight of the people. Thus things paſſed on, till Phridun, feeling himſelf beginning to decline under the weight of age and illneſs, ſummoned his grandees together, and, having informed them of his deſign to quit the regal dignity, deſired to know which of his ſons they wiſhed he ſhould make his ſucceſſor; thoſe lords unanimouſly anſwered, that, if he would no longer govern himſelf, they deſired to have Irege for their prince, to which Phridun aſſented; but, to prevent his brothers from taking this ill, he gave to Tur all the eaſtern provinces of his empire, to Salm the provinces on the other ſide, and reſtrained Irege within the compaſs of Perſia, Aſſyria, and Meſopotamia. From this diviſion came the names of Turon and Iran, the one ſignifying that great extent of country which lies to the eaſt of Perſia, and the other Perſia itſelf and the provinces dependent thereon [b]. As for Tur, he built a noble city which he made the capital of his territories, calling it after

[z] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. vii. [a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Dirfeſch. [b] Hyde. rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxxv. p. 417. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Feridoun.

ter his own name Turon, and the country Turqueſtan; this city was ſeated in the province of Mauaralnahar in the neighbourhood of the Caſpian ſea, and hence the nation inhabiting that tract of country acquired the name of Turks [c]. However large thoſe ſhares might be, which Salm and Tur had received from their father, they ſtill hated him and their brother Irege, whoſe ruin they concerted together. Things being at laſt ripe for the execution of their projects, Salm and Tur marched each with great forces into Aderbayagjan, and having joined their armies, they ſent a ſort of manifeſto to their father, wherein they ſet forth, that with juſt reaſon they were diſpleaſed with the kindneſs which he had ſhewn Irege, whom they ſtiled a baſtard, and declared at the ſame time, that they would never lay down their arms till he was depoſed from the ſovereignty, and the countries divided between them, which hitherto had been in his poſſeſſion. Phridun, juſtly diſpleaſed at this undutiful behaviour, ſent immediately his orders to Irege to draw together all the forces he was able, and to march againſt his brethren. Irege, however, deſired the king to have recourſe to milder meaſures, in hopes of preſerving the peace of the empire. Phridun was of a contrary opinion, and determined to reduce the rebels by arms. Irege, however, unwilling to do his brothers any wrong, took with him ſome of his wiſeſt counſellors, and went with them to his brothers camp, in order if poſſible amicably to adjuſt the differences between them. They, who wiſhed for nothing more, immediately ſeized him and ſtruck off his head, which having ſtuck on a pole, they inſolently ſent to their father. Phridun was exceſſively grieved at his ſon's misfortune; he reſolved, however, to carry on the war againſt Salm and Tur; in order to which he gave the dominions of Irege to his ſon Manugeher, who immediately marched with an army againſt his uncles. They deſpiſing his youth quickly came to an engagement, in which the two brothers were routed and loſt their lives by the hand of Manugeher, who after this glorious victory returned in triumph to his grandfather Phridun, who was now grown blind. When he heard the acclamations of the people at the entrance of Manugeher, he aſked who it was that preſumed to enter his preſence in ſuch a manner. The young victor cried out, it is your grandſon Manugeher, the avenger of the blood of Irege, who hath ſlain

[c] Mirkhond. hiſt. ubi ſupra.

Salm and Tur with his own hand. Phridun then received him with open arms, and with all the demonſtrations of paternal fondneſs. Afterwards he took the Tagi or Tiara from his head and put it on that ofManugeher orManugjhar, declaring him thereby ſovereign of Perſia, appointing at the ſame time one Soam or Soham, a perſon of great wiſdom and valour, to be his vizier [d]. Within a ſhort ſpace after this Phridun died, full of years and glory (E).

As

[d] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Soham.

(E) The oriental writers are univerſally agreed, that the terms Touran and Iran, expreſſive of the two great empires on the other and on this ſide of the Oxus, called by them the Gjeihon, took riſe at this time. It may ſeem ſtrange, that ſuch large tracts of country ſhould receive appellations from perſons who lived and governed them ſo ſhort a time; for it appears, that Irege, Tur, and Salm, all died in the life-time of Phridun, and within a ſmall ſpace after the partition of his dominions amongſt them. But when this is more thoroughly conſidered, the wonder will ceaſe. The monarchs of theſe extenſive kingdoms were, through a long courſe of ages, at war with each other; and this enmity proceeding originally from the quarrel of their anceſtors, it was natural enough for them to call their dominions after thoſe in whoſe right they held them. The whole empire belonged to Phridun; the deſcendants of Tur or Tour kept up the claim of their anceſtor to the whole; the kings of Perſia ſucceeding Manugjahr aſſerted the right of Phridun to divide his dominions as he pleaſed; and therefore it is likely that Iran and Touran were words firſt uſed in Perſia, and by degrees ſpread themſelves throughout the eaſt. Whether Tur was the undoubted father of the Turks will admit of ſome queſtion, ſince almoſt all the oriental writers affirm, that Japhet had a ſon called Turk, and yet many of them admit, that Turqueſtan had its name from the prince we ſpeak of. It would be needleſs and at the ſame time improper for us to enter into a prolix diſcuſſion of that point here, ſince it muſt be examined when we come to write the hiſtory of the Turks; however, we think it not amiſs to remark, that there is nothing ſtranger or more perplexed in this double derivation of the name of the Turks, than there is in that of the Hebrews, whom ſome affirm to have been ſo called from Heber the ſon of Salah, and others from the ſirname of Abraham, who was ſtiled the Hebrew from his coming from the other ſide of the river, i. e. the Euphrates. Such difficulties amuſe weak minds, but men of ſolid underſtandings eaſily paſs by theſe doubts, knowing, that there is little more of certainty to be found in ſearching for the riſe of denominations of far later date.

As to the perſonal qualifications of this prince, he is celebrated by oriental writers as the Solomon of Perſia, one who made it his whole ſtudy to govern his people in ſuch a manner as that they might enjoy greater felicity than if they had lived in a ſtate of freedom. He extended his dominions with a view of extending happineſs to thoſe whom he reduced under his obedience. He was a zealous worſhipper of the true God, and took ſuch care to repreſs Zabiiſm, that ſome Mohammedan authors have not ſcrupled to aſſert that he was a muſſulman. It is alſo recorded of him, that he left this advice with his ſucceſſor.

BELIEVE, my ſon, that the days of your reign are ſo many leaves of a book: be careful therefore to write nothing in any page thereof, that you would not have ſeen by poſterity [e]. Many other wiſe ſayings of this great prince are ſcattered in various authors, which we have neither time nor opportunity to inſert here. Some Perſian writers think, that Phridun was co-temporary with Abraham. On the other hand, the learned Dr. Hyde has entertained a notion that this Phridun is the Phraortes of Herodotus [f]; it would take up too much time to diſcuſs this controverſy here, and beſides we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject hereafter, and to conſider the opinions of the critics on oriental hiſtory at once; in the mean time, let us purſue the thread of our narration, and proceed to the reign of Phridun's grandſon (F).

MANUGJAHR

[e] D'Herbelot. Art. Feridoun. [f] Hyde, relig. vet. Perſar. c. viii.

(F) The reader will eaſily perceive from the characters he has already ſeen drawn in this hiſtory, that among the oriental nations wiſdom as well as valour is thought neceſſary in a hero. Phridun is as famous amongſt them, as any of the heroes of Greece or Rome amongſt us; and for the ſame reaſon; becauſe he was a man great in all things, in war and in peace, at the head of armies and on the throne. On this account oriental writers preſerve with as great care the wiſe ſayings of their princes, as the accounts of their conqueſts. We have excuſed ourſelves above from the repetition of all that has been recorded of this ſort in relation to Phridun; but the reader will in all probability be pleaſed with the following ſpecimens of his ſapience, becauſe they contain rules eaſily applied, and which concern mankind in general.

Man

MANUGJAHR or Manugeher, according to ſome authors, was not the ſon of Irege, but his grandſon by a daughter; it is not very material to us which of theſe opinions is true [g], certain it is, that he was a prince wiſe and of a mild diſpoſition, and had a miniſter, viz. the vizier Soham beforementioned, whoſe fame is ſtill great throughout all the eaſt. Manugeher, probably by his advice, made ſeveral juſt regulations in the government of Perſia; he aſcertained, more exactly than any of his predeceſſors had done, the boundaries of the provinces, into each of which he ſent a preſident or governor, independent of whom he eſtabliſhed in every great town or borough a mayor or provoſt, ſo that the governors had no opportunity of ſetting up for themſelves, and the provoſts were obliged to behave themſelves prudently for fear the governor ſhould write againſt them to court. Obſerving the infertility of Perſia to be chiefly owing to the want of water, Manugeher conſidered every way of ſupplying this defect; he cauſed fine canals to be cut from the mighty rivers Tigris and Euphrates to refreſh the barren countries in their neighbourhood; he took care to collect all the ſtreams iſſuing from the little ſprings on the tops of mountains, that their waters might be made as uſeful as poſſible. To incourage his ſubjects to cultivate their lands with care, he employed much time in gardening, and took great pains to diſcover the virtues of herbs and flowers, cauſing ſuch as were moſt valuable to be tranſplanted from

Manugja hr.

[g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art. Manugeher.

Man ſhould weigh well the nature of himſelf,
The varying frailneſs of this flatt'ring world,
And the true excellence of heaven's high lord;
Then would he this deſpiſe, and truſt in him.
The world deceives us all.——In God is truth.
Let not thy riches or thy power prevail
To ſwell thy boſom with conceits of pride;
Look back, remember thoſe thou haſt ſeen high,
And mark, if thou haſt never ſeen them ſink;
Let this teach thee. One end awaits us all!
And when inevitable death commands,
That we ſhould follow to his dreary realm,
Matters it much, if from a royal couch,
Or from a mattreſs thrown upon the ground,
We riſe to take our journey (5)?

(5) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Feridoun.

mountains and uncouth places into his own gardens, or thoſe of his courtiers. But while he was thus cultivating the arts of peace, Apheraſiab, the deſcendent of Tur or Tour, invaded his dominions with a great army of Turks, in order, as he gave out, to avenge the death of his anceſtor. Manugeher, finding himſelf too weak to reſiſt ſo formidable an enemy, retired towards the country of Tabreſtan; ſome authors ſay, that there happened a battle between him and Apheraſiab, and that Manugeher was routed. However that matter was, all are agreed, that the king of Perſia withdrew into a fortreſs, and prepared to defend himſelf there againſt the attempts of his enemy. Apheraſiab beſieged him with all his army, but to no purpoſe; and the winter drawing on, the Turk, being afraid leſt his own men ſhould deſert him, began to think of peace. Upon this commiſſioners were diſpatched on both ſides, and a treaty concluded on theſe terms; that Apheraſiab ſhould poſſeſs all the country eaſt of the river Gihon, and that he ſhould leave Manugeher without moleſtation in poſſeſſion of Perſia and the provinces dependent on it. Such was the event of this cruel war, which threatened no leſs than the ſubverſion of the monarchy of Perſia [h]. Soon as Apheraſiab was retired into his own country, Manugeher began to provide againſt ſuch invaſions for the future. He ordered all his governors to provide their quotas of troops; but theſe meaſures alarming Apheraſiab, he gave orders to his forces to make inroads into Perſia; but the Turk had not the ſame ſucceſs in this as in the former war. The precautions of Manugeher perfectly anſwered his end, ſo that the enemy were not only repulſed where-ever they made their courſes, but alſo loſt a great number of their ſoldiers who were taken priſoners. Apheraſiab therefore very willingly renewed the peace, and left Manugeher to act as he thought fit in his own dominions. That wiſe and good prince made the city of Sigjiſtan for a time his royal ſeat, and when by his preſence he had put all things on that ſide in good order, he ſent thither his vizier Soham to preſerve all things in quiet, and went himſelf to reſide in the centre of his empire, where he applied himſelf, as he had done before, to the cultivation of arts and ſciences, and to every thing which might render his people powerful and happy. Soham managed all things in the province of Sigjiſtan

[h] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. ix.

jiſtan ſo as to gain the good-will of the people, as well as to maintain the favour of the court; but in the midſt of his happineſs an accident fell out which ſurprized him not a little: his wife was brought to-bed of a ſon with long yellow hair, Soham therefore gave him the name of Zal-zer, i. e, golden hair; this young man, when he grew up to years of diſcretion, gave manifeſt tokens of an exalted genius, inſomuch, that Manugeher ſent for him and his father to appear at court. Thither they went, and the ſight of the young nobleman augmented the eſteem and gratitude Manugeher had for his father and family. Loaded with new honours and dignities, Soham and his ſon returned into their own country, and lived there with the ſame ſplendor and reputation that they had done before. One day it ſo happened, that Zal-zer went to hunt in the province of Kablouſtan, dependent on the kingdom of Touran, but bordering northwards on the Perſian dominions. Meherab, who was at this time governor of that province, being informed of this, went out to meet him, that he might ſhew his reſpect to the father by the honours paid to his ſon. The converſation he had with Zal-zer charmed him ſo much, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on his mind, that he could not help talking of him to his family upon his return home, which had ſuch a neffect on the mind of Roudabah his daughter, that ſhe fell violently in love with Zal zer on his report; and, as womens paſſions are ever ſudden and ungovernable, ſhe ſent immediately one of her maids into the place where Zal-zer was encamped, that ſhe might find an opportunity of ſpeaking with him. Her project ſucceeded perfectly well, the young nobleman perceiving the maiden gathering flowers, entered into diſcourſe with her, enquiring her condition, and with whom ſhe lived. The girl, properly inſtructed, anſwered him, that ſhe was the ſervant of Roudabah, the daughter of Meherab, and then fell a talking of the family, expatiating on the wit, beauty, and ſweet diſpoſitions of her lady. Zal-zer immediately conceived a great eſteem for this amiable perſon, which by degrees ripened into ſo warm a paſſion, that he could neither eat nor ſleep, till he had concerted the means of ſpeaking to her. An interview, as our author obſerves, between two perſons who equally deſire it, is very quickly obtained; the lovers made the beſt uſe of their time, that is, they exchanged the moſt ſolemn vows of fidelity, and engaged to

marry each other, as ſoon as the conſent of their parents could be obtained. To cover his amour, Zal-zer made a viſit at the ſame time to the father of his miſtreſs, by whom he was very kindly received, and, after ſtaying with him all night, ſet out on his return to his father in the province of Sigjiſtan. Almoſt as ſoon as he came home he acquainted Soham with all that had happened, and that it was impoſſible for him to live, at leaſt in any degree of happineſs, without the poſſeſſion of the daughter of Meherab. Some difficulty there was in procuring the king's conſent to this marriage, for it was hitherto a thing without precedent for a Perſian to eſpouſe a Turk. However, the many ſervices of Soham, and the great merit of Zal-zer, prevailed ſo far over Manugeher, that he at laſt yielded to all they deſired. The nuptials were celebrated with prodigious magnificence; the inhabitants of Sigjiſtan and Kablouſtan vying with each other in their expreſſions of joy on this occaſion; nor were the conſequences of this match leſs happy than its concluſion was ſplendid, for at the end of nine months the lovely Roudabah was brought to bed of a ſon who was named Ruſtan, the mighty hero of all the oriental romances [i]. The reader will hereafter perceive, how the loves of this illuſtrious pair came to find a place in the Perſian hiſtory. Let us now return to Manugeher, who ſpent all his time in putting the affairs of his kingdom in the beſt order imaginable, with reſpect both to peace and war; that is, he took care to baniſh luxury, to encourage virtue, and to render every man's condition ſo happy, as to engage him to fight for that government on the continuance of which it depended. The perſonal qualifications of this monarch have been already, in ſome meaſure, diſplayed; it remains, however, that we do him juſtice in one particular of greater importance than all the reſt; he was a moſt zealous worſhipper of the true God, of which we have the moſt ſhining inſtances in the hiſtory of his life and reign, written by Tabari [k] an antient Perſian author. By him we are informed, that as ſoon as this prince heard of the Turks paſſing the river Gjeihon in order to drive him out of his dominions, he aſſembled a great council of his nobility, wherein he delivered himſelf in theſe words; "The moſt holy and high God

"delivered

[i] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. viii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Manougeher.
[k] Apud Hyde, Relig. vet. Perſ. c. viii. p. 156.

" delivered to me this kingdom, that I might render him
" praiſe and glory by my actions as a prince, preſerving
" my people in plenty and eaſe, and impartially diſtribu-
" ting juſtice, that thereby the glorious gift of God
" might in my hand be ſtrengthened and encreaſed. If
" contrary to this my duty I had acted ungratefully to-
" wards my creator, then I ſhould juſtly have deſerved
" to loſe my kingdom here, and to ſuffer everlaſting pu-
" niſhment for my wickedneſs hereafter. The moſt holy
" and high God having cauſed me to be born of royal
" blood, and in right thereof beſtowed a kingdom upon
" me, let us not my friends baſely throw it away, or tame-
" ly ſuffer it to be taken from us; conſider well of the
" ſtate we are in, and to morrow I will more largely in-
" form you as to my ſentiments of the matter". The next day accordingly the nobles of Perſia aſſembled again, and the king being ſeated in his throne of ſtate with his royal crown upon his head, and the Mubad Mubadan, or high-prieſt, ſeated near him in his golden chair, he roſe up and ſpoke as he had done the day before, aſcribing all dominion to the Almighty, and acknowledging that the crown of Perſia was his gift; he then obſerved, that all things depended alike on the will of the ſupreme being, and that nothing could take effect but by his command, or with his permiſſion. He ſaid farther, that God had long indulged the Perſian nation the full enjoyment of many bleſſings, in conſequence of which they were bound to live in exact obedience to his laws, that is, making a proper uſe of the good things beſtowed on them. He added, that as to the point at preſent before them, viz. the invaſion of the Turks, it came not but by the permiſſion of God, wherefore to him they ought firſt to apply themſelves for its being taken away. He exhorted them to reform their lives, to be conſtant in prayer, to exert their courage and their underſtandings in the defence of their country, and to reſt ſtedfaſtly in the hope that the Almighty would not forſake them, but reſtore them again to peace and quiet, either by giving them a victory over their enemies, or inclining the hearts of their enemies to peace. The piety of this prince was rewarded with a very long life and reign; as to the extent of the former we have no certainty, but as to the latter, authors agree in fixing it at 120 years. They ſay likewiſe, that the death of Manugjahr was like his

his life majeſtic and ſerene, that he called to him his ſon and ſucceſſor, gave him in few words his advice as to the government of his dominions, and recommended his ſubjects moſt affectionately to his care [1].

Nudar. NUDAR, or Naudar, ſucceeded his father, but his reign was far from being as happy. He was ſcarce ſeated on his throne before his grandees began to form parties and to create ſeditions in his empire, which weakened it ſo much, that the Turks immediately conceived hopes of conquering it, a thing they had long ſet their hearts on. With this view Paſhangh, at that time king of Touran, the direct deſcendent of Tour the ſon of Phridun, called his ſons together; and having expatiated, firſt on the right which their family had to the kingdom of Perſia; and ſecondly, of the low ſtate the Perſian affairs were then in; he told them, that the intent of his drawing them together was to know which of them had courage enough to aſſert the pretenſions derived to him from his anceſtors, and to undertake the reduction of the provinces on the other ſide of the Gjeihon. Apheraſiab his eldeſt ſon, ſtung with ambition, and deſirous of excelling his brethren, immediately offered himſelf to raiſe an army in order to conquer Iran. Accordingly he drew together 400,000 horſe and foot, and with this prodigious army entered Sigjiſtan. Nudar, as ſoon as he was informed of this, cauſed his beſt troops to file off that way, and gave the command of them to Soham the father of Zal-zer; but he being old and decrepid was forced to march ſlowly towards the enemy, and even that fatigued him ſo much, that he died before he had reached the place of rendezvous, an event highly pleaſing to Apheraſiab, who very much dreaded the valour and conduct of this very great man. Nudar, not doubting that Soham and his troops were already arrived at the place he appointed them, marched with his army towards Mazanderan, where, on a ſudden, and before he expected it, they came within ſight of the enemy. The camps being oppoſite to each other, a Turkiſh champion, whoſe name was Baſmon, challenged any of the Perſian warriors to a ſingle combat, which challenge was readily accepted by Kobad the grandſon of Kaoh, of whom we have ſaid ſo much in the life of Phridun. The combat terminated in favour of the Perſian, who having ſlain his antagoniſt ſpoiled him of his arms, and carried them, as the trophy of his victory, to his tent. The Turks

[1] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſupra.

Turks were prodigiouſly incenſed at this accident, and reſolved with themſelves to revenge it ſpeedily on Nudar and his army. Accordingly, having poſſeſſed themſelves of all the poſts about it, they attacked the Perſians in their camp, where a moſt obſtinate battle was fought, till at length there happened ſuch a prodigious ſhower of rain, attended with ſuch an extraordinary darkneſs, that Nudar laid hold of this opportunity to retire, and to order his ſons Thus and Guſtam, who were at the head of ſeparate bodies, to march ſpeedily to his relief, which they did, accompanied by Karen the brother of Kobad, who had found means to withdraw the royal treaſures out of Sigjiſtan, and to ſend them to a place of ſafety. Apheraſiab obſerving the meaſures taken by Nudar, and conceiving that his intent was to ſpin out the war, he, to prevent its running into a length, which in the end would have been deſtructive to his troops, ſent an officer of his, whoſe name was Karahon, with poſitive orders to attack Karen, and the body of Perſians under his command, which accordingly he did, killed their commander, and effectually diſperſed the reſt. Not long after Apheraſiab attacked Nudar in his camp, and, after obtaining a ſignal victory, took that monarch priſoner in his flight with many Perſian nobles. As ſoon as they came into his preſence Apheraſiab ordered them to be cut in pieces, but his brother, a prince of great humanity and wiſdom, hindered him, and prevailed on him to content himſelf with putting them in priſon, to which, with much ado, he yielded. The next ſtep after this victory was to poſſeſs himſelf of the court and treaſures of Nudar, in order to which Apheraſiab inſtantly detached a body of 30,000 men; they entering the province of Sigjiſtan made themſelves maſters of the capital and of the royal palace, the Perſians being every where ſo intimidated that they durſt not ſtir, but ſubmitted tamely to the yoke, which conqueſt had impoſed upon them. Meherab it ſeems, after the marriage of his daughter to Zal-zer, had retired into Perſia, and lived in great honour and affluence there, till this ſudden overthrow of the empire threatened him as well as the reſt of its inhabitants. Meherab, being a man of great policy, bethought himſelf of a means to divert immediate danger by ſending a meſſenger to Apheraſiab, with very rich preſents and a letter to this purpoſe, "That though he lived in "Perſia, he was by nation a Turk, and not only ſo, but "in ſome meaſure allied to him in blood, being lineally "deſcended

" deſcended from Zoak, wherefore he hoped his family, " and this early teſtimony of obedience, would be ſuffici- " ent to recommend him to his ſpecial protection". Having thus amuſed the victor, he gave notice to his ſon-in-law Zal-zer, who aſſembling, as privately as he could, ſeveral ſmall bodies of men, appointed them a place of rendezvous, where he himſelf joined them, and finding them numerous enough to attempt ſomewhat againſt the common enemy, he began to act offenſively, and in a ſhort time drove the Turks out of the province of Sigjiſtan. Of which when Apheraſiab received intelligence, it provoked him ſo much, that he ordered the unfortunate Nudar to have his head ſtruck off in priſon, which was accordingly put in execution without the leaſt regard to his dignity. As to the length of his reign authors are divided, ſome making it ſeven, others enlarging it to nine. Mirkhond, whom we generally follow, adheres to the former number. Some oriental writers make this prince co-temporary with Joſhua, others place him much higher; we ſhall not determine here who are in the right [m].

Apheraſiab. APHERASIAB, or Afraſiab, notwithſtanding this rebellion, or rather inſurrection, looking upon himſelf as monarch of Perſia, ſent an account to his father Piſhangh of the happy ſucceſs with which his expedition had been crowned. But it was not long before he had news of another nature to ſend him; for the Perſians, univerſally deteſting his haughty and inſolent temper, began to raiſe ſeditions in every part of the kingdom; nay, their averſion engaged them in ſteps which carried their intrigues farther, and made them endeavour to ſtir up the brother of Apheraſiab, who had at firſt ſaved Nudar's life, to put in his claim to the throne, promiſing him firſt aſſiſtance and then obedience. He, burning with the ambition natural to his family, liſtened readily to the propoſal, and adviſed them to engage Zal-zer to invade the provinces in the neighbourhood of Sigjiſtan in the ſpring, aſſuring them, that the war once begun, he would appear in their favour. Theſe negotiations could not be carried on ſo ſecretly, but that Apheraſiab gained intelligence of them, and immediately ſet all his wits to work to prevent their taking effect; with this view he cauſed his brother to be aſſaſſinated, and then applied himſelf indefatigably to the raiſing of troops, reſolving to reduce all his opponents. Zal-zer being

[m] Mirchond. Hiſt. viii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Naudhar.

being informed of theſe proceedings, and vehemently regretting the loſs of the young Turkiſh prince, openly excited the Perſians to take arms, deriding their cowardice, and giving them to underſtand, that more than half their enemy's ſtrength lay in their fears. His diſcourſes by degrees had ſuch an effect, that the inhabitants of Perſia, aſſembling together in ſmall bodies, marched by night through ſecret and by-ways to his camp, where when they were all arrived, Zal-zer found himſelf at the head of a very formidable army [n]. Afraſiab, who had his ſpies every where, receiving an exact account of Zal-zer's ſituation, immediately reſolved to change his manner of making war, and to act altogether on the defenſive. This gave the Perſian captain a great deal of trouble; but at laſt he found an opportunity of bringing Afraſiab to a battle; it was very bloody, and ſo obſtinate, that it laſted till it was dark, and then each army, retiring to its camp, found, that neither ſide had any reaſon to boaſt of victory; the war continued for a long time after this without any deciſive action, whereby all induſtry being deſtroyed, there followed firſt a ſcarcity, then a famine, and on the heels of this a grievous peſtilence, which, falling at once into both camps, filled Apheraſiab and Zal-zer with thoughts of peace. Negotiations were not long on foot before a treaty was concluded, whereby it was ſtipulated, that Afraſiab ſhould withdraw his troops and effects without moleſtation and retire into Touran, while Iran and all its dependencies ſhould remain under the protection of Zal-zer; this peace concluded and ratified, it would have been eaſy for that nobleman to have raiſed himſelf to the throne of Perſia; but he ſcorning to barter immortal fame for a ſhort-lived royalty, ſought out Zab, or Zoub, the lawful heir of the Houſe of Keyomaras, and put the crown upon his head [o].

Zab. ZAB, Zoub, or Bazab, at the time of his acceſſion to the royal dignity was far advanced in years, but had notwithſtanding a tolerable ſhare of health and ſpirits; he applied himſelf to the reſtoring, as well as he could, the ſhattered affairs of Perſia; the more effectually to do this he aſſociated with him in the empire Gherſchaſp his nephew, whom ſome have called Kiſchtaſp, and have made

[n] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [o] Khondemir, in Khelaſſat. Alakbar. D'Herbelot. Art. Afraziab, Zal. Zoub. Mirkhond. hiſt. Sect. 10.

made him not the nephew and aſſociate, but the ſon and ſucceſſor of Zab or Zoub; but this ſeems to be a miſtake, and the ground of it pretty obvious, the father of this Gherſchaſp being called Kiſchtaſp. But to return to Zab; he ſacrificed much of the prerogative of the crown to make the people eaſy, and to enable them to recover their loſſes after the wretched depredations committed by Afraſiab and his troops; he did more than all this, he threw open the royal treaſury, and as often as any ſums were paid in there, he firſt paid his ſoldiers, and then diſtributed the reſt among the poor. Theſe were certainly high virtues, but this prince is branded for a vice, particularly infamous on a throne, viz. that of gluttony, or rather luxury in eating, and is recorded to have been the author of various ſorts of ſauces and broths, unknown before in theſe regions. It is not very clear how long he reigned, or who was his ſucceſſor. Mirkhond makes him expreſly the laſt of the firſt race of kings, who from the ſirname of Huſhangh were called in general Piſchdadians, though to us it ſeems more probable, that they received this appellation, becauſe during the ſeveral reigns of theſe princes the laws and conſtitution of Perſia were thoroughly ſettled [p]. According to other authors Gherſchaſp, or Kiſchtaſp, ſucceeded in the empire by the voluntary ceſſion of Zab orZoub; his mother is ſaid to have been a Jeweſs of the tribe of Benjamin, he proved a prince of great merit, and deſerving of a better fate than he met; for he did all in his power to reſtore the Perſian diadem to its antient luſtre. Afraſiab, little regarding his treaties, took advantage of the diſorder the kingdom was in, to re-enter it with a formidable army, and to poſſeſs himſelf of various provinces. The new king fought under great diſadvantages, but in ſpite of theſe he frequently defeated the Turks, and recovered various places out of their hands; at laſt, however, he fell into the error of many of his predeceſſors, that is, he put all his affairs to hazard in one battle, which he loſt, and with it his life, being killed fighting bravely for the liberty of his country after a reign ſome ſay of ſix, others of thirty, years; but whether the former may not include the reigns of Zab and of this prince too, or whether the latter ought to be accounted the time that this monarch reigned alone, we pretend not to determine. In this all are agreed, that here the empire

[p] Mirkhond. hiſt. Sect. 11. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Artic. Naudhar.

empire of the Piſchdadians ended, and that Afraſiab the deſcendant of Tour became a third time abſolute lord of Perſia; how he afterwards loſt the poſſeſſion of this empire will be ſhewn in its proper place [q]. In the mean time, it may not be amiſs to inſert here ſome remarks on the foregoing period, in order to juſtify the obſervation we have ſo often made, that oriental hiſtory, though mixed with fables, is not altogether uſeleſs.

In the courſe of this work our method has been to ſpeak firſt of the chronology, and afterwards of the hiſtory of each country; in the preſent caſe it was impracticable, unleſs we had tormented the reader with needleſs repetitions and nauſeous tautologies. We have therefore choſen to give the ſeries of the Perſian hiſtory relating to the kings of the firſt race, as it lies in Mirkhond and other authors; and, after laying down theſe facts as foundations of our arguments, to lead the reader by degrees to what we eſteem the true ſtate of the antient Perſian empire. In the firſt place, it is remarkable, that the oriental writers make this race of kings Medians by deſcent. The province of Aderbayagjan, of which they make Keyomaras to have been at firſt ſovereign, is a a part of Media, taking in alſo a part of Armenia, ſo that in all probability it was one of the firſt peopled provinces of the dominion of Shem, if we ſuppoſe that territorieswere aſcertained and ſet out immediately after the flood. Within this province ſtands the little town, that is conſidering it in its preſent condition, Nakſhivan, which the inhabitants affirm to have been the firſt town built after the flood; and indeed in the Armenian language the very name implies as much, it being equivalent to the firſt place, or firſt habitation [r]. Thus the early erecting of a monarchy hereabouts is rendered every way probable, and conſiſtent with the moſt antient accounts ſacred and prophane. As the power of Keyomaras increaſed, he extended his territories towards the eaſt, and towards the ſouth; for it is agreed, that he made himſelf maſter of Irak-agami; afterwards Parthia, and in proceſs of time joined thereto the province of Phars or proper Perſia, where ſome hiſtorians affirm he founded the city of Iſtachr, afterwards called Perſepolis, though others deny it, and ſay it was built later.

[q] D'Herbelot. Art. Gherſchtaſb, Kiſchſtaſb. [r] Tavernier. Voyag. tom. i. p. 43. Chardin, Voy. tom. i. p. 250.

ter. The ſucceſſors of this prince conquered Khirman and Sigjiſtan, and afterwards many other countries on the eaſt of the preſent Perſian empire. It was Phridun or Feridoun who ſettled the dominions of Perſia in pretty near the ſame order we find them at this day; it is evident therefore, that the kings of the firſt race were not petty princes or tributaries, but lords of a very extenſive empire. As to the capital of their dominions in the time of Keyomaras, ſome think it was at Balch in Choraſan, others at Iſtachr. Perhaps he might firſt fix his reſidence at Balch, and afterwards remove it into the heart of his kingdom. Huſhang reſided again at Balch, Gjemſchid ſettled himſelf at Iſtachr, and is by moſt of the Perſian authors eſteemed its founder. In the reigns of ſucceeding kings, though their royal reſidence might ſometimes be changed, Iſtachr remained the capital, and received from time to time great improvements from the Perſian monarchs. Kiſchtaſp the laſt of them had a peculiar liking to this place, and no doubt took pains to re-edify whatever injuries it might have ſuſtained through the courſe of a long war. Thus the glory of this city, which was afterwards ſo famous among the Greeks under the name of Perſepolis, began, as we obſerved in our deſcription of Perſia, under the firſt race of kings [g]. How it was afterwards adorned with a royal palace, of which the ruins are ſtill remaining, we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of the princes of the ſecond race; in the mean time, let it be remembered, that ſeveral princes of the dynaſty of Piſchdadians were great lovers of arts, and great encouragers of ingenuity and learning; if therefore there were in their time, eſpecially in the days of Manugeher, who is particularly famous in the oriental hiſtory for delighting in architecture and every thing dependent thereon; if in his days, we ſay, there were any artiſts capable of carving in ſtone, they might have employed their time in cutting ſome of thoſe wonderful hiſtories in Baſ-relief, which are yet viſible in the living rock, behind the ruins of Chilminar, or of the other works of the like kind remaining in other parts of Perſia. This, we ſay, is poſſible, and not improbable, but we affirm nothing; the piety, however, of Manugeher is a circumſtance nothing unfavourable to this conjecture, that the king praying before the fire, and in ſight of the ſun, repreſented in the mountain beforementioned,

[g] Biblioth. orient. Art. Eſtekar.

mentioned, might be intended for him. This leads us to the religion of theſe antient kings which we have already ſhewn to be very near the true religion, that is, the religion of the patriarchs. As to the worſhip of fire, it was indiſputably a very antient doctrine, and there ſeems to be no reaſon for doubting the truth of what ſome authors have affirmed, that it took its riſe in, if not before, the time of Keyomaras. Certain it is, that the province where he began to reign was the firſt in which Magiſm prevailed, and was always held ſacred by the profeſſors of that religion on that account; this the very name implies, for Aderbaygjan is no more than the place of fire, Ader or Azer ſignifying fire, and Bayagjan a place, whence it comes to paſs, that we frequently find this word thus written Azerbayagjan. The high mountain of Albors was the principal place of worſhip in theſe early times, and the people were perſuaded, that celeſtial fire was preſerved there; on this account when the treaſures of Nudar king of Perſia were removed out of Sigjiſtan, as we have before related, they were for ſecurity placed here. Nay, what is far more extraordinary, this ſuperſtition is not yet worn out of the heads of the Ghaurs, if we may believe Sir John Chardin; on the contrary they yet ſpeak confidently of celeſtial or elemental fire, which they ſay is ſtill to be ſeen in this mountain [t]. On the whole therefore, the religion of the Perſians under the firſt race of kings differed very little from that which ſtill ſubſiſts among the Ghaurs. Some indeed have been of opinion, that there were no Pyræa or fire-temples at all before the time of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht; others, on the authority of ſome Arabian writers, aſſert the contrary, ſo as it ſeems probable, that the former is the opinion neareſt truth. Our reaſons for ſaying this are theſe, firſt the antienteſt hiſtorians extant ſay nothing of temples till after the time of the Exodus of the children of Iſrael. Secondly, becauſe Herodotus ſays expreſly, that the antient Perſians had no temples, but ſacrificed on the tops of high mountains ſub dio; and thirdly, becauſe of Pyræa being at that time in uſe is not conſiſtent with the hiſtory of Zerduſht, as we ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to ſhew. From the power and the religion of the firſt race of Perſian kings, we come at length to the intricate queſtion, when they flouriſhed? or rather how their reigns are to be reconciled to ſacred and profane

[t] Chardin. Voyag. tom. i. 253.

profane hiſtory? Before we pretend to give the ſolution of this problem, let us conſider a little what ſacred and profane hiſtorians ſay of the antient kings of Media and Perſia. The ſcripture informs us, that Elam was a very antient kingdom, for Cherdorlaomer came with a great army to reduce the region of Pentapolis in Canaan, and the circumjacent countries to his obedience in the days of Abraham; from thence we hear nothing of this nation, till the kingdoms of Iſrael and Judah were on their decline. In reſpect to theſe antient times the Greek writers are very inſufficient guides, if we may believe the moſt judicious writer of hiſtory that nation ever produced, viz. Thucydides, who very frankly declares they knew very little of their own affairs beyond the memory of man [u], that is, they were able to give no account of them with order and certainty. They were indeed a bold and pretending people in hiſtory as well as in other ſciences, but they ſeldom told their ſtories in a manner capable of gaining them belief. Herodotus pretends not to ſay any thing of the hiſtory of the Medes, above one hundred and fifty years before the time of Cyrus, where he places Dijoces, whom he makes the firſt king of Media, and ſpeaks of his advancement in that dignity, in terms [x] exactly correſpondent to thoſe made uſe of by Mirkhond in his hiſtory of the election of Keyomaras. Diodorus Siculus, who really deſerves the higheſt credit, becauſe he took the utmoſt pains to be well informed, and ſpent a long ſeries of years in collecting the materials for his hiſtory; gives us a liſt of ten Median kings reigning in all 282 years [y]; but the critics are not pleaſed with theſe, becauſe Diodorus took them from Cteſias, and Cteſias had his materials from the Median and Perſian records; an odd reaſon for diſbelieving all he ſays. But it ſeems, Cteſias's account did not conſiſt well with thoſe that the Greeks had given before him, and therefore he loſt his credit, and his hiſtory was rejected as fabulous. By the ſame rule of argument our oriental hiſtory muſt be condemned too, for it is as inconſiſtent with the Greek hiſtory, as the memoirs of Cteſias, and for the very ſame reaſon; becauſe it is taken as his hiſtory was from what the Medes and Perſians ſay of themſelves. Not to keep the reader long in ſuſpenſe, there is evidently a great gap of time between the erection of the old Medo-Perſic monarchy, and its being

[u] Thucydides, Præm. Hiſt. [x] Clio, c. 71. [y] Biblioth. lib. ii. c. 3.

ing deſtroyed by the Aſſyrian emperors. The queſtion is, whether we will ſuppoſe, that theſe people lived all that time without doing any thing, becauſe none of the Greek hiſtorians, except Diodorus from Cteſias, have vouchſafed, or indeed have been able, to tell us what they did, or whether we ſhall admit Cteſias's exploded method, and fill up this chaſm with what the Perſians ſay of themſelves? If this latter courſe be to be ſteered, here is room for all the Piſchdadians at once. But then as to the ſynchroniſm of their reigns we deſire to be excuſed from ſettling it, becauſe at preſent we ſee no likelihood of our doing it with any degree of exactneſs. However, when the Perſian hiſtory, according to oriental writers, ſhall be deduced as low as the reign of Yezdegherd, the laſt native of that country who ſwayed its ſceptre, we ſhall reconſider this point, and ſet the whole chronology of the Perſic empire in the beſt light we may. In the mean time, we ſhall conclude theſe obſervations with remarking, that Cteſias and all others, who have at any time thought of enquiring as to the Perſian hiſtory from the Perſian records, have found in the moſt early times great and potent princes reigning here, marching great armies into the field, erecting great cities, laying up immenſe treaſures, and ruling with an equal mixture of wiſdom and magnificence. Now this is exactly what we ſay from Mohammedan writers, who own they have taken all which they deliver from the old Perſian writers; if therefore all this be fable, 'tis at leaſt very antient and uniform fable, or to ſpeak ſeriouſly, it has as much the appearance of truth as any hiſtory as antient that we know of. But it is time to leave reaſoning and conjectures to return to the thread of our hiſtory, and to ſhew the ſteps by which Apheraſiab was expelled, and the Perſian dominions once more reſtored to a prince of that country.

The hiſtory of the Perſian kings of the ſecond race, or of the dynaſty of the Kainites.

KEYKOBAD, or Caicobad, whom ſome writers make the ſon of Zab, the ſon of Tahamaſp, the ſon of Manugeher, king of Perſia, and others call ſimply the nephew of Nudar, was ſeated on the throne of Perſia by the famous Zal-zer, who was ſo loyal to the family that raiſed him, that he twice refuſed the Perſian diadem, becauſe he would not injure them. At this time he and his ſon Ruſtan put themKeykobad.

selves at the head of such a body of troops as enabled them to give Apheraſiab abundance of trouble, and by degrees to put into the poſſeſſion of Keykobad the greateſt part of the provinces of Perſia. This monarch proved at once a good prince to his ſubjects in general, and extremely grateful to the perſons particularly concerned in raiſing him to the empire. He intruſted the command of all his forces with Ruſtan, and did nothing in civil affairs without the advice of his father; by degrees his troops, under the command of the famous hero before-mentioned, gained ſuch advantages, that Apheraſiab retired before them, and was at laſt driven to ſuch diſtreſs that he deſired to treat of a peace; but his commiſſioners and thoſe of the king of Perſia differing about the terms, Apheraſiab hazarded a ſecond battle, wherein, notwithſtanding his troops fought with great reſolution; he was totally defeated. In the heat of this engagement, Ruſtan deſired ſome of the officers about him to ſhew him Apheraſiab, which when they had done, Ruſtan ſpurred towards him with ſuch an impetuous force that he beat him from his horſe, and afterwards diſmounting from his own he tied his hands and feet together with a cord, and having laid him before himſelf upon his own ſteed rode out of the battle, and threw him in a particular place. Apherſiab, finding himſelf left alone, ſtruggled with ſuch force that he at laſt got looſe; then taking the cord, he tied the hands and feet of a dead man as Ruſtan had tied his, and retired to a troop of his own horſe, with whom he made his eſcape. After victory had declared itſelf in favour of the army of Keykobad, Ruſtan rode up to ſalute him. Amongſt other compliments of congratulation, he informed him that the war was now at an end, himſelf having made Apheraſiab priſoner, whom he alſo promiſed immediately to produce. Riding with that intent to the place where he had thrown the Turkiſh monarch, he found with ſurpriſe a dead man tied in his place; for this overſight of his he asked pardon of Keykobad, and ſolemnly promiſed, that if he met Apheraſiab in battle again, he would not make the ſame miſtake. But that prince, finding his affairs deſperate in Perſia, retired into Turqueſtan, and ſent from thence an embaſſador to treat with Keykobad, who was equally prevailed on not to carry his arms into Touran, when the right of him and his family to Iran was acknowledged by Apheraſiab,

heraſiab, and all the ſcattered remnants of his army withdrawn [z]. The peace once ſettled, Keykobad applied himſelf to the reſtoring of the affairs of his kingdom, and in the firſt place fixed his court at Spahawn, which had been built by the famous king Houſhangh, adorned by Phridun, and afterwards given by him to Kaoh the ſmith and his family. The reaſon in all probability which determined Keykobad to reſide here, was its convenient ſituation in the heart of his dominions. His court once fixed, the king next beſtowed his favours on ſuch as had been inſtrumental in the expulſion of the Turks; to Ruſtan he gave the province of Zabluſtan, on the borders of India, watered with many pleaſant ſtreams, and adorned with the fineſt proſpects that can be wiſhed. This province afforded a ſirname to Ruſtan, and received itſelf a new name from him. That hero being ſtiled in moſt of the romances Zabeli, becauſe he was governor of Zabluſtan; and that province, or at leaſt a great part of it, was thenceforward called Ruſtandar, becauſe it had been the government of Ruſtan. Maharab, ſirnamed Kabuli, becauſe he had been governor of Kabul, was another of Keykobad's generals, and highly eſteemed by him. Kavan, one of the deſcendants of the famous Kaoh the ſmith, was alſo a perſon highly eſteemed by the king of Perſia; but what particular rewards he received authors do not mention. It ſeems he was a ſort of a knight errant, and acquired from thence the ſirname of Rezm Khuah, or the ſcarcher of adventures. A fourth captain of Keykobad's was Keſchvad, ſirnamed Zerin Kulah, from a golden tiara which he was allowed to wear, in reward for the mighty things he had done for the good of the empire. Keykobad divided all the ſpoil that had been brought into his treaſury among his ſoldiers, regulated their pay very exactly, and afterwards employed them in making great roads throughout the empire, ſetting up public marks at the end of every four thouſand paces, which ſpace by the Perſians is called Pherſengh, and from thence by the Greeks Paraſang. As this monarch was renowned for his wiſdom and proweſs, ſo he was no leſs famous on account of his piety; the Mohammedan writers inſiſt very much upon this, they aſſert, that he had many prophets who reſorted to his court, that he received, honoured, and

[z] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Afraſiab, Caikobad, Ruſtan.

obeyed them, and in time was a true believer, by which we are to underſtand that he was not a fire-worſhipper; but in this they are certainly miſtaken. They make him alſo contemporary with Samuel the judge of Iſrael, and aſſert, that he had ſome intercourſe with him. In the laſt years of his life he grew blind, and continued ſo till the day of his death, which happened, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, after a reign of one hundred years, according to others, when he had reigned one hundred and twenty years [a].

Keykaus. KEYKAUS or Caikaus, the ſon, or, as ſome ſay, the grandſon of Keykobad, ſucceeded him in the throne of Perſia, on which he was ſcarce ſeated before a war broke out in Mazandrean, a province bordering on the Caſpian ſea, which required his preſence; a rebel prince, taking occaſion from the demiſe of Keykobad, made himſelf ſovereign there, and fortified the capital in ſuch a manner that he made it the ſtrongeſt place in the eaſt. Keykaus marched immediately againſt him, and coming with too great an army to be oppoſed, the rebel ſhut himſelf up in the city of Mazanderan, and prepared for a ſiege. Keykaus having viewed the place, and having received intelligence that it was extremely well provided with all ſorts of ammunitions and victuals, gave over all hopes of reducing it by force. But as in ſuch caſes 'tis uſual for experienced generals to have recourſe to ſtratagems, Keykaus deviſed one which anſwered his end effectually; he gave out in his camp, and he corrupted people to give it out in the city, that he was extremely diſtreſſed for proviſions, and ſhould be on that account obliged ſhortly to raiſe the ſiege. His emiſſaries in the place immediately inſinuated to the keepers of the ſtores, that by ſupplying the king of Perſia with ſmall quantities of victuals immenſe ſums might be got; this trade once on foot, Keykaus paid ſo well, that in a ſhort time there was not a loaf left; he then ſummoned the city peremtorily to ſurrender, and on a diſcovery of their circumſtances the inhabitants were forced to ſubmit [b]. He had not the like ſucceſs in another war, undertaken in this province againſt Apheraſiab; for the Perſian army being defeated, king Keykaus was taken and thrown into a priſon, from whence he was releaſed by the timely care of his general Ruſtan, who entering Touran with a numerous army, waſted all before

[a] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Artic. Rezm Khuah, &c.
[b] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xiii.

fore him with fire and ſword, declaring, that he would deſtroy the whole country, if they did not ſet his maſter at liberty, which ſo terrified the people, that their clamour prevailed on Apheraſiab to diſmiſs Keykaus on his promiſe to recal Ruſtan. As ſoon as the Perſian monarch had regained his liberty, he made uſe of the hero we have ſo often mentioned to curb his enemies on every ſide; and he is recorded to have carried his arms into Mezr, i. e. Egypt; Shamah, i. e. Syria; and Rum, i. e. Aſia Minor. After theſe wars were over and all things in a quiet ſituation, Keykaus, to ſhew the high eſteem he had of Ruſtan's ſervices, gave him his ſiſter in marriage; the name of this princeſs was Gehernaz i. e. endowed with all virtues, and with her by way of portion he gave him the office of generaliſſimo of all his armies, and made him vicar general of his kingdom, with the title of Pehelevan Gihan, i. e. ſupporter of the Perſian empire. We are not told who it was Keykaus himſelf married, but whoever ſhe was he had by her two ſons, named Siavek and Phraiborz; the eldeſt of theſe, viz. Siavek, was ſent to live with, and to be bred up under his uncle Ruſtan. How long things continued in this tranquil ſtate does not appear; but the next war we hear of was againſt Zulzogar king of Arabia. What provocation he gave Keykaus is uncertain; but the king of Perſia carried his reſentment ſo far, that he had well reduced the whole kingdom of Yemen, over which Zulzogar reigned, under his dominion; at length it came to the ears of Keykaus, that this Arabian prince had a daughter, the moſt lovely woman in the world; upon which the Perſian king ſent to demand her in marriage the king of Yemen, deſirous to be rid at any rate of ſuch an enemy, ſent immediately his daughter to the king of Perſia's Haram. As ſoon as Keykaus beheld Saudabah, he was ſo ſtruck with her beauty, that he conceived himſelf the happieſt man in the world by having her in poſſeſſion. Overcome therefore with the violence of his paſſion, he abandoned himſelf to all ſorts of exceſſes, giving great entertainments, and encouraging all ſorts of diverſions in his camp, without ſo much as remembering that he was in an enemy's country. Zulzogar, who foreſaw all this, drew together privately a conſiderable body of horſe, and falling unexpectedly on the Perſian army abſolutely defeated it, and made the king and all his court priſoners. The news of this no ſooner reached

Perſia, than Ruſtan put himſelf at the head of the forces left under his command, and marched with them immediately into Yemen. Zulzogar knew very well, that he had no troops capable of contending with the veterans under the command of Ruſtan, and for this reaſon he treated the king of Perſia, while in his power, with the utmoſt civility and reſpect, ſo that he had no great difficulty in prevailing on him to ſend his general orders to forbear hoſtilities and to think of peace. A treaty was quickly concluded between the father and ſon-in-law, whereby the former quitted all pretenſions to the kingdom of Yemen, and promiſed to invade it no more, while the latter engaged to be the friend and ally of the Perſian nation, and to aſſiſt it to the utmoſt of his power; in conſequence of which Keykaus was immediately ſet at liberty, with all thoſe who had been taken priſoners with him, and returned triumphantly into Perſia with his new ſpouſe Saudabah [c]. Not long after this Siavek came to court, and was received with the utmoſt affection by his father. Saudabah, either charmed with the beauty of his perſon, or affecting ſo to be, ſollicited him to an inceſtuous amour, which he, being a prince of great virtue, rejected with abhorrence; upon which waiting a proper opportunity, when the king was one day alone in his parlour, Saudabah ruſhed in with her hear diſhevelled, her night-gown torn, and her breaſt bloody, crying out for juſtice againſt Siavek, who had made an attempt upon her honour; the king immediately cauſed his ſon to be impriſoned, and obliged him to ſtand a tryal; ſome ſay he underwent the ordeal by fire, however it was, the young prince was acquitted, and the wickedneſs of Shudabah clearly appeared. Upon which the king would have put her to death, if his ſon had not interceeded for her on his knees. Theſe proceeding having created ſome diviſions and heart-burnings in the court of Perſia, Apheraſiab, who waited all opportunities of diſtreſſing that nation, failing not to take this, and to paſs the river Gjiehon with a great body of troops, in order to beſiege Balch. Keyhaus, rouſed by the impending danger, ordered his ſon to march into Sigjiſtan with twelve thouſand horſe, there to join the forces under the command of Ruſtan, in order to make head a-

gainſt

[c] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Caicaus. Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xiii.

gainſt the enemy. Syavek readily obeyed, and, after joining his uncle Ruſtan, marched with ſuch expedition, that they were ſoon in the neighbourhood of Apheraſiab and his army; but not thinking fit to hazard an engagement immediately, they took care to pitch on a very ſtrong camp. Apheraſiab, knowing that his affairs would not permit him to carry on a long and lingering war, attacked them therein, which Ruſtan foreſaw, and provided ſo well for his reception, that he was not only repulſed, but his troops ſuffered ſo much in the attack, that he began ſincerely to think of peace, in order to prevent the coming of this army of Perſians into his dominions. With this view he ſent commiſſioners to the camp of Syavek and Ruſtan, in order to ſettle the terms of a perpetual alliance; they were very kindly received, and the young prince, his uncle, and two Perſians of great quality, who were of his council, ſettled with them the heads of a treaty very advantageous to Perſia, which being ratified by Apherſiab, the young prince diſpatched an expreſs to carry the peace to his rather. It ſeems the intrigues of Saudabah had created this deſerving young prince many enemies in his father's court, who took this opportunity of perſuading the king, that Syavek had exceeded his commiſſion, and injured the majeſty of the Perſian empire by the treaty which he had made. Keykobad, influenced by theſe ſuggeſtions, diſpatched his uncle Thus to the army with letters full of ſharpneſs with reſpect to the young prince, and with directions to deliver up the command to Thus, and to ſignify to Ruſtan, that the king thought him now old enough to take his reſt, and therefore deſired him to retire to his government of Sigiſtan. Ruſtan obeyed, and the prince continued in the army, which now marched to the frontiers of Turqueſtan, in order to act offenſively againſt Apheraſiab. When they were arrived in the neighbourhood of the river Gihon, the prince taking with him Piran-Viſſeh, an officer of diſtinction in the Turkiſh army who had remained with him as an hoſtage, went directly to the court of Apheraſiab, to ſhew him how contrary to his humour it was to be guilty of a breach of faith. Apheraſiab received him with open arms, placed him on a throne by his own, and gave him his daughter Franghiz in marriage [d]. The nobility of Turqueſtan were ſo much charmed with this young prince, and gave him continually ſuch ſtrong marks of their eſteem,

[d] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Ruſtan, Slivek, Piran, Viſſeh. Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.

that Garſiaveſch, brother to Apheraſiab, took umbrage at it, and reſolved to have him taken off. Syavek, who was a prince of great penetration, diſcovered his intention, and foreſeeing that in a ſtrange country it was impoſſible for him to guard againſt ſuch attempts, he ſpoke of it to his wife, who was then great with child, and conjured her in caſe he ſhould be murdered, to ſend his ſon, if ſhe ſhould be brought to bed of one, into Perſia. A ſmall time after, what he feared came to paſs, he was killed by ſome aſſaſſins, hired by Garſiaveſch, who would alſo have diſpatched his wife, if Piran-Viſſeh had not luckily entered the room and prevented it. Franghiz was afterwards brought to bed of a ſon, called Key-choſrau, who in time ſucceeded his grandfather. The people of Turqueſtan were ſo much grieved for the death of Syavek, that, to ſhew their concern, they mourned in Perſian habits, a cuſtom which has ever ſince remained amongſt them. The news of the prince of Perſia's death reached Ruſtan in his government, he, without expecting orders, entered Turqueſtan with a conſiderable army, burning and deſtroying all the country before him. Garſiaveſch raiſed a body of troops as ſoon as he was able, and marched to oppoſe him; but coming to an engagement, they were ſoon defeated, and Garſiaveſch himſelf had his head ſtruck off by the ſword of Ruſtan [c]. The deſire this hero had to do all the good he could to the family of his pupil and nephew Syavek, put him upon enquiring for his ſon; but his mother kept him ſo effectually concealed, that neither his friends nor his foes could find him out, which gave Ruſtan inexpreſſible concern; ſome years after, however, Keykaus ſent Guiu the ſon of Gudarz, a young Perſian nobleman of great capacity, into Turqueſtan, in order to diſcover his grandſon. Some ſay, that Guiu having ſought the young prince a long time in vain, met him by chance one day as he was hunting, and, knowing him by the reſemblance he bore of his father, addreſſed himſelf frankly to him, told him his name and his commiſſion. Key-choſrau liſtened greedily to the propoſal made him of retiring into Perſia, but deſired, that he might carry his mother and Piran-Viſſeh, the old and faithful friend of his father, with him, that they might be ſafe from the attempts of their enemies. This being agreed to, all things were concerted ſo well, that they quitted

[c] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Caicaus, Siavek, Gherſciaveſch.

quitted Turqueſtan and got ſafe into Perſia, little to the ſatisfaction of Apheraſiab, who was mighty well pleaſed with having in his hands the heir of the Perſian diadem. He ordered them immediately to be purſued by ſeveral roads but all to no purpoſe, though they paſſed the river Gjiehon in ſight of their purſuers. On the arrival of Key-choſrau at the court of his grandfather, the face of affairs ſuddenly changed; thoſe who had been avowed enemies of the prince Syavek his father were immediately removed, and Keykaubad, to ſhew his affection for the young prince, made him generaliſſimo of his armies, and raiſed Guiu, who had brought him back, to the higheſt honours. Thus, who had been no friend to Syavek, began to be apprehenſive of the power of Key-cohuſrau, and therefore took all opportunities of influencing Fraiborz, the ſon of Keykaus, by ſuggeſting to him, that the new-come prince would rob him of the crown of Perſia, which ought by no means to be placed on the head of one deſcended by the mother's ſide from Tour, the implacable enemy of their name and nation; theſe ſeeds of diſſention ſown, the Perſian court was quickly in diſorder, all the nobility taking one ſide or other, to the no ſmall detriment of the affairs of the nation. Keykaus in the mean time was unwilling to declare either againſt his ſon or his grandſon. At laſt, to prevent, as far as in him lay, the inconveniences that might attend a diſputed ſucceſſion, he reſolved to give the competitors for the crown a fair opportunity of diſplaying their abilities, and to declare him who had the greateſt deſert his heir. One Bahaman, who had been intruſted with the city of Ardebil or Ardevil in the province of Aderbayagjan, had made himſelf prince of that place, and thrown off his allegiance to the king of Perſia. Keykaus ſent a body of troops, under the command of his ſon Fraibroz, to inveſt the town on one ſide, and an equal number under Key-choſrau to ſit down before it on the other, informing both the princes, when they ſet out for their reſpective commands, that whoever reduced the place he would declare ſucceſſor to the throne. Thus, according to his repeated profeſſions of friendſhip to Fraiborz, ſet out with him for the army, and did all that in his power lay to make him maſter of Ardevil, but to no purpoſe; Bahaman, apprized of the ſiege, had provided all things neceſſary for a long defence, and was himſelf ſo conſummate an officer, that he triumphed over all the attempts of the Perſian army under Fraiborz. Key-choſrau had better ſucceſs; the troops

commanded

commmanded by this young prince behaved better than thoſe under his uncle, inſomuch, that Bahaman, finding it impoſſible to hold out, ſurrendred Ardevil into his hands. According to agreement therefore, when he returned to court, Keykaus declared him heir apparent of the crown, and thereby put an end to the contention which had ſo long ſubſiſted. Some ſmall time after this, the good old monarch, wearied with the fatigues of royalty, retired from the world, and left his grandſon in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom, after a reign of one hundred and fifty years [f].

ACCORDING to the method we have hitherto purſued, we ſhould here take leave of Keykaus's reign. But as it is our deſign to inform the reader, as far as we are able, of every thing relating to the hiſtory of thoſe kings we ſpeak of, we find our ſelves obliged to take notice here of ſome variations in circumſtances, into which the Perſian hiſtorians have fallen, as to the moſt material facts reported in the hiſtory of Keykaus: Thus, as to Saudabah, ſome make her to have been the daughter of Gherſchiaveſch brother to Apheraſiab; they ſay likewiſe, that ſhe was the mother of Syavek, and that takeing ſome diſguſt in his father's court, the young prince fled to that of his uncle in Turqueſtan, where, marrying the daughter of the king, he made himſelf ſo conſiderable, that his grand-father by the mother's ſide cauſed him to be deſtroyed [g]. Mirkhond, ſpeaking of the invaſion made by Ruſtan on Apheraſiab's dominions, in revenge for the death of Syavek, mentions one Keydah, the ſon of Apheraſiab, who commanded the armies of his father, and who was ſlain in ſingle combat by Ruſtan. If there be any fact in this, then it is probable, that this duel is repreſented in the figures cut on the rocky mountain of Tacks-Ruſtan, which we took notice of in our deſcription of Perſia [h]. A Perſian writer hath taken upon him to aſſert, that Keykaus ought to be regarded as the Nimrod of the Hebrews, and he will have it, that both theſe names ſignify the long liver, or the immortal, adding, that Keykaus was ſo called becauſe of his extraordinary long reign, viz. of one hundred and fifty years. Mirkhond, like a good hiſtorian, reports this fact, and

[f] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Caicaus & Caikoſrau. [g] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. oriental. Artic. Gherſchiaveſch. [h] Mirkhond. hiſt. Univers. Hiſt. vol. iv. laſt paragraph but one.

and obſerves, that ſome have ſtigmatized Keykaus with building the tower of Babel, and attempting to ſcale heaven thereby, but he ſays expreſly, that this ſtory is fabulous, and ought not to be regarded; the king of Perſia being a wiſe and pious prince, who knew well, that to aſcend to heaven, there was no need of towers. But to proceed in our hiſtory [i] (G).

KEY-

[i] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Artic. Nembrod.

(G) To prevent the reader's falling into any confuſion with reſpect to the wars recorded in this hiſtory, it may be neceſſary to obſerve, that the Perſians had for their neighbours, under the monarchs of the firſt and ſecond race, on the north-eaſt the inhabitants of the extended country of Touran. We have already ſpoken ſo copiouſly of the ſenſe and derivation of this name, that there is no neceſſity for our adding any thing farther on that ſubject; here it is ſufficient, that we obſerve, the boundaries thereof were never well fixed, and that it was always deſigned by an indefinite term, as well by the Romans as by the orientals; the former ſtiled all the provinces on the other ſide of that river which they called Oxus, the antient Perſians Gjeihon, and the moderns Amu, Tranſoxana; and the orientals called the ſame provinces Mauaralnahar, i. e. on the other ſide of the river, (6). This country was inhabited by the Turks, properly ſo called, whom ſome conceive to be the ſame nation with the Tartars, and that thoſe we generally call Turks have very little right to that appellation (7). On the eaſt of Perſia lay the empire of the Indies, then governed by princes who were natives of that country. To the ſouth of Perſia lay the peninſula of Arabia, governed by its own kings; and on the weſt the territories of Sham or Schamah, for ſo the Perſians ſtiled Syria, and the other dominions of the kings of Niniveh and Babylon. Nothing can be darker or more confuſed than the accounts we have from the Perſian hiſtorians of the ſtate of their neighbours in thoſe times of which we are now ſpeaking. To us there ſeems ſome reaſon to doubt, whether the word Khakan, made uſe of to ſignify the ſupreme monarch of grand Tartary by Mirkhond, was really heard of in theſe early times; it ſeems more likely, that our Perſian hiſtorian beſtowed that title, which is now frequent, on the monarch mentioned by the antient hiſtorians to have reigned then in thoſe parts, in order to familiarize the ſtile of his hiſtory to his cotemporaries. As the country of Touran bordered as well as Iran on the Caſpian ſea, and as the laſt battle fought by Apheraſiab happened

(6) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. oriental. Art. Touran. (7) Hiſtory of the Tartars, vol. ii. p. 384.

KEY-CHOSRAU or Kai-khoſru ſucceeded peaceably to the throne of his grandfather, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of that preference which had been given him; for in the firſt place, he took care to rectify all abuſes in courts of juſtice throughout his whole dominions, diſplacing all ſuch officers as had made themſelves odious to the people, and taking every method he could deviſe to put the poor into a condition of earning bread, iſſuing for this purpoſe great ſums out of his treaſury, and giving audience with the greateſt eaſe to all degrees of people. When he found his kingdom in tolerable order, he ſummoned a grand council of his nobility, wherein having repreſented the miſerable death of his father, and the mighty miſchiefs which had been done them by the inhabitants of Turqueſtan, he deſired them to ſpeak their minds freely, whether it would not be for their intereſt, as well as for his honour, if an army were immediately raiſed for the reduction of Turqueſtan. They came unanimouſly into this propoſal, whereupon Piran-Viſſeh returned into his own country, from whence, as we have heard, he fled with Key-choſrau and his mother. The king of Perſia, knowing that without unanimity no war could be carried on with any reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs, took pains to reconcile himſelf to Thus and to his uncle Fraiborz, and to ſhew that his reconciliation

ned in the plains of Khuerezm, it was natural enough for him to fly into the mountains neareſt at hand, in hopes of returning that way into Touran; and when he found the enemy poſſeſſed of the paſſes near the mouth of the river Gjihon, he had no other way left than to endeavour to get through the mountains of Aderbayagjan, and ſo round the Caſpian ſea, till he entered Touran on the north, in which, however, we need not wonder that he proved unſucceſsful, ſince from thoſe times to ours, no conqueror whatever has had the honour to make that tour with his troops, excepting only the Tartar Hero Zinjis Khan. From the obſervations in this note it will be very plain to the reader, that Iran, under the reign of this monarch Key-koſrau, contained very nearly the ſame extent of country and the ſame provinces, which are ſtill comprehended under the empire of Perſia; and that whatever difference there might be, muſt have lain on the provinces on the weſt ſide of the empire; the bounds of which are not exactly laid down by the Perſian hiſtorians. As to the new kingdom on the Perſian gulph erected in favour of Fraiborz, we ſhall have occaſion to mention it hereafter; in the mean time, let us remark, that the ſituation of this kingdom proves the extent of Keykoſrau's empire towards the ſouth-eaſt to have been pretty near the ſame with the preſent Shah's.

conciliation was ſincere, he intruſted them with the command of thirty thouſand horſe, and ſent them to open the war by invading the dominion of Turqueſtan [k]. At their ſetting out he ſpoke to them thus, "You muſt know, "that before my father married the princeſs Franghiz my "mother, he had by the daughter of his friend Piran-"Viſſeh a ſon called Ferud, This young man I am in-"formed has at preſent a command of the army of Aphe-"raſiab; but where-ever he is, remember that he is my "brother, and that where-ever you find him you do him "no injury, but render him all the honours due to ſo near "a relation of mine". It happened unluckily, that the Perſian army no ſooner entered the country of Turqueſtan, than Ferud came to reconnoitre them at the head of a body of horſe. His ſcouts informed him, that the Perſians were by far more numerous than the troops under his command; but he, to ſhew his valour, inſtead of retiring, attacked very briſkly the army under the command of Thus, who, as ſoon as he underſtood that Ferud was at the head of the Turks, ordered his forces to retire, and preſenting himſelf before the young prince, informed him of the order he had received from his brother the king of Perſia. Ferud, full of imprudent bravery, would not be perſuaded to retire, but cauſing the Turkiſh horſe to make a freſh attack, the Perſians repulſed them with great ſlaughter, and Ferud, to the mighty regret of the whole army, was found dead upon the place [l]. Key-choſrau received this news with great concern, and apprehending that Thus had been in ſome meaſure inſtrumental to his brother's death, he ſent orders to his uncle Fraiborz to take upon him the command of the army, and to ſend back Thus a priſoner, to anſwer in Perſia for his conduct. Fraiborz executed the king's commands exactly with reſpect to Thus, and then marched farther into Turqueſtan. Apheraſiab gave the command of the great army he had raiſed to Piran-Viſſeh, the moſt experienced of his generals, and who was perfectly acquainted with the Perſian diſcipline This excellent officer did all that could be expected from him, he gave Fraiborz and Gudar ſo much trouble, and knew ſo well how to encamp his troops out of danger of an attack, that at length the Perſians were conſtrained to retreat, not without very conſiderable loſs; Gudar, who commanded

[k] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xiv.

[l] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Artic. Caichoſrau.

commanded in the rear, having no leſs than ſeventy gentlemen of his own family ſlain [m]. The news of this defeat obliged the king to take other meaſures; he therefore removed his uncle from the command of the army, and gave it to Gudar, to whoſe valour and conduct it was owing, that any part thereof eſcaped. He alſo ſent Thus, who had fully juſtified himſelf as to the death of Ferud, with a reinforcement of troops, in order to enable him to carry on the war. Apheraſiab, perceiving that the Perſians were reſolved to deſtroy his empire, called to his aſſiſtance the Kha-khan or king of great Tartary and Schangal king of the Indies, and by the help of his confederates puſhed the Perſian troops ſo cloſely, that they being far inferior in number were forced to retire into the mountains of Choraſſan, where they threw up intrenchments, and fortified their camp in the beſt manner they could. Keychoſrau, informed of their diſtreſs, ſent orders to Ruſtan to march with the utmoſt diligence to their aſſiſtance. That experienced general readily obeyed his maſter, and the Perſian army that was beſieged in the mountains, when they heard of his approach, made no queſtion of carrying the victory. Ruſtan, as an earneſt thereof, deceived the vigilance of the Turkiſh officers, and, paſſing their advanced guards in the night, entered the Perſian camp, before the enemy was aware. The next day the moſt bloody battle was fought, that hitherto had been ſeen in Perſia Ruſtan did wonders, he took priſoner the Kha-khan and Kaimus, one of the principal generals in the ſervice of Apheraſiab. In the end victory declared itſelf for the Perſians, and Apheraſiab, having loſt half his army, was obliged to retire with the reſt into his own dominions. Notwithſtanding this mighty loſs, the king of Turqueſtan meditated new invaſions, exhauſting his whole country to draw together an army ſufficient for his purpoſe. Keychoſrau on the other hand ſet four great armies on foot, the chief of which lay in the neighbourhood of Balch, under the command of Gudar. Againſt him Apheraſiab ſent a detachment of his choiceſt troops under the command of Piran-Viſſeh, the beſt officer in his dominions. The two armies had not long been in the neighbourhood of each other, before an action enſued, wherein Piran-Viſſeh was killed and his army beaten When Gudar.

ſaw

[m] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Caichoſrau.

ſaw the body of Piran-Viſſeh on the ground, he alighted from his horſe, and remembering the courteſies that nobleman had formerly done to Syavek and to Key-choſrau, when a young man, he bedewed it with his tears, and took care afterwards to ſee it interred with all the honours due to ſo great and worthy a man. Of which when the king of Perſia was informed, he highly commended his general, and ſpoke with very great regret of the death of his old friend [n]. Apheraſiab, when informed of this new diſaſter, ſent his ſon Schidah to command the remains of the army, which he cauſed to be reinforced as ſoon as poſſible. By this time Key-choſrau was come in perſon to his army, and marched at the head thereof, through the plains in the neighbourhood of the Caſpian ſea. Schidah, thinking this a proper place to give battle, advanced with his army, and attacked the Perſians with great reſolution; but his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his valour, for he was killed in the beginning of the engagement, and all his army cut to pieces. The king of Perſia ſurveying the field of battle, and the vaſt number of dead bodies which lay thereon, cryed out aloud, Khuareſmi-bud, i. e. I have ſeen my deſire; whence the plains in which this battle was fought, and the province wherein they lye, received the appellation of Khuarezm, which they ſtill retain. Key-choſrau puſhed on the war now with the greateſt vigour, marching directy towards the capital of Turqueſtan, whither Apheraſiab had retired; but this prince not thinking himſelf ſafe there, becauſe the people murmured loudly at the evils they felt, firſt ſent away his Haram, and then retired himſelf. His wives and children fell a ſhort time afterwards into the hands of Key-choſrau, who treated them with all imaginable kindneſs and reſpect; Apheraſiab wandered from province to province with a ſmall body of troops, till, being ſhut up in the mountains of Aderbayagjan, he was at laſt taken priſoner, and by the orders of Key-choſrau put to death [o]. Thus ended this long and bloody war, which had well nigh exhauſted both empires. After it was was finiſhed, Key-choſrau fixed his court at Balch, for the conveniency of governing Touran as well as Iran; there it was, that ſeeing himſelf in full poſſeſſion of two great empires, this monarch did what none of his predeceſſors had thought of. He computed all the levies which had been

[n] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. ubi-ſupra, & Artic. Piran Viſſeh. [o] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Caichoſrau.

been made on Perſia for the carrying on the war againſt the Turks, and out of the mighty treaſures which were fallen into his hands, he reſtored to every family the amount of the taxes they had paid. He ſent for his uncle Fraiborz, and after having commended him for his fidelity, he erected ſeveral provinces on the ſhore of the Perſian gulph into a kingdom, and made him ſovereign thereof. He aſſembled the nobility of Touran, and having ſhewn them the folly of hating the inhabitants of Iran, as they had hitherto done, he adviſed them to conſider of ways and means for re-eſtabliſhing the peace of their country, and aſſured them he would contribute to it as far as lay in his power He then marked out the quarters, and ſettled the yearly pay of his army, took an exact account of the ſtate of all the provinces, reformed ſeveral abuſes in religion; and when he had done all this, he ſaid he had reigned long enough for his own glory, and that it was now time for him to quit the world, and dedicate the reſt of his days to God. with this view he introduced his ſucceſſor Lohoraſb into a grand aſſembly of the nobility, he put the Tagi on his head, and retired himſelf to a cell in the deſart, having attained to the age of ninety years, ſixty of which he had paſſed upon the throne [p].

WHAT has been above related of the reign of Keychoſrau is taken from the beſt and moſt credible hiſtorians, and connected with all the accuracy in our power; let us now ſee what other remarkable facts have been related of this monarch, which could not ſo well be reduced into the order we have followed. With reſpect to the deciſive battle fought againſt the king of Turqueſtan, ſome writers tells us, that it was not a general engagement, but that twelve Turks and as many Perſians fought in the ſight of both armies, which providence decided in favour of the latter; and this combat is very famous in oriental romances, where it is generally ſtiled Genk duazde Rokh, i. e. the combat of the twelve heroes. The terms on which this combat was fought were theſe; that if the Turks were victorious, the Perſians ſhould own Apheraſiab for their lord, but in caſe the Perſians were ſucceſsful, then the Turks were to retire into their own country, and ſo quit all pretenſions to Iran [q]. Apheraſiab complied with the agreement, and marched directly back into his own country; but, ſay the

[p] Mirkond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. D'Herbelot. ubi. ſupra. [q] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. ubi ſupra.

the ſame writers, he ſoon after broke the peace by ſending his ſon with a numerous body of horſe to make inroads into Perſia. In conſequence of which followed the battle of Khuarezm, in which they make Apheraſiab and his brother to have been preſent. They add, that, after the loſs of the battle, Apheraſiab with the remains of his army fled into the mountainous countries on the banks of the Caſpian ſea, intending to paſs if poſſible behind it, and ſo thro' the extended territories of the Kipjaks into his own dominions; but his efforts were vain, the forces of Key-choſrau ſurrounded the handful of troops Apheraſiab had with him in the mountains of Aderbayagjan, ſo that he was at laſt taken priſoner and put to death [r]. Mirkhond and the writers we have followed do not ſay much as to the perſonal bravery of Key-choſrau, but there are writers who inform us of a very extraordinary act of chivalry performed by this monarch. They tell us, that in his reign there appeared in the mountains, which ſeparate Irak Ajemi from Phars, or, as we call them, Parthia from proper Perſia, a monſtrous ſerpent, which ſtruck the people with ſuch terror that they abandoned their habitations, and left all the adjacent country deſolate; this formidable dragon they ſtiled Gavſchid. The king, being informed of this, reſolved like a good prince to go immediately and deſtroy this monſter. Key-choſrau hunted it for ſome time before he came up with it, but at laſt he found it in its den in the mountains of Aderbayagjan, and his guards flying at the ſight of the dragon he attacked it alone, and killed it with his own hand. On the ſpot where this remarkable deed was done, a Pyræum or fire-temple was erected, called in ſucceeding times Deir Gavſchid, i. e. the habitation of Gavſchid, renowned to this day among the Perſees, and held by ſome to be the firſt fire-temple erected in Perſia, which, however, we doubt, if they mean, as certainly they do, that it was erected in the reign of Key-choſrau [s]. Though ſome writers are ſilent as to the valour of this prince, yet all who treat of his reign expatiate loudly on his wiſdom and piety. Some believe him a prophet, moſt acknowledge that he converſed with the prophets, and was in a peculiar manner favoured by the Almighty

[r] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [s] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Artic. Deir. Gaſvid.

mighty, for the great regard he always ſhewed towards religion and religious perſons. During his reign flouriſhed Lokman the famous philoſopher of the eaſt, called by way of ſirname Lokman Al-Hakim, i. e. Lokman the wiſe. It would lead us far out of our way ſhould we enter here too deepiy into the hiſtory of this extraordinary perſon; we ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerveing, that it is generally agreed he was by birth an Ethiopian or Nubian, the oriental word Habaſchi including both; his parents mean, and himſelf ſold for a ſlave, and carried from one place to another, till at laſt he was brought into the land of Iſrael, where he lived under the reigns of David and Solomon. The Arabian writers tell us, that ſleeping in this condition during the heat of the day, the angels entered his room and awaked him, with this ſalutation, Lokman, we are the meſſengers of God, thy creator and ours, who hath ſent us to thee to inform thee, that he will make thee a monarch and his lieutenant over the whole earth. Lokman, after remaining ſilent for a ſmall ſpace, returned this anſwer: If by the abſolute command of God I am to become what you ſay, his will muſt be fulfilled in all things, and I hope, if it comes to paſs, that he will afford me the neceſſary aſſiſtance of his grace, that I may exactly execute his orders; but if he would give me leave to chuſe, I wiſh rather to continue in the ſtate I am in, and that he would prevent me from offending him, without which grace all the pomp and grandeur of the world would be to me no more than a cumbrous and inſupportable load. This, ſay theſe authors, appeared ſo juſt in the ſight of God, that he beſtowed on Lokman ſuch an excellent underſtanding, that he compoſed, ſay they, ten thouſand apologues, moral maxims, and wiſe ſayings, each of them more valuable than the whole world. A phraſe implying no more, than that they are highly uſeful as well as wonderfully ſublime. They tell us alſo, that Lokman ſtanding one day in the midſt of a great number of people, who all liſtened greedily to his wiſe and pleaſant diſcourſes, a Hebrew of great quality aſked him, if he was not the black ſlave whom he had ſeen formerly tending the ſheep: Lokman readily anſwered, I am, and how then, ſaid the nobleman, have you attained ſo high a degree of virtue? Why, anſwered Lokman, by theſe three eaſy ſteps: I have always ſpoke the truth, I have conſequently kept my word, and I have never meddled in any thing which did not concern me. A

Perſian

Perſian poet hath recorded another extraordinary inſtance of Lokman's preſence of mind; his maſter ſent him with ſome other ſlaves to gather fruit in his garden, the reſt eat the beſt, and when his maſter miſſed them, they roundly ſwore that Lokman eat them whether they would or not. The matter, Sir, ſaid Lokman, is eaſily decided; let us all drink heartily of warm water, and then let us join hands and run round; his lord commanded the experiment to be immediately made, upon which they all fell a vomiting with this difference, that they brought up the fruits which they had eaten, and Lokman nothing but the warm water. The comment of the Perſian poet on this ſtory is ſo remarkable, that the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to ſee it; "When we ſhall all drink of this hot water at our "tryals, in the day of the laſt judgment, then whatever has been concealed in the heart, and hidden far "from the ſight of men, ſhall be thrown up in the view "of all the world; and the hypocrite, who acquired the "reputation of a ſaint by his diſſembling, ſhall then be "covered with ſhame and confuſion of face". What we have reported is ſufficient to ſhew, that there is a ſtrong reſemblance between the hiſtory of Lokman, as reported by the eaſtern writers, and that of Æſop, as we find it written by the Greeks. Both were mean in their original; both ſlaves through the ſeverity of fortune; both famous for their wiſdom; and both delivered their maxims in the ſame manner, that is by way of apologue. But there is a wide difference between the times in which, the oriental authors ſay, Lokman lived, and thoſe wherein the Greeks place Æſop. As to the firſt, it is generally allowed, that Lokman lived in the reign of Solomon, whereas Æſop is ſaid to have been cotemporary with Cræſus king of Lydia and Solon the Athenian legiſlator. From the hiſtory of their lives, and from the compariſon of their fables, there is all the reaſon in the world to belive, that Lokman and Æſop were the ſame perſon; the difficulty ſeems to lie here, whether the Greeks ſtole him from the orientals, or whether the orientals took him from the Greeks. It ſeems moſt natural to believe the former, ſince in ſuch caſes the Greeks are known to have been notorious thieves, and to have altered every point of antient hiſtory they were able to their own advantage. Beſides the apologue was certainly the favourite mode of teaching in the eaſt, long before that or any other kind of learning was known to the

after all, this is but conjecture, which we offer to the reader's consideration, rather than his belief. The chief reason why Lokman is so much considered in the east is, because Mohammed has mentioned him in terms of respect in the Koran, and has affirmed, that God bestowed on him the gift of extraordinary wisdom [t]. His fables, which are far from being numerous, have been printed in Arabic and Latin at Leyden, so that Europe is now no stranger to the wisdom of that famous person [u]. But to return to Key-chosrau; he is reported to have been himself a very wise and very learned prince, as well as remarkably pious. He was very fortunate throughout his reign, and yet he was so little exalted by an uninterrupted series of good fortune, that he not only resigned the crown, and retired into the deserts on the skirts of the province of Aderbayagjan, but left also this remarkable memento to all his successors, by causing it to be engraved in one of the rooms of the palace [w]. (H).

We

[t] Koran. Sor. Lokman. Art. Lokman. Note H. D'Herbelot. Art. Kaichosrau.

[u] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient.

[w] Mirkhond. Hist. sect. xiv.

(H) It is very fit that we should give an account in this note what our reasons were for inserting the life of Lokman in the Persian history. Not to trouble the reader with too long a detail, we shall acquaint him with no more than two. First, Lokman wrote in the Persian language, as is generally agreed, and as the learned editor of his fables in Holland positive affirms (8). 2dly, It is from Persian writers that we have the best and fullest accounts of Lokman's life and manners, and as they constantly speak of him as cotemporary with Key-chosrau, the third king of their second dynasty, it was but just, that we should insert his memoirs under that reign. Having thus justify'd our speaking of Lokman here, let us be indulged a few thoughts on fable, and on the high reputation which this author has obtained from his writing in that way. It is universally agreed, that the apologue was one of the most antient methods of instructing, and of consequence that it was invented in the east, where indeed all kind of science took birth. That this mode of teaching was far elder than Lokman's days, admitting that he lived where the oriental writers have placed him, we know from the sacred writings. And that this method was long, if it be not still, cultivated in the east, is a point so notorious, that we need not undertake its proof. Bishop Patrick has advanced a very

(8) Prefat. Erpen. Locm. Fabul.

We ought not to value ourſelves too much on our exaltation above the ordinary rank of men, ſince we are no more ſecure of our crowns than they of their eſtates; that which deſcended from ſeveral monarchs to me will deſcend, when I am gone, to ſeveral others; who then would be proud of what is uncertain in itſelf, and cannot at beſt laſt long?

Lohrasp, Lohrasp, or Lohoraſb, was the ſucceſſor of Key-choſrau, and his near relation; that prince having no heirs male. The authors who have recorded the principal events, which happened under the reigns of the ſeveral princes of the firſt and ſecond race, differ in no part of their account ſo much as where they ſpeak of the actions of this prince. For the reader's eaſe as well our own, we will firſt give, as ſuccinctly as we can, the ſtory of this monarch's reign, according to Mirkhond, and we ſhall afterwards ſet down ſuch variations as ſeem of greateſt importance, affixing the authors names from whom they

very ingenious, though it may be no very ſolid, opinion in relation to the riſe and decay of fable. He ſays, that it was invented in early times, when mankind were as yet rude, and hiſtories unwritten; that as theſe came into vogue fable declined, becauſe truth being always preferable to falſehood, men choſe rather to appeal to facts which had happened, than to ſuppoſe things which might never come to paſs (9). But, with the biſhop's good leave, the other ſide of the argument may be taken, and ſupported with greater force; for points of hiſtory are very ſeldom exactly agreed on in all their circumſtances, and conſequently can hardly ever be ſimilar one to another; whereas fables, which are indeed repreſentations of facts without names, may be adjuſted to the utmoſt nicety, and conſequently are able to ſtrike with far greater vigor than any hiſtory applied. We will give an inſtance which will effectually ſupport what we ſay. Might not Nathan the prophet, when he reproved David for taking the wife of Uriah, have eaſily bethought him of ſome hiſtory, which would very nearly have repreſented the caſe of that prince; but will any man ſay, that a lecture from hiſtory would have penetrated the ſoul of David with ſo lively a ſorrow as Nathan's noble application of his parable, Thou art the man (10)? Fables ſhew us truth in an eaſy natural light, and the mind having thus conſented to a doctrine propoſed, the underſtanding afterwards applies; and we learn with the greater eaſe, becauſe we do not diſcern the teacher. But to return to Lokman, his fame

(9) Vid. Preface to his paraphraſe on the proverbs.
(10) 2. Samuel c. xii.

are taken. Lohraſp was the nephew to king Keykaus's brother, and was the next heir-male of the royal line. He was elected king, and not without conſiderable oppoſition; his temper was known to be ſevere and haughty, the grandees therefore were many of them for putting the ſcepter into a milder hand; and at the head of this faction was Zal-zer the father of Ruſtan; but their cabals were vain, Lohraſp carried it in ſpite of them all, and was declared king. As ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne he determined with himſelf to raiſe his reputation, and to extend his empire by making war on both ſides thereof; in conſequence of this reſolution he fixed his court at Balch, and took all poſſible methods for putting every thing in the beſt order in the eaſtern provinces of Iran. He ſent in the mean time his general Gudarz with a puiſſant army into Shamach or Syria, with orders to reduce the whole of that large country under his power. Gudarz effectually anſwered his maſter's expectation; he conquered all Syria as far as Damaſcus, and alſo Paleſtine, with the famous city of Jeruſalem, called by the Perſians the Habitation of the ſaints.

fame is ſo great and ſo univerſal throughout the eaſt, that to expreſs an high idea of any man's wiſdom, they are wont to ſay, as the learned Erpennius expreſſes it, Non neceſſe eſt docere Locmanum, There is no need of teaching Lokman (11). His fables were doubtleſs almoſt without number, but the collection we have of them is not large; Sir John Chardin has printed a French tranſlation of them, which agrees exactly with the Arabic and Latin verſions above referred to; we call them verſions, becauſe, as we obſerved before, Lokman wrote originally in Perſian; and at this day, Sir John Chardin tells us, this nation is ſo fond of them, that they are the firſt things they teach their children, and ſpare no pains to make them enter into and comprehend their meaning. An inſtance or two may not be unacceptable (12).

The Boy in the River.

" A little boy went one day into a river, and, not having
" learned to ſwim, had like to have been drowned; ſeeing a
" man at a diſtance he called out to him for help: the man, as
" ſoon as he ſaw the lad's diſtreſs, began to expoſtulate with
" him on the folly of going into a river before he had learned
" to ſwim, the Boy inſtead of anſwering him cried out, Save
" me, ſave me, and then chide as long as you will".

The

(11) Præfat. Erpen. Lokman. Fab. p. 7. (12) Chardin Voyag. tom. 227.

ſaints. The reigning king of the Jews ſubmitted and promiſed to pay tribute, for which he put as hoſtages into the hands of the Perſian general ſeveral perſons of quality, whom Gudarz quickly afterwards cauſed to be ſlain; this provoked the Jews to a rebellion, and gave Gudarz the opportunity he wanted of ſacking Jeruſalem, where he treated the inhabitants with inexpreſſible cruelty; and having loaded his ſoldiers with riches he retired, and carried into Perſia with him a vaſt number of captives. King Lohraſp had two ſons, the eldeſt called Guſhtaſp, the younger named Zaris; the former was of a fierce haughty diſpoſition, but was at the ſame time warlike and of great abilities: this young prince drew in many, who were deſirous of novelty, to join with him in a rebellion againſt his father, in which he had at firſt ſucceſs, and gained over to him a very conſiderable party; but Lohraſp, having drawn together all his friends, and having alſo done every thing in his power to engage the people to his ſervice, marched ſo briſkly againſt his ſon, that Guſhtaſp's adherents, fearing the fortune of the day in caſe of a battle, abandoned him by degrees, which he obſerving began immediately to provide for his own ſafety, by retiring into Turqueſtan in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that he lived even at

The Smith and his Dog.

" An honeſt ſmith had a dog that ſleep all the while his maſter " was at work; but as ſoon as he left off and ſat down with his " companions to dinner, the dog waked, and ſolicited him for " meat; Worthleſs animal, ſaid the ſmith, how canſt thou ſleep " amidſt the noiſe of hammers which ſhake the very earth, and " yet wake at the wagging of one's jaws, which ſcarce make " any noiſe at all"?

The Gooſe and the Swallow.

" The gooſe and the Swallow entered into a league of friend- " ſhip, and reſolved to live together. They came unluckily to " a place where the fowlers were watching; the ſwallow, as " ſoon as ſhe ſaw them, flew away, but the poor gooſe, not being " able to make uſe of her wings, was taken and killed".

The paſſage in the Alcoran referred to in the text, is the whole xxx1ſt chapter, which therefore bears the title of Lokman. Mohammed ſpeaks in his own perſon at the beginning thereof, vehemently declaiming againſt the irreligious perſons and idolaters, ſuch eſpecially as deſpiſed the Koran, and lived in the errors of their fathers; he then makes God ſpeak thus: " We

that court unknown and unſuſpected. Here, by a very odd accident, he married the daughter of the reigning prince. It was it ſeems a cuſtom in that country, that whenever the king had a mind to diſpoſe of a daughter in marriage, public notice was given, and the people aſſembled in great numbers in an open court, where being diſpoſed into the beſt order the place would allow, the king entered with his daughter, one of whoſe hands was held in his, and in the other ſhe had a golden apple, enriched with precious ſtones; when they were advanced into the middle of the place, the king let go his daughter's hand, and ſhe, after walking round and obſerving every body diligently, beſtowed her apple and herſelf on the man ſhe liked beſt. It happened not long after Guſhtaſp's arrival in Turqueſtan, that the king determined to marry his eldeſt daughter, and having brought her out into the court after the manner before deſcribed, ſhe, after looking a little about her, gave her apple and her perſon to this unknown. The grandees of Touran were inexpreſſibly vexed at ſeeing themſelves deſpiſed by the princeſs for a ſtranger, whom they ſuppoſed of no birth. They therefore engaged the king

" inſpired knowledge into Lokman and taught him to give God
" thanks; he that returneth thanks to God for his graces doth
" good to his ſoul, for God hateth the ungrateful, and praiſe
" is in all places due to him. Remember, thou, that Lokman
" ſaid to his ſon, O! my ſon, believe not that God hath equals;
" it is an exceeding great ſin; we have commanded man to
" honour his father and mother, his mother bringeth him forth
" with ſorrow, and weaneth him at two years old; be not thou
" forgetful of God's benefits; honour thy father and thy mo-
" ther, for thou ſhalt one day be judged before God." The reſt of the chapter contains a great many excellent admonitions, all of which are put into the mouth of Lokman, and conſequently ſhew how high this philoſopher ſtood in the opinion of Mohammed. To ſay the truth, he was a very artful perſon, and took care never to run counter to popular opinions, where it might be avoided. The character of Lokman was too well eſtabliſhed to be overturned by him and therefore he very wiſely repreſented him as one who had long ago taught the ſame doctrines which he now ſought to recommend. Hence, however, it has come to paſs, that ſome commentators on the Koran have taught that Lokman was a prophet, tho' others underſtand what Mohammed ſays of that Sage's having only the gift of teaching (13).

(13) D'Herbelot, Biblioth orient. Art. iii. p. Lokman.

king to make a law, that for the future the princeſſes of Touran ſhould have their choice only out of people of high quality, that the royal line might not be drawn into contempt. The king had ſtill two daughters as remarkable for their beauty as their birth; theſe were demanded in marriage by the two ſons of a neighbouring and potent prince, to whom the king of Touran made no ſcruple of promiſing them on this condition, that they reduced under his obedience two lords who had revolted, and who committed great devaſtations throughout all Touran. The young princes, conſidering the difficulty of this taſk, had recourſe to Guſhtaſp, of whoſe proweſs they had ſeen frequent proofs, and engaged him to be aſſiſtant therein. Guſhtaſp, as ſoon as he had undertaken to ſerve them, appointed a hunting-match, and invited the two brothers to be of the party; he alſo brought to the chace a ſmall body of reſolute friends. When they were aſſembled he let them into his project, which was to go immediately to a certain caſtle, where he was informed the two rebel lords had an interview, and to ſtorm it before they could have any intelligence of their expedition; this was immediately agreed to, and inſtantly carried into execution. Guſhtaſp entered the place firſt himſelf, and having ſeized the rebels, put them into the hands of the two princes, who conducted them to court, and preſented them to the king. The Turkiſh monarch was prodigiouſly pleaſed with this fate of arms, and very readily made good his promiſe to the princes, by giving them his daughters in marriage. A few days after he cauſed great feaſts to be celebrated, and appointed public tournaments, wherein Guſhtaſp behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, that he carried the glory of the day from all who were preſent. The king, who had hitherto ſhewed him but little countenance, ſpoke to him on this occaſion very kindly, and gave him the higheſt praiſes. Guſhtaſp took this opportunity of ſaying, that if he had excelled in combats that were not in earneſt, he had likewiſe been of ſome uſe in quelling the diſturbers of the public peace. This ſtruck the king's mind, who eaſily comprehended the meaning, and, having diligently ſought out the truth, made Guſhtaſp henceforward his favorite. It is to be obſerved, that after the conqueſt of Touran by Key-koſrau, though the people were left to live under their own laws and their own princes, yet they were obliged to own the ſuperiority of the monarchs of Iran, and to pay them a conſiderable tribute. Guſhtaſp perſuaded his father-

ther-in-law that this was at once diſhonourable and needleſs, and therefore adviſed him to throw off the yoke by refuſing tribute, and by making preparations for and declaring war againſt Lohraſp, in caſe he ſhould diſpute his independency. This Guſhtaſp did to be revenged of his father, and from an apprehenſion, that, if he was ever diſcovered, the nobility of Touran in a time of peace would certainly deliver him up. Lohraſp was exceedingly ſurprized at the arrival of the Turkiſh embaſſador in his court; he treated him, however, with great civility, and endeavoured to get out of him the true ſource of theſe extraordinary proceedings. The embaſſador at firſt thought to put him off with trivial anſwers, but on the king's preſſing him, he acknowledged at laſt, that a certain ſtranger, who had married his maſter's daughter, was the true author of all this miſchief. Lohraſp no ſooner heard this, than he gueſſed it was his ſon, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to enquire privately, whether it was ſo or not; as ſoon as he was certain, that this new and dangerous enemy of his was his ſon Guſhtaſp, he took at the ſame time a moſt ſtrange and moſt generous reſolution, which was to ſpare his people at the expence of his crown. He found he was grown old, he ſaw the ambition of his ſon was to be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than the diadem; and as he knew he was brave and wiſe, though undutiful to him, he determined to reſign to him his dominions; and in order to this he ſent his younger ſon Zaris with the Tagi, or enſign of the royal dignity in Perſia, to his brother in Turqueſtan. Zaris took care to give his brother private notice of his arrival; Guſhtaſp went immediately to pay him a viſit, and, being informed of his father's reſolution, accepted the Tagi or Tiara, and cauſed himſelf to be ſolemnly proclaimed king of Perſia. His father-in-law was at firſt prodigiouſly diſturbed, conceiving, that there was ſome treaſon againſt him in theſe proceedings, but when he found things were really as they had been repreſented, he was overjoyed to the higheſt degree; and the nobility of Touran came in crouds to pay their compliments to the new king of Perſia. Theſe ceremonies over, Guſhtaſp took leave of his father-in-law, and with his wife Karathun ſet out for his own dominions, carrying with him a grand retinue and a conſiderable number of camels loaded with riches. Lohraſp received his ſon with all the marks of tenderneſs and joy; Guſhtaſp retained him at court for many years, and did nothing without his advice; at laſt the good old

old man withdrew to lead a ſolitary life, to meditate on the vanities of this world, and to contemplate the wiſdom and goodneſs of God. A ſhort time after he died, having firſt ſent for his ſon, and given him in his laſt moments the moſt ſalutary counſels, in reſpect to his own glory and the good of his people. This Lohraſp was ſurnamed Balki, i. e. the Balchian, becauſe he reſided moſtly at Balk or Balch, one of the moſt antient cities in his dominions [p].

It muſt be owned, that the foregoing account taken from Mirkhond is by no means agreeable to what other Perſian authors have written on the ſame ſubject. In two of the moſt celebrated hiſtories of this people we find it recorded, that Lohraſp was the grandſon of Keykobad, and that he was oppoſed by the Perſian nobility, not for his cruelty or pride, as Mirkhond ſuggeſts, but becauſe his father and himſelf had led their lives in privacy, whence it was believed, he had not the capacity of reigning; it is alſo ſaid, that he was the firſt Perſian monarch who enacted martial laws, and obliged his troops to live like the reſt of his ſubjects, according to the rules of equity and juſtice, and not as they had hitherto done, at free quarter, and in contempt of both. He allowed his general officers and governors of provinces to give audience on a tribunal, raiſed one ſtory from the ground, and railed round about, reſerving to himſelf only this diſtinction, that he had a carpet or cloth of ſtate thrown before his footſtool. We are likewiſe told, that the name of the general ſent by this prince to invade Syria and Paleſtine was Raham, and that he was ſurnamed by the Perſians Bakhtalnaſſar, from whence the Hebrews framed the name of Nebuchadnezzer, and the Greeks Nabuchadonoſar. We have alſo on the ſame authority the hiſtory of Guſhtaſp's flight, marriage, and ſucceſſion to the throne of Perſia; but we are likewiſe told what little agrees with Mirkond's hiſtory, that Lohraſp, within a ſhort time after he reſigned the throne, was beſieged in the city of Balch by Arjaſp, nephew of Apheraſiab the famous Turkiſh monarch, who, after the town fell into his hands, cauſed the old king of Perſia to be put to death, after he had reigned 120 years [q] (I).

Khondemir

[p] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xv. [q] Lebtarik. Tarik. Montekeb.

(I) We have already ſpoken of Mirkhond, from whom the greateſt part of our hiſtory is taken; here therefore let us give the reader a ſhort account of the two hiſtories, mentioned in the text,

Khondemir the famous Perſian hiſtorian, differs not only from Mirkhond, but the writers laſt cited; he ſays, that Lohraſp was the ſon of Keykaus's brother, and that he was elected on account of his extraordinary virtue; according to him it was Gudarz who conquered Paleſtine, and was ſurnamed by the Perſians Bakht-Naſſar; which ſurname has occaſioned ſuch confuſion among the Hebrew and Greek writers. As to the flight of Guſhtaſp, this writer ſays, that he retired to the court of a certain Greek prince, where he married the king's eldeſt daughter, called by him Kenaioum, and who, as he tells the ſtory, preſented him publickly with an orange, which is plainly ſubſtituted for the golden apple. Inſtead of the two rebellious lords he ſpeaks of two terrible monſters, that this Grecian prince, whoever he was, inſiſted ſhould be killed by thoſe who pretended to the young princeſſes who were ſtill unmarried.

THE firſt of theſe was a furious ſerpent, which had its den in a wood ſo very thick, that it was thought almoſt impoſſible to penetrate it, in order to combat this deſtructive animal: the other was a lion prodigiouſly fierce, which traverſed the plain country, and tore to pieces all he met with, whither of human kind or cattle. Two of the chief princes of Greece, who were pretenders to the daughters of the king in whoſe court Guſhtaſp lived, were quite abaſhed

text, and their authors, that he may be able to judge in ſome meaſure of the credit due to each. Tarikh Montekeb is the Turkiſh name of a tranſlation of a Perſian hiſtory, ſtiled in that language Tarikh Khozideh, i. e. the choſen chronicle, written originally in Perſian verſe, and afterwards reduced into proſe by its author Hamdallah Ben Abibekr Ben Ahmed Ben Aſſer Al-Maſtouſi al Cazvini, i. e. native of the city of Caſhin. It contains a general hiſtory from the creation to A. H. 730 (14). The book commonly cited under the title of Lebtarik is properly called Lobb Al Taovarikh, i. e. the marrow of hiſtories; it written in the Perſian language, by Johia Ben Abdallathif Al Cazvini; it is divided into four books; the firſt containing the life of Mohammed and the twelve Imams; the ſecond the lives and reigns of the kings who governed before the introduction of Mohammediſm; the third the hiſtory of the reigning family in Perſia; the fourth an univerſal hiſtory of the dynaſties prior to Mohammed: It comes down to A. H. 948. the author dying in 960, or in the year 1552, according to our account (15).

(14) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Tarkih. Khozideh.
(15) D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Lobb. Al. Taoverikh.

abaſhed at theſe propoſals, deſpairing of the conqueſt of the monſters, and conſequently of the princeſſes. However, they informed Guſhtaſp of the anſwer the king had given them. Guſhtaſp readily offered them his aſſiſtance, and accordingly attacked the monſters, killed them both, and gave all the honour of theſe extraordinary feats of chivalry to the two Greek princes, which procured for them the wives they deſired. Some time after this, Guſhtaſp growing a little into the king's favour, that prince aſked him one day how he paſſed his time; Guſhtaſp anſwered, that ſometimes he went a hunting, and that lately as he was taking that diverſion, he killed two extraordinary creatures; the king immediately underſtood what he meant, and, having cauſed the matter to be thoroughly enquired into, found, that Guſhtaſp had ſlain the monſters, upon which he immediately made him his chief miniſter as well as favourite; and at his perſuaſion refuſed to pay the king of Perſia the tribute which he was wont to ſend him yearly, and alſo to declare war againſt him. Lohraſp, being inform'd of this, immediately conceived it was his ſon who had influenced this king to ſuch bold proceedings, and therefore, inſtead of providing for the war, he ſent his younger ſon with the tiara, or royal diadem of Perſia, to Guſhtaſp, as a pledge of his friendſhip, and a certain ſign that he intended him for his ſucceſſor. On his return to his father's court, continues our author, the venerable old man went out to meet him, kiſſed his feet according to the Perſian cuſtom in ſubmitting to a ſovereign, and, after tenderly embracing him, placed the crown upon his head with his own hands; after which he retired from the world to lead a recluſe life at Balch, where he was killed. The prophets Jeremiah, Daniel, and Eſdras were his cotemporaries [r]. If we may believe the eloquent author of the Shah Nameh, or Royal Chronicle, Balch, at the time Lohraſp reſigned the kingdom to his ſon Guſhtaſp, was eſteemed by the Perſians as the holy city, the fountain of their religion, and the place worthieſt of their eſteem, as Mecca is now by the Mohammedans; on this account therefore, Lohraſp made it the place of his abode, where laying aſide his royal robes he put on the habit of a prieſt, applying himſelf wholly to devotion, in imitation of his predeceſſor Gjemſchid for the ſpace of thirty years, till he was ſlain, as will be hereafter related,

[r] Khondemir. in Khelaſſat. Al. Akbar.

related, in a cloyster of his own building which he called Nau-bahar, i. e. the new spring [s].

GUSHTASP or Kischtasp, the son of Lohrasp, succeeded his father with general applause; he was a prince of great strength and activity of body, of great wisdom and extraordinary abilities of mind. He, leaving Balch to his father, went to reside at the antient metropolis of the kingdom Istachr, i. e. cut out of the rock, which he adorned with many fine structures, and reigned there in peace and glory about thirty years; at the end of that space, there appeared in his dominions a very extraordinary person, who took upon himself the character of a prophet, and declared, that he was sent by God to teach such as would listen to him the right way; this person was the Zoroastres of the Greeks, and the Zerdusht of the Persians. But as the history of this famous person is of very great consequence, we have found it necessary, to prevent confusion, to detach it from the reign of Gushtasp, and to deliver what hath been collected of this wonderful man, by authors of all nations, in a regular narration, with all the candor and impartiality we are masters of.

The Life of Zoroastres, Zoroaster, or Zerdusht: extracted as well from Greek and Latin, as Oriental, historians.

IF to be famous after death can afford any joyful sensation to the immortal spirit, that of this man, whether prophet, impostor, philosopher, must needs receive high satisfaction from the wide extension of his fame, which has been diffused throughout the whole learned world, and subsisted even to latest ages. The Greeks, who were very inquisitive after the inventers of science, amongst the nations whom they stile Barbarians, and from whom notwithstanding they drew all the learning they had themselves, have written so confusedly, and so obscurely, concerning Zoroastres, that it is hard to know how many famous men bore this name, when they lived, or for what they were eminent. Arnobius is thought to have reduced them to four, but such is the misfortune of all who have written about Zoroaster, that the sense of this

[s] Phirdausi in Shah Nameh. Hyde. Relig. veter. Persar. c. xxiii. p, 302.

this very paſſage is diſputed, ſome affirming, that Arnobius ſpeaks but of three Zoroaſters, others, that he mentions only two (K). However, four was certainly not too large a number, ſince authors undoubtedly mentioned many more

(K) In the text we have mentioned a paſſage from Arnobius, which has been very differently underſtood. This Arnobius was a rhetorician, and the maſter of the famous Lactantius; being converted to the chriſtian faith, he wrote a large work in a declamatory ſtile againſt the Gentiles, wherein there are many things contained of high uſe in reſpect to the hiſtory of learning among the ancients; for tho', as a chriſtian, he wrote but indifferently, theſe books being compoſed ſoon after his converſion, and before he was well inſtructed in the faith; yet as to heathen learning he was a great proficient therein; and his authority, in ſuch a caſe as this, muſt have conſequenly conſiderable weight. The paſſage, which has been ſo differently interrpreted, runs thus; Age nunc veniet quis ſuper igneam zonam magnus interiore ab orbe Zoroaſtres, Hermippo ut aſſentiamur authori: Bactrianus & ille conveniet cujus Cteſias res geſtas hiſtoriarum exponit in primo; Armenius Hoſtanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilius Cyri (16). Patricius, the famous collector of the Zoroaſtrian oracles (17), Gabriel Naude, a man of diſtinguiſhed learning (18), and Kircher, who well underſtood theſe things (19), believe, that Arnobius mentions here four Zoroaſters, the firſt a Chaldean; the ſecond a Bactrian; the third a Pamphylian; the fourth an Armenian. Salmaſius will needs have the text read thus (20): Age nunc veniat quæſo per igneam zonam magnus interiore ab orbe Zoroaſtres, Hermippo & aſſentiamur auctori, Bactrianus, & ille conveniat, cujus Cteſias res geſtas hiſtoriarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hoſtanis nepos, & familiaris Pamphilus Cyri. It is evident by theſe alterations, that Salmaſius has got rid of one Zoroaſter, though one would think he has introduced another; ſince of the three Zoroaſtres which he admits to be ſpoken of in this paſſage, the firſt is ſaid to be an Ethiopian, or one coming from a country near the torrid Zone, for ſo Salmaſias expounds per igneam Zonam & ab interiore orbe, which Ethiopian or Lybian Zoroaſter Hermippus makes a Bactrian; the ſecond Armenius, nephew of Hoſtanes, of whoſe actions Cteſias gives us an account in the firſt book of his hiſtory; the third named Pamphilus, friend to Cyrus. Urſinus, from the ſame words, is poſitive, that Arnobius mentions but two, exploding the Bactrian Zoroaſter of Hermippus, and ſhewing from Cteſias that Zoroaſter was not ſo antient as Eudoxus

(16) Declam. cont. Gentes. (17) Comm. ſup. Orac. Zoroaſt. (18) Apolog. pour les Grand Hommes, &c. (19) Obel. Pamphil. (20) Exercitat. Plin.

more. Of theſe we ſhall ſpeak as ſuccinctly as we can; the firſt is thought to have been a Chaldean, Suidas calls him an Aſſyrian, and ſays alſo, that he was ſtruck dead by fire from heaven [t]. It is very probable, that this is the ſame Zoroaſter ſpoken of by Dion Chryſoſtom, and ſaid to have appeared in fire [u]. The ſecond was a Bactrian and a king, whom Juſtin and the authors who follow him make cotemporary with Ninus the Aſſyrian, by whom he was vanquiſhed in battle and ſlain [x]. He is reputed to have been the inventor of magic, and is ſaid by Arnobius to have conteſted with Ninus, not only with ſteel and ſtrength, but by magical force and the occult ſciences of the Chaldeans [y]. The third was a Perſian, as Laertius informs us [z]. Clemens Alexandrinus ſtiles him a Mede,

[t] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [u] Orat Boriſth. [x] lib. i. [y] Decl. contra. Gent. [z] Laert. in Proœm.

doxus fancied, but that he lived in the time of Cyrus (21). We are afraid our readers are already fatigued enough with theſe dry reſearches as to the Zoroaſter of the Greeks; we hope, however, they will have patience enough to hear what we have to offer by way of apology for this profuſion of quotations, of which in the other parts of this Perſian hiſtory we have been as ſparing as poſſible. Our reaſons are theſe; firſt, in order to gain any credit for the hiſtory of Zerduſht, as written by oriental authors, there was a neceſſity of deſtroying the credit which has been ſo long given to the Greeks; and to do this, the beſt and ſhorteſt method was to ſhew what the Greeks had ſaid, and what from their writings the moſt able of their diſciples had been able to collect, which we preſume to ſay is very little or nothing. 2dly, We thought it neceſſary to ſhew the reader, that in order to make ſome ſenſe of the varrying ſtories of the antients in relation to Zoroaſter, who by the way is called by a greater variety of Greek names, than he is in the oriental languages, though in them, as we have ſhewn, the orthography of this name is far from being ſettled? I ſay, we thought it convenient to ſhew that ſeveral Zoroaſtres have been ſuppoſed, in order to the diſtribution of the ſeveral ſtories about him. After all, the candidates for the honours beſtowed on the true Zoroaſter may be reduced to two, the Chaldean and the Perſian, and the very ingenious Mr. Stanly has, with great impartiality, divided theſe honours between them. But, thirdly, our hiſtory of Zerduſht will ſet this matter in its true light, by ſhewing, that there is in reality but one Zoroaſter. If it be enquired,

(21) In Zoroaſt.

a Mede, Suidas a Perſo-mede [b]; but they all ſpeak darkly and ambiguouſly. The fourth was a Pamphylian, commonly called Er, or Erus Armenius: concerning this Zoroaſter Clemens Alexandrinus quotes Plato, affirming that he began a book thus: "This wrote I Zo-"roaſter Armenius, by deſcent a Pamphylian, dying in "war, and being in Hades, I learned of the gods". He is reported by the ſame author to have riſen again after being ten days dead, and to have told ſtrange things which he had ſeen in that ſpace [c]. The fifth was a native of Proconneſus, mentioned by Pliny [d]. Some have imagined, not without reaſon, that he is the ſame with Ariſtæus the Proconneſian, mentioned by Suidas to have had an art of

[b] In vocibus Μάγοι Αςρονομία & Ζωροάςρης. [c] Plato. Polit. lib. x. [d] Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxx. c. 1. & l. vii. c. 16.

enquired, how the Chaldean magi came to derive themſelves and their doctrines from this Perſian; and how this is to be reconciled to that chronology, which hitherto has been approved by all the learned, and ſets the Chaldean Zoroaſter far higher. We ſhall anſwer, that in the firſt place we are not accountable for the miſtakes of others, the Greek writers knew not what to call him, or where to place him; for, as Mr. Stanly juſtly obſerves, "the ſame name it is, which ſome call Zabratis, "others Nazaratas, others Zares, others Zaran, others Zara-"das; all which are but ſeveral corruptions from the Chaldee "or Perſian word, which the Greeks moſt generally render "Zoroaſter (22)".

What certainty can we expect from ſuch writers? But then, ſecondly, leſt this ſhould ſeem an evaſive anſwer, we alledge, that Zoroaſter was not the inſtitutor of the magi, nor the author of a new religion, which we ſhall ſhortly prove at large; and this, as we conceive, occaſioned the great confuſion about Zoroaſter; it was a receceived opinion, that he was the founder of magiſm; it was eaſily diſcoverable, that magiſm was as antient as the days of Abraham, and that it was the religion of Chaldea; it was natural enough therefore, for ſuch as looked upon Zoroaſter to be the inſtitutor of the magian doctrines to ſay with aſſurance, that he lived in theſe times, but then diſcovering from the Perſian records at what time he truly lived, they choſe rather than abandon their former opinion, to make two Zoroaſters; the firſt a Chaldean or Aſſyrian, cotemporary with Ninus; the ſecond a Perſian, flouriſhing in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis.

(22) Chaldiac. Philoſophy, p. 4.

of letting his ſoul go out of his body, and return as often as he pleaſed [e]. The ſixth lived at Babylon at the time Pythagoras was carried thither by Cambyſes, as we are told by Apuleius [f]. As the Greeks made ſeveral Zoroaſters, ſo they placed them in different ages of the world; Juſtin makes him thirteen hundred years older than Sardanapalus [g]. Eudoxus, cited by Pliny placed him ſix thouſand years before the death of Plato [h]. Plutarch makes him flouriſh five thouſand years before the wars of Troy [i]. Some authors, mentioned by Suidas, fix him at 500 years before the Trojan war [k]. Apuleius [l], Jamblicus [m], Porphyry [n], Clemens Alexandrinus [o], and Agathius, place him, where he ought to be placed, about the time of Cyrus; and Pliny, diſcourſing on this very ſubject, ſays, that the moſt accurate writers were of opinion he lived a little before Xerxes [q]. But however they might differ in circumſtances, they all agreed in paying him great honours. Plato [r], Ariſtotle [s], Plutarch [t], and Porphyry [u], acknowledge him to have been a perſon of extraordinary learning. Pliny tells us, that he laughed the ſame day he was born, that his brains beat ſo hard that they lifted up the hand laid upon them, which was a preſage of his future ſagacity; he adds what is very extraordinary, that he lived in the deſarts 20 years upon cheeſe, ſo mixed that it did not grow ſtale [x]. Solinus draws his character in few words; He was, ſays he, optimarum artium peritiſſimus, in the beſt arts ſkilful [y]. Apuleius ſtiles him omnis divini arcani antiſtes, the chief doctor in all divine myſteries, and adds, that he was the preceptor of Pythagoras [z]. Agathius tells us he lived under Hyſtaſpes, and that he was the author of magiſm among the Perſians, changing their old religion and introducing new opinions [a]. Dion Chryſoſtome ſays more of him than any of theſe writers, and from better authority, ſince what he delivered he had from the Perſians

[e] Sub voce Ἀριστηυς. [f] Florid. ii. [g] Ubi ſupra. [h] Hiſt. Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [i] De Iſide & Oſiride. [k] Sub voce Ζωροάστρης. [l] Florid. ii. [m] In vit. Pythag. [n] In vita Pythagoræ. [o] Stromat. l. v. [p] Hiſt. lib. 2. [q] Ubi ſupra. [r] In Alcibiade. 1. [s] In libro de Magia citante Laertio in Procem. [t] De Iſide & Oſiride. [u] In vita Pythagoræ. [x] Hiſt Nat. l. xxx. c. 1. [y] Cap. 1. [z] Florid. ii. [a] Hiſt. lib. 2

Perſians themſelves, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew [h]. Cteſias, an author univerſally condemned, was in all probability more in the right about Zoroaſter than thoſe who have anſwered him, ſince we know from Arnobius, that he affirmed him to have lived under the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpis, and ſpent the firſt book of ſix, which he wrote on Perſian affairs, in delivering his hiſtory [b]; the ſum and concluſion of all we have hitherto ſaid is this, that, except Cteſias and Dion Chryſoſtome, all the antients, who have written concerning Zoroaſter, knew little about him more than this; that he was a very learned and wiſe man, and the principal of the magi, in reſpect to which Euſebius indeed ſays, that he wrote a book, which, from the citations he has given us, ſeems to have contained the chief doctrines of the Perſian religion [d],

THE oriental writers are ſomewhat better agreed in relation to this wonderful man, whom they called Zerduſht, Zaraduſht, Zaratuſht, and Zard-huſht, for they generally ſpeaking, acknowledge, that he flouriſhed in the reign of Guſhtaſp. The author of Lebtarikh indeed ſays, that ſome old writers confound him with Dohak or Zohak, one of the Piſchdadian princes [e]; but all the Perſian hiſtorians, who are to be ſuppoſed beſt acquainted with the affairs of their own nation, ſpeak of him, not as the author, but as the reformer, of the magian religion, which, they ſay, he performed by the aſſiſtance of Guſhtaſp (L). With reſpect to his family, the common opinion of the Perſian and Arabick writers is, that he either was a Jew, or went very early into Judea, where he received his education,

[b] Orat. Boriſthen. [c]. Contr. Gentes [d]. de præpar. evangel.
[e] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Zerduſc.

(L) Some Arabian writers have endeavoured to inſinuate, that what they call the religion of the fire-worſhippers is not of great antiquity; but all impartial authors agree in rejecting this notion, and admit, that magiſm began very early, nay, even before the time of Abraham; certain it is, that the oldeſt book extant in the world favours this opinion; for thus ſpeaks Job in his proteſtation of his integrity, and his fervent declarations that he had always held the true faith, and done all the good he could. *If I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand, this alſo were an iniquity cognizable*

cation, under one of the prophets with whom he lived as a ſervant, and, emulous of his glory, ſet up for prophet afterwards himſelf [f]. Who this prophet was, is not well agreed; ſome ſay Elias, others Ezra, and ſome again one of the diſciples of Jeremiah. Doctor Prideaux thinks Elias was too early, and Ezra too late, he therefore fixes upon Daniel [g]. Dr. Hyde inclines to Ezra [h]. How true the whole of the ſtory is, is hard to ſay, ſince the Mohammedans are all great enemies to Zerduſht, and if we take a part of their evidence we ought to take the whole, and

[f] Abu Mohammed Muſtapha in vita Guſhtaſp. ap. Hyde, R. V. P. p. 313 Megjdi in Zinato l'Magjalis. ap. Hyde, p. 315. [g] Connection of Old and New Teſtament, vol. i. p. 331. [h] Relig. V. P. c. xxiv. p. 314.

cognizable by the judge, for I ſhould have denied the God who is above (2) ". Nothing can be clearer than this, nor can any thing more fully prove, that this hereſy was as old as the Perſians make it, who affirm, that Keyomaras, their firſt king, was the author of their religion, and therefore of old they affected much to call themſelves Keyomarſians, or Keyomarthites. But the point they chiefly laboured in reſpect to antiquity was, the perſuading of themſelves and others, that their religion was the religion of Abraham. It would be no difficult matter to ſhew the probable ſource of this opinion which we have alſo alſo touched elſewhere; but as this work is intended for a body of hiſtory, and not a collection of critical enquires, we chuſe to inſert here ſome extracts from a celebrated Arabian hiſtory of the religions of the eaſt, rather than to amuſe our readers with conjectures of our own. " The Perſian kings in general, ſays this " writer, adhered to the religion of Abraham, and their ſubjects " were always of the religion of their prince; there was likewiſe " a chief or high-prieſt, reputed the wiſeſt of wiſe men, from " whoſe mandate there was no appeal, and whoſe ſentence was " never reverſed, the ſame reverence being ſhewn to them as we " heretofore ſhewed unto our caliphs". A little after he ſays, " The peculiar doctrine of the magi was the quality of the " ſpiritual nature, which they affirmed to be good and evil, " virtuous and wicked, benevolent and deſtructive; theſe natures " they diſtinguiſhed, by calling the one light and the other " darkneſs, or rather in their own terms Yezdan and Ahreman. " Hence it came to paſs, that their whole religion, and all the " queſtions of the magi, turned on theſe two points, the " explication of light being mixed with darkneſs, and of light freeing

(2) Job xxxi. 26.

and then it will ſtand thus; he quitted the ſervice of the Hebrew prophet, becauſe having deceived and cheated him, the holy man prayed God to ſtrike him with a leproſy, which accordingly followed; if ſo, then Zerduſht muſt have been the ſame with Gehazi, the ſervant, not of Elias, but Eliſha, and conſequently the credibility of the whole tale will be deſtroyed. The Perſees in India pretend, that Zerduſht was originally a Chineſe, that his father's name was Eſpintaman, and his mother's Dodo; but in this they are miſtaken; for as to his genealogy we are not at all at a loſs, ſince it is thus ſet down in the book Sad-der; Zarataſht was the ſon of Purthaſp, who was the ſon of Piteraſp, the ſon of Hitcheraſp, the ſon of Thechſhuneſch, the ſon of Eſpintaman [i]; hence Zerduſht, being frequently called the ſon of Eſpintaman, the Perſees in India miſtook him for his immediate parent, whereas indeed he was only his remote anceſtor. He firſt took upon him the

[i] Hyde. R. V. P. p. 312.

"freeing itſelf from darkneſs". Some pages farther the ſame author ſpeaks thus: "Though the magi affirm theſe two principles, "yet the moſt antient of them did not think themſelves under a "neceſſity of affirming that both exiſted from eternity; on the "contrary, they held only light ſelf-exiſtent, and that darkneſs was produced; but in accounting for this they were ſometimes at a loſs: however, they conſtantly aſſerted, that they "received theſe doctrines from wiſe men and prophets among "their anceſtors; firſt, from Keyomaras; ſecondly, from Zervan "the great; thirdly, from another prophet whoſe name was "Zerduſht. The Keyomarthites inſiſt, that Keyomaras is the "ſame with Adam, wherein they agree with ſome Indian and "Perſian chronologers; yet they are contradicted by others "ſkilful in that art. The Keyomarthites alſo affirm, that their "great maſter eſtabliſhed the opinion of two ſpiritual beings, "Yezdan and Ahreman, acknowledging the former to be eternal "and ſelf-exiſtent, and owning the latter to be produced and "created, and that after this manner: Yezdan, i. e. God, ſaid "in himſelf, unleſs I am oppoſed, how ſhall it be? i. e. how "ſhall my glory ariſe? which thought produced darkneſs which "is oppoſite to light, and then began the controverſy which "has ſince ſubſiſted between them (3)". We are informed by the ſame author, that Zerduſht himſelf owned Keyomaras to have inſtituted that religion he came to reform, ſo that it may paſs for a point tolerably well eſtabliſhed, that the religion of the Perſians is as antient as their monarchy.

(3) Shariſtani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxii. p. 294.

character of a prophet in the province of Aderbayagjan, which was always the reſidence of the fire-prieſts, as we have already ſhewn. Khondemir gives us this account of his turning prophet; he ſays, that Zerduſht, from his great ſkill in aſtrology, diſcovered, that another prophet was to ariſe, not inferior to Moſes, whoſe voice all the world was to obey; he from thence took it into his head that he muſt needs be that prophet; upon this, retiring into a cave and revolving theſe things in his mind, a light ſuddenly appeared, being no other than an illuſion of the devil, who converſing with him out of the midſt of the fire, Zerduſht no longer doubted, that he had received the miſſion of prophecy, but immediately ſet about a book, containing a ſyſtem of diabolical doctrines, which he called Zend, and having finiſhed it, he made it his buſineſs to go about the world, teaching this new religion, and erecting fire-temples [k]. There is certainly a great deal of truth in what this writer ſays, but we preſume his notion of the devil's appearing in the fire, and dictating diabolical doctrines to Zerduſht, is a ſtroke of Mohammedan zeal, and not much to be depended on. That Zerduſht really retired into a cave, and there ſtudied, and compoſed his Zend-aveſtâ, is certainly true; and that in this cave he gave himſelf up to prayer and contemplation, embelliſhing it with a great number of curious ſymbols, is acknowledged, and may be proved; but that he was either prompted by the devil, or acted from a ſpirit of impoſture, is what we dare not aſſert, ſince his doctrine, if we except his permiſſion of inceſt, which, however, is no where found in his writings, and is fixed on him only by his enemies; we ſay, his doctrines, if we except this, do not ſeem calculated at all for ſupporting the empire of Satan; and if we may believe the divines, and a greater than all divines, the devil is too wiſe to do or teach any thing which may deſtroy his own kingdom. We ſhall content ourſelves therefore with obſerving what has not been obſerved before, that the Almighty had a peculiar favour for the Perſians, and even for Darius Hyſtaſpis the patron of Zerduſht, and ſpoke many things by his prophets, as we ſhall prove at the bottom of the page, inſinuating his care, that they ſhould not be deceived in the firſt and principal point of a religion, which, it is agreed

[k] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Zerduſcht.

greed, Zerduſht made it his buſineſs to fix beyond diſpute (M). How long he remained in this cave, or how many books he wrote there, is not very certain; we

(M) We have already given our reaſons for referring our thoughts on the chronology of the Perſian hiſtory, till we have deduced it as low as the reign of the laſt monarch of the Perſian nation. But this hinders not our applying the prophecies recorded in the ſacred ſcriptures, relating to the Perſian kingdom, and therefore, for the ſake of clearing the memory of Zerduſht, we ſhall in this note ſhew, firſt, that the Almighty ſpoke of and to Cyrus, as of and to a prince acquainted with him the true God, and never reproaches either him or his people with idolatry; thus the prophet Iſaiah, having with wonderful eloquence diſplayed the power of God, and aſſured his countrymen, that after all their ſufferings, which their ſins would bring upon them, he would yet turn again and remember them in mercy, and raiſe up a deliverer for them, which was Cyrus king of Perſia; this, ſaith the prophet, is the God, *that ſaith to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be inhabited; and to the cities of Judah, Ye ſhall be built; and I will raiſe up the decayed places thereof. That ſaith to the deep, be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers. That ſaith of Cyrus, He is my ſhepherd, and ſhall perform all my pleaſure; even ſaying to Jeruſalem, Thou ſhalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation ſhall be laid. Thus ſaith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right-hand I have holden to ſubdue nations before him, and I will looſe the loins of kings, to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut; I will go before thee, and make the crooked places ſtreight; I will break in pieces gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee the treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden riches of ſecret places, that thou mayeſt know that I the Lord, which call thee by thy name, am the God of Iſrael. For Jacob, my ſervant's ſake, and Iſrael, mine elect, I have even called thee by thy name, I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me* (4)". This remarkable prophecy, which does ſo much honour to Cyrus, was ſpoken of him a hundred years before he was born, and ſurely, if language can prove any thing, the ſtile of this prophecy will be ſufficient to ſhew that Cyrus was no idolater. We are very well aware, that there is an expreſſion at the cloſe of what Iſaiah ſays of this glorious monarch, which has been conſtrued in this ſenſe; but we can eaſily, and, at the ſame time, fully prove, that it ought not ſo to be underſtood, the expreſſion is this, *I have ſurnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me*; the meaning of which, we ſay, is this; that God gave him the title of his ſhepherd and anointed, and actually employed him as the miniſter of his will, before Cyrus knew any thing of the matter; but how does this

(4) Iſaiah xliv. 26. xlv. 1—6.

are told indeed, that he brought twelve volumes to Guſhtaſp, each of which contained a hundred ſkins of velom; but this will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider, that the antient Perſian character took up a great deal of room

this ſhew, that he was an idolater, or that he worſhipped not the true God, though he was unacquainted with the Jewiſh diſpenſation, and knew not that God by the name of Jehovah? After the taking of Babylon, Daniel certainly explained all theſe prophecies to Cyrus, and ſhewed him, that while he believed himſelf acting only in conſequence of the ſchemes he had formed, he was indeed fulfilling what God had told of him; in all which he was furthered and aſſiſted by the divine power, particularly in his amazing ſtratagem for taking Babylon, by altering of the great river, which, in the prophecy before quoted, Iſaiah had diſtinctly foretold, making the Almighty ſpeak thus: *That ſaith to the deep be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers.* As ſoon as Cyrus was acquainted with theſe prophecies, he readily teſtifyed his obedience to Jehovah, and his ſincere belief that he was the only true God, as appears by his edict for reſtoring the Jews, which begins with theſe remarkable words; *Thus ſaith Cyrus king of Perſia, Jehovah, God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an houſe at Jeruſalem, which is in Judah; who is there among ye of all his people, his God be with him, and let him go up to Jeruſalem, which is in Judah; and build the houſe of Jehovah, God of Iſrael, he is God who is in Jeruſalem* (5)? We ſuppoſe there needs no commentary to prove, that Cyrus was now acquainted with Jehovah, who revealed himſelf to the Hebrews, was the only true God, or, as Cyrus himſelf ſtiles him, God of heaven. The very king, of whoſe reign we are now ſpeaking, viz. Guſhtaſp, knew all this as well as Cyrus, for in his decree, relating to the temple of Jeruſalem, we find theſe words, *That which they have need of, young bullocks, and rams, and lambs, for the burnt-offerings of the God of heaven, wheat, ſalt, wine, and oyl, according to the appointment of the prieſts which are at Jeruſalem; let it be given them day by day without fail, that they may offer ſacrifices grateful unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and of his ſons* (6). But the cloſe of this decree is yet ſtronger: *God, who hath cauſed his name to dwell there,* i. e. *at Jeruſalem, deſtroy all kings and people that ſhall put their hand to alter or to deſtroy this houſe of God at Jeruſalem. I Darius have made a decree, let it be done with ſpeed* (7). But let us return a little to Iſaiah, and mark what God ſays of himſelf, after the long deſcription given by him of the power and empire of Cyrus. *I am Jehovah, and none elſe;*

there

(5) Ezra i. 2. (6) Ezra vi. 9. (7) Ezra vi. 12.

room, and Zoroaſter did not only deliver the principles of his religion, but alſo his own hiſtory, and the rudiments of moſt ſciences therein, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak particularly of that book and of its contents. In the mean time, we

there is no God beſides me, I girded thee, i. e. Cyrus, though thou haſt not known me, i. e. by my name Jehovah, that they may know from the riſing of the ſun and from the weſt that there is none beſides me; I am Jehovah, and none elſe; I form the light, and create darkneſs; I make peace, and create evil; I, Jehovah, do all theſe (8). It is moſt evident, that this declaration was made in regard to the errors which had crept into the magian religion, in reſpect to light and darkneſs, and the powers preſiding over them. That Zerduſht rectified theſe errors, and expreſly taught what is declared in that text, that there was one ſelf exiſtent being, author of light and of darkneſs, of good and of evil, is acknowledged by ancient and modern authors, by the friends and enemies of Zerduſht, nay by dean Prideaux himſelf, who yet loads him with reproach, and never mentions him but by the opprobrious name of impoſtor (9). Impoſtor in what? In teaching that there was but one God, and that men ought not to erect images in his honour, or pretend to reſtrain him within the narrow bounds of temples; that, inſtead of ſuch mean notions of -he Deity, they ought to look up to the firſt, and moſt glorious creature with their ken, i, e. the ſun, and before him, as the witneſs of his Maker, and the expreſſive ſymbol of his omniſcience, teſtify their gratitude, thankfulneſs, and reverence, for all the favours conferred on them by the Creator and and Ruler of all things, reſolving with themſelves to make a right uſe of his bleſſings, by living temperately, and doing good, and not hurt, to their neighbours; till in his own due time God ſhould inſtruct them farther, by the miſſion of the Great Prophet who was to come, concerning whom Zerduſh as well as Moſes, ſpoke; ſurely theſe are no ſigns of impoſture. If it ſhould be aſked, How comes it then to paſs, that the Perſes have not acknowledged Chriſt? we may anſwer, by aſking another queſtion; Why have not the Jews acknowledged him? theſe are ſecrets which God hath reſerved to himſelf, teaching us, however, plainly enough, that it is our duty to endeavour the converſion of both, and of all the nations of the earth, not by the ſword, though that was an allowable argument of old, and as ſuch put into the hands of Moſes, Joſhua, David, and Cyrus, but by milder methods, expreſſive of the chriſtian ſpirit, by reaſoning calmly and by living

(8) Iſaiah xlv. 5, 6, 7. (9) Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. i. p. 303.

we need not wonder, that he retired ſo long from the world, or choſe a cave for his abode, ſince works of this nature require ſilence and compoſure. The antient prophets reſided much in deſarts, that is, in unfrequented places. Epictetus and other philoſophers had their cells, whither they retired to avoid the noiſe and tumult of the world, and they did all this without reproach; but Zoroaſter's cave is made the ſtrong proof of his being an impoſtor; nay it is ſaid, that his living in a cave was a precedent for other impoſtors, particularly his ſcholar Pythagoras, who, as Iamblichus, informs us, had his cave as well as Zoroaſter. Nay, Mohammed borrowed this notion too from Zerduſht, and wrote his Koran in imitation of the Zend-aveſta. After all, there is a good deal of prejudice in this, every inſtitutor of a new religion, at leaſt, that we ever heard of, hath collected his doctrines into a book, or directed them to be collected, and left them to his diſciples; Moſes did this; Zerduſht did this; and Mohammed did this; does it follow, that Mohammed had in view Zerduſht rather than Moſes, or that he retired to a cave in imitation rather of Zerduſht than of the antient prophets? This is certainly doing him great honour, and even attributing more to him than is his due. We have already ſhewn, that this retirement to a

cave

living piouſly. It may be juſtly ſaid, that the greateſt impediment to this beſt of all works is the lazineſs of chriſtians, their neglecting to ſtudy the grounds of their own religion, and the ſources of thoſe errors which blind the minds of others, and hinder their ſeeing the truth of the goſpel. Many learned Jews have been converted, nay, and are daily converted in Germany, not by the antichriſtian proceedings of an inquiſition, but by proving to them, that, according to the maxims of their own doctors, the Meſſiah is come, and conſequently the obligation to their laws is removed. Might not the ſame thing be done with reſpect to theſe Perſees? would they not be ſooner invited to chriſtianity, if we ſhould ſtudy and explain the writings of Zerduſht, with impartiality at leaſt, if not with reſpect: we ſay, Would they not ſooner be invited by this method, to conſider the arguments in favour of the goſpel, than by calling him whom they eſteem a prophet an impoſtor, and charging them with idolatry, of which we are morally certain they are not guilty. But our note begins to exceed all bounds, and is already of a length which nothing can excuſe, except its ſubject.

cave was natural and reaſonable; at the bottom of the page we ſhall prove, that, as far as we know any thing of it, there is no juſt ground to ſuſpect, that it was not innocent, nay laudable, if the inſtructing of mankind may be eſteemed ſo. This we do not ſay out of prejudice in favour of Zerduſht, ariſing from the pains we have taken in compiling his hiſtory, but becauſe we are afraid of deceiving our readers, and of complying with popular opinions, at the expence of truth. If we err, it ſhall be through defect in our abilities, and not from any biaſs of our inclinations, we therefore make no queſtion, but even ſuch as differ from us in ſentiment will be ſatisfied with our conduct, and approve of our intentions, though they cenſure our opinions (N).

As

* Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. i p. 312.

(N) There cannot be a more difficult taſk aſſigned any man, than to reduce into order, and make ſenſe of what Greek authors have delivered in relation to oriental affairs; ſometimes they ſpeak truth and are not believed; at other times they tell the moſt arrant falſities with ſuch an air of knowledge, that ſuch as are not acquainted with theſe matters readily take for granted all they ſay; the Latins copy, generally ſpeaking, after the Greeks, and therefore are as little to be depended upon as their maſters, or rather leſs; ſometimes, however, they tell us truths, and truths which deſtroy in a line or two all the romantick ſtories that are told us elſe where. For example, Porphyry has quoted an oracle, which, he ſays, was pronounced at Delphos, of a very extraordinary nature; it runs thus:

Chaldees and Jews are wiſe in worſhipping
A ſelf-begotten God, of all things king.

Theſe Chaldees were the Magi, which we can eaſily prove from another learned writer, viz. Laertius, who ſpeaks thus (10): It is ſaid, that philoſophy had its original from the Barbarians, ſince among the Perſians were the Magi; among the Babylonians or Aſſyrians the Chaldeans; among the Indians the Gymnoſophiſts, and among the Celtes the Druids. For this Laertius quotes Ariſtotle; nay, Porphyry himſelf had the higheſt eſteem for the magi, ſince he deſcribes them thus; Among the Perſians thoſe wiſe perſons who were employed about the divinity, and ſerved him, were called magi; Laertius, on the authority of Ariſtotle, or

(10) In Proœm. Hiſt. dogm. & vit. Philoſoph.

As our deſign in this ſection is to follow the oriental hiſtorians, we think it neceſſary to inſert here what is delivered by the Perſian hiſtorians, relating to the appearance of Zerduſht, when he firſt took upon him the character of a prophet, and demanded from Guſhtaſp and his ſubjects the obedience to a meſſenger from God. In regard to this we have a copious relation written by a Perſee, from the authentic memoirs of antient times, preſerved by

or the author of the treatiſe of magic, ſpeaks of the manner in which they lived; They refrain, ſays he, from rich attire, and from wearing gold; their garments are moſtly white; their beds the ground; their food nothing but herbs, cheeſe, and bread; their chief employment is praying to God and exhorting men to live uprightly. Dion Chryſoſtome, the moſt polite writer among the Greeks, corrects the errors of his countrymen with reſpect to theſe magi, in theſe words: "The Perſians calledthoſe magi who "were employed in the ſervice of the gods; but the Greeks, "being ignorant of the meaning of that word, apply it to ſuch as "are ſkilled in magic, a ſcience unknown to the Perſian ſages (11)". Theſe magi were not only the ſcholars, but the maſters, of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht; they flouriſhed long before his time, and he doubtleſs acquired the rudiments of that knowledge, which he afterwards ſo much improved, from them. Dion Chryſoſtome has very happily ſet down what from good authorities he learned in relation to Zoroaſter. "It is reported, ſays "that admirable writer, that through love of wiſdom and Juſtice, "he, i. e Zoroaſter, withdrew himſelf from men, and lived "alone in a certain mountain; that afterwards leaving the "mountain, a great fire deſcending from above continually "burned about him. Upon this the King, with the prime no-"bility of Perſia, came and prayed with him to God. That he "was unhurt by the fire, delivered himſelf in terms which diſ-"covered more than human wiſdom, exhorting the people to "be chearful, and to offer certain ſacrifices, as if God had come "with him to that place; thenceforward he converſed not with "all men, but with ſuch only as were moſt addicted to truth, and "by reaſon of their ſtudies more capable of the knowledge of the "gods, whom the Perſians ſtile magi (12). Having thus learned from an unbyaſſed author, what it was that led Zoroaſter to mountains and deſarts, let us next ſee, what we can diſcover as to his employment in his cave. But, before we proceed to quote authorities on this head, let us obſerve, that, according to all the accounts we have hitherto had of the magi, they were very indifferently fitted to act in ſubſerviency to an impoſtor, ſuch as Zerduſht has been reported; for they were ſpiritual people, who fought

(11) Orat. Boriſthen. (12) Ubi ſupra.

by the judicious Dr. Hyde, the ſubſtance of which, as it never appeared before in our language, we hope will be well received, though doubtleſs it ſtands in need of great allowances, as to the miracles mentioned in it and other things. However, the fabulous hiſtory of the Perſians is at leaſt as well worth knowing as the conjectures of weſtern authors on this ſubject, which are often as improbable, and always as uncertain. Thus then proceeds our

ſought not power and wealth, but wiſdom and truth; they reſembled rather the baptiſt in his coarſe cloathing and ſimple diet, than thoſe who are to be ſeen in the courts of kings, proſtituting religion to private ends, and unworthily taking the name of God in vain, to grafify the pride of mortals. In our account of the Perſian religion, we have given Zerduſht's rules for the clergy of all ranks, and from thence it evidently appears, he thought not of erecting an empire over the conſciences of men for the aggrandizing of the prieſthood, which among the Perſians was hereditary, but endeavoured to make his prieſts ſuperior to other men, by the ſingle method whereby one man can excel another, viz. through purity of mortals and improvement of the underſtanding (13). Such a ſcheme as this needed neither conjuring nor fanaticiſm to recommend it, and therefore, prima facie, it ſhould ſeem, that a man of Zerduſht's character retired to a cave for the ſake of privacy and ſilence, and not to raiſe devils or coin lying fictions; theſe are fit works for illiterate and ambitious men, ſuch as Mohammed was, but not for Zerduſht. It ſo happens, however, that we have ſome proof of this great man's employment in his cell; Porphyry tells us, "that Zoroaſter, firſt "among the Perſians, did conſecrate a natural cave in the moun- "tains in honour of Mithra, the king and father of all, ſignify- "ing by this cave the world framed by Mithra, by the other "things diſpoſed within it in fit diſtances the elements and "quarters of the world (14)". The very learned Celſus, as we find him quoted by Origen, gives us alſo an account of theſe caves in theſe words, "The Perſians, ſays he, in their Mithrian "rites, repreſent ſymbolically the two-fold motion of the ſtars, "viz. of thoſe ſtiled fixed, and of the planets, and the paſſage "of the ſoul through them. To demonſtrate this, they ſet up a "ladder, on the aſcent of which there were ſeven gates with the "eighth at the very top; the firſt of lead; the ſecod of tin; the "third of braſs; the fourth of iron; the fifth of a mixed maſs; "the ſixth of ſilver; and the ſeventh of gold. They attributed "the firſt to Saturn, the ſlowneſs of that planet's motion being "intimated by the lead; the ſecond to Venus, on account of the "ſoftneſs

(13) Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 49. (14) In Antr Nymphar.

our author: " in this reign flouriſhed Zerduſht the pro-
" phet. He coming into the preſence of Guſhtaſp, in-
" formed him of his commiſſion in theſe terms. I am a
" prophet, ſent to thee by the moſt wiſe God, and this
" book, viz. the Zend-aveſta, I brought from Paradiſe;
" alſo he gave me this caſſock and this girdle, ſaying, Put
" on this caſſock, and gird thyſelf with this girdle, that
" thy ſoul may be delivered from Gehenna, and that
" thou mayeſt find ſalvation; go alſo and propagate the true
" religion throughout the world. When Guſhtaſp had
" heard this meſſage from the prophet, he ſaid, But how
" ſhall I know that thou art really a prophet, and come
" to me from the moſt high God? For without a ſign the
" truth of what you ſay cannot be known, neither ought
" a religion to be received, till it be ſupported by mira-
" cles. If therefore thou art truly a prophet, ſhew us
" ſome ſign, that I may know and be aſſured thou art a
" meſſenger

" ſoftneſs and brightneſs of tin; the third being of braſs, than
" which nothing is more ſolid or durable, to Jupiter; the fourth
" to Mercury, becauſe, like iron, he is ſuited to all ſorts of la-
" bours, from whence profit may be drawn; the fifth, becauſe
" of its mixture, variableneſs, and irregularity, to Mars; the
" ſixth to the moon, and the ſeventh to the ſun, becauſe of the
" likeneſs in their colour to ſilver and gold (15)". Here is a great deal of philoſophy, but no witchcraft or enthuſiaſm in theſe repreſentations; and if Zoroaſter be condemned, either as a magician or an impoſtor, on account of the furniture of his cave, what will become of our makers of Orreries? we will conclude this very note with obſerving, that the moſt judicious Dion Chryſoſtome, whom we have ſo often quoted and commended, knew well the folly and falſhood of the Greeks, in what they reported of the religion of the Perſians, and of their conſecrating horſes to the ſun (16). They were far, ſays he, from fancying the chariot of the ſun, the moſt ſublime ſpectacle in nature they were acquainted with, the ſupreme charioteer who put the univerſe into motion, and ſtill guides it. Of this ſubject, not Homer, not Heſiod, but Zoroſtaer, and the magi, his diſciples taught by him, have ſung in ſtrains worthy of the glorious theme. But all their diſcourſes are to be interpreted in a very different manner, nay directly oppoſite, from the comments of our writers. They acknowledge, that the director of univerſe is inacceſſible and inſcrutable; they compare the motions of the ſun and moon to horſes under direction, but as to horſes conſecrated to them, the Greeks have reported numberleſs fables.

(15) Celſus ap. Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. vi. (16) Orat. Boriſthen.

" meſſenger of God. When Zerduſht heard what the
" king demanded, he in compliance therewith wrought
" the following miracle. He planted before the gate of
" the palace a cypreſs tree, which grew in a few days ſo
" wonderfully, that it was near ten fathoms in girt and
" full ten in height; and in the top of this tree he erected
" a ſummer-houſe. when the king had beheld this mira-
" cle, he was convinced, and determined in his mind to
" embrace the religion of Zerduſht. He was, however,
" adviſed to call for certain wiſe men who might diſpute
" with Zerduſht. This was accordingly done, but they
" could not convince him; on the contrary Zerduſht pre-
" vailed. Theſe, however, hating him, deviſed this me-
" thod for his deſtruction. Zerduſht had his lodgings in
" the palace, and as often as he went out he left his keys
" with the porter. This porter they corrupted, and en-
" gaged him to be ſilent and not diſcover any thing they
" did. They then made uſe of him to gain entrance into
" the lodgings of Zerduſht when he was abroad, and
" when they had ſo done, they threw into his wardrobe,
" put into his book Zend, and into his cloak-bag, all
" ſorts of unclean and impure things, ſuch as the bones of
" cats and dogs, and the hair and nails of dead bodies;
" theſe they ſcattered amongſt his things; which when
" they had done, they went out, ſhut the doors carefully,
" and returned the keys to the porter. Zerduſht in the
" mean time walked in the ſimplicity of his heart, praiſe-
" ing God, but his enemies conſidered not this. They
" immediately addreſſed themſelves to the king to this pur-
" poſe: This wicked man, viz. Zerduſht, is employed
" every night in diabolical practices, by which, O king,
" thy heart will be inevitably inſnared, unleſs thou wilt
" inſtantly ſend ſome of thy guards to ſearch his apart-
" ments, that thou mayeſt be terrified whether theſe
" things be ſo or not. The king ſent hereupon his guards
" to the apartments of Zerduſht to ſearch them, and to
" bring all things they found in them before him. This
" accordingly was done, and all ſorts of unclean things,
" ſuch as the bones of dogs and cats, the hair and nails of
" dead bodies were found in his cheſt of cloaths, his book
" of Zend-aveſta, and in his cloak-bag. The king ſee-
" ing all this, turned to Zerduſht, and ſaid in a high
" paſſion, How is this, thou profligate, and what is it
" thou haſt been doing? Zerduſht heard his accuſers and

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" the king patiently, and without emotion. At laſt he
" thus anſwered for himſelf; O king, all that thou ſeeſt
" I know nothing of, neither belongeth it to me. Then
" the king called for the porter, and having examined him,
" the king threw from him the book Zend, and com-
" manded Zerduſht to be ſhut up in priſon. Thus, not-
" withſtanding his innocence, Zerduſht was thruſt into
" confinement, which he endured chearfully, ſtanding all
" day in one poſture, praying to and praiſing God, with-
" out receiving any ſuſtenance whatever. It happened
" ſhortly after, that a black horſe, of which the king
" was particularly fond, was taken in an odd manner, its
" four feet ſhrinking up to its belly in ſuch a way, that
" the creature fell down to the ground, and could no way
" be raiſed up. The maſter of the horſe, called in the
" Perſian language Mih-mard, when he came, as he was
" wont, into the ſtables, and perceived what had befallen
" the king's favourite ſteed, went immediately and acquaint-
" ed Guſhtaſp. The king no ſooner heard it than he
" went in perſon to the ſtable, and, having viewed the
" horſe, called for the wiſe men who had engaged him to
" impriſon Zerduſht, and deſired them to contrive imme-
" diately ſome remedy for this extraordinary malady of the
" horſe, which they were unable to do, and confeſſed as
" much to the king. When Guſhtaſp found this, he grew
" very uneaſy, becauſe he valued his horſe extremely.
" On the fourth day the porter went to ſee Zerduſht in
" priſon. Of him Zerduſht enquired news, and why he
" came not before to viſit him. The porter told him the
" court was much diſturbed, on account of a misfortune
" which had befallen the king's black courſer. Zerduſht
" bid the porter tell the king, that, when he ſhould be
" releaſed out of priſon, he would quickly reſtore his
" horſe. The porter ran with this news to the king, who,
" as ſoon as he was informed thereof, ſent for Zerduſht
" out of priſon, and carried him with him to the ſtable.
" Zerduſht, ſeeing the condition the horſe was in, turned
" to the king, and ſaid, Sir, this is no eaſy matter, but,
" on the contrary, a cure very difficult to be performed.
" One thing, however, I have to deſire, that what you
" wiſh may be performed; it is this; That you believe
" with your whole heart, that the religion I taught you is
" true and came from God, which if you do ſincerely, I
" ſhall be able to reſtore your ſteed, otherwiſe it muſt re-
" main in the ſtate it is in. Then the king, ſtruck with

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" the awful ſteadineſs of Zerduſht, believed according as
" he deſired. Upon which the prophet advancing to the
" black horſe, ſtroked his right fore-foot with his hand,
" whereupon the fore-foot immediately withdrew out of
" the belly of the horſe, and hung in its natural poſition.
" Then Zerduſht, turning to the king, ſaid, It is neceſ-
" ſary, Sir, that both your ſons come hither, embrace
" the religion I have taught, and promiſe to make war on
" infidels for the propagation of this religion. Then
" came inſtantly Baſhuten and Iſphendiyar, the ſons of
" Guſhtaſp, and embraced the religion of Zerduſht, as
" he had deſired. Upon this the prophet went again to
" the horſe, and with his left-hand ſtroked the horſe's left
" fore-foot, which immediately the creature extended in
" its natural ſtate. Then turned Zerduſht to the king,
" and ſaid, Sir, it is ſtill neceſſary, that Ketayun the mo-
" ther of Iſphendiyar ſhould embrace this religion. Then
" Guſhtaſp ſent one of his attendants with Zerduſht to
" the palace, and the prophet, being come into the queen's
" preſence, addreſſed her thus: O thou matron of ma-
" trons, whom God hath preferred above all women,
" and raiſed high above your ſex, by giving thee Guſh-
" taſp for thine huſband, and Iſphendiyar for thy ſon,
" like whom there is none upon the earth, Behold now
" the king of kings and thy ſon Iſphendiyar have embraced,
" and with their whole hearts believe the truth of, the re-
" ligion I have taught: it is neceſſary, O queen, that
" you alſo receive and believe it. Then anſwered Ke-
" tayun, Whatſoever my huſband and my ſon believe,
" that alſo will I embrace and believe. Then Zerduſht,
" returning to the black horſe, put up his prayers, and
" ſtroaking with his right hand the right hind-foot, it was
" reſtored to its natural ſtrength: then Zerduſht, turning
" to the king, ſaid, You ſee your horſe has recovered three
" legs; it is neceſſary for the recovery of the fourth, that
" you interrogate your porter, and get the truth out of
" him, that the innocent may not be blamed, ſeeing if
" he the porter told the truth, then the horſe will fully
" recover, or otherwiſe remain in the ſtate it did; the
" king thereupon ordered the porter to be brought, and
" cauſed him to be ſeverely threatened, that he might diſ-
" cover the truth, as to the ſcattering unclean and abomi-
" nable things in the lodgings of Zerduſht; the porter,
" dreading the king's anger, moſt humbly b.ought hini
" to grant him his life, which the king having promiſed,

" he then opened the whole conſpiracy in theſe words: Four
" of theſe wiſe men, who are ſo much in your favour, that
" I was afraid of refuſing them any thing, gave me a
" bribe, and, taking the keys from me, did all that your
" majeſty has heard and ſeen. When the king had heard
" all that the porter had to ſay, he was extremely ſorry,
" and made a long apology to Zerduſht for the injury he
" had done him in cauſing him to be ſo long impriſoned,
" without any grounds at all, beſeeching him to paſs by
" and forgive it. Then the four wiſe men were hanged
" on a gibbet, and Zerduſht, having lift up his hands in
" prayer, ſtroaked with his left hand the left hind leg of
" the horſe, which immediately fell from his belly, and
" reſted on the ground as it uſed to do, ſo that quickly af-
" ter the beaſt roſe and ſtood upon all his feet. At this
" the king greatly rejoiced, treating Zerduſht with greater
" honour and reſpect than ever, cauſing him to be placed
" on a golden ſeat, himſelf, i. e. the king believing the
" book Zend-aveſta, and living in exact conformity to its
" precepts. It is reported, that ſome time after this king
" Guſhtaſp applied himſelf to Zerduſht, and ſaid, there
" is one thing that I deſire of thee, and I deſire it ſo ear-
" neſtly, that I hope you will not refuſe it, ſince if you
" grant me this requeſt, then ſhall I be thoroughly ſatisfied,
" that thou art a prophet ſent unto me by the moſt high
" God. Zerduſht deſired the king that he would explain
" himſelf, that he might apply to God for the gratification
" of the king's will. Then king Guſhtaſp ſaid, My de-
" ſire is this, that while I am yet alive my ſoul may be
" ſatisfied as to its future ſtate, by beholding the joys of
" heaven, that it may be certain concerning them, and at
" eaſe. Moreover, I deſire, that I may know all things
" that ſhall paſs till the day of judgment, with the ſame
" exactneſs as I know things preſent. 3dly, I deſire,
" that in all the wars I wage on account of religion, my
" body may remain as it is, and I become invulnerable.
" 4thly, I deſire, that my ſoul may continue to exiſt to
" the day of reſurrection, and that I die not at all. The
" prophet of God hearing this, anſwered, I will certain-
" ly put up my prayers to the creator of all things, nei-
" ther doubt I at all, that the moſt high God will grant
" what you have deſired. But your four requeſts muſt be
" yielded to four different perſons, ſince it belongs to God
" alone to enjoy them all at once. Do you therefore con-
" ſider who theſe perſons ſhall be, and I will put up

" prayers that one of your requeſts may be granted to " each. Then king Guſhtaſp deſired for himſelf, that he " might be permitted to behold his place in paradiſe, and " take a diſtinct view of all that was therein. He like- " wiſe mentioned three other perſons on whom the re- " maining bleſſings ſhould be beſtowed. Then Zerduſht " being ſatisfied, retired to his own lodgings, and ſpent the " whole night in prayers and praiſes to God, beſeeching " him, that if it were poſſible all theſe things might come " to paſs. The next day when light appeared, and the " ſun diſplayed his beams on the tops of the mountains, " it came into the mind of Zerduſht to conſecrate the " four following things, viz. wine, a roſe, a cup, and " the kernel of a pomgranate. And after he had conſe- " crated theſe by prayer, having the ſacred twigs in his " hand, he preſented the wine to Guſhtaſp, and as ſoon " as the king had drank thereof, he fell down as if in a " deep ſleep, and continued for three days and three nights " in the ſame poſition, his ſoul within that ſpace aſcend- " ing into heaven, and beholding there the joys of the " bleſſed. At the end of three days he awaked, and go- " ing to Zerduſht beſeeched him to pardon his incredulity. " Then the prophet gave to Gjamaſp the roſe which he " had conſecrated, which he no ſooner ſmelt, than he " knew all things that paſſed, all that had happened " from the beginning, and which were to happen, and " which ſhould happen to the day of reſurrection. Then " Zerduſht gave milk in the cup to Baſhuten, the ſon of " Guſhtaſp, who by drinking thereof was made immor- " tal. As to the fourth thing, Iſphendiyar, having eaten " the kernel of the pomgranate, had his body rendered as " invulnerable as braſs. After this the religion of Zer- " duſht ſpread, and was propagated every-where, all men " readily yielding belief thereto, excepting Argjaſp, king " of Touran, who embraced it not [1].

The great deſire all people have to magnify the princes who have ruled, and the prophets who have taught them, hath doubtleſs encouraged the Perſees to propagate a multitude of ſtrange things in relation to Zerduſht; the foregoing long quotation is ſufficient to ſhew the nature of their notions, and to excuſe us from making any farther tranſerits from their books. Let us return therefore to

[1] E libr. rariſſim: cui titul. Shah nama-nefr.

the ſtory of his propagating his doctrines, and let us endeavour to put our materials together, as ſuccinctly as we may.

THE two reigning hereſies before the birth of Zerduſht were Zabiiſm and Magiſm; the latter was far leſs groſs than the former, and conſequently there required more care to keep its profeſſors from going over to the oppoſite religion. For hiſtory informs us, and the experience even of our own times renders it manifeſt, that the bulk of mankind embrace more readily ſuperſtition than truth. Hence it came to paſs, that the Zabians gained ground in Perſia, and multitudes, eſpecially of the common people, were fallen into wrong notions of the deity, and into groſs errors in their manner of worſhipping him, living alſo in continual fear of that evil ſpirit, whom they conceived to be the enemy of their ſpecies and the continual diſturber of the world. Zerduſht took pains to root out all theſe notions, and to make the people eaſier than they had been, by inſpiring them with reaſonable opinions; he taught them, that the ſupreme being was independent and ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity, that light and darkneſs, good and evil, were continually mixed, and in a continual ſtruggle, not through any impotency in the creator, but becauſe ſuch was his will, and becauſe this diſcordancy was for his glory; that in the end there would be a general reſurrection and a day of retribution, wherein ſuch as had done well, and lived obedient to the law of God, ſhould go with the angel of light into a realm of light, where they ſhould enjoy peace and pleaſure for evermore; and thoſe who had done evil ſhould ſuffer with the angel of darkneſs everlaſting puniſhment in a land of obſcurity, where no ray of light or mercy ſhould ever viſit them; that thenceforward light and darkneſs ſhould be incapable of mixture to all eternity. He took great pains to perſuade his diſciples of all the attributes of the divinity, eſpecially of his wiſdom and his juſtice, in conſequence of which he aſſured them, that they had none to fear but themſelves, becauſe nothing could render them unworthy of the divine favour but their vices. Of all virtues he eſteemed what the Greeks called philanthropy, and the apoſtles brotherly love, the greateſt; for which reaſon he exhorted all his followers to acts of charity and beneficence; ſometimes alluring them by promiſes, at other times driveing them as it were by threatenings. The credenda of his religion were not numerous nor perplexed, though,

according

according to the mode of the eaſt, he ſometimes made uſe of parabolic relations; for example; when he taught, that on the fourth day after death the ſoul came to the bridge Tchinavar, and was there met by the angels Mihr-Izad and Reſhu-Izad, who weighed in the balance the good and evil actions of the ſoul attempting to paſs; and in caſe the former prevailed, then it went ſafely over the bridge, if the latter, it was thrown thence into Geheuina, that is into the region of darkneſs, where the ſouls of the wicked are puniſhed [m]. That this is really a parabolic deſcription, and not a literal account, of what is to happen after death, we ſuppoſe, appears from the very face of the relation; for it cannot be ſuppoſed, that Zerduſht, who was indiſputably a very wiſe and learned man, and who took pains to make all his diſciples ſo, ſhould nevertheleſs attempt to impoſe upon them ſo abſurd a thing as this, taken in a literal ſenſe, viz. that a ſpirit diveſted of matter ſhould travel over a bridge, lying acroſs hell and leading to heaven; and that, after weighing his actions in a pair of ſcales, the good angel ſhould either lead him over ſafe, or the bad one puſh him down; this is abſolutely incredible. But that he ſhould make uſe of theſe terms to inſinuate, that the effects of our good and evil deeds tranſcend the grave, and either lead us to ever-laſting reſt, or project us into never-ending miſery, is eaſy to be underſtood, and might as eaſily have been believed. In the book Sad-der, which is a compendium of the doctrines of Zerduſht collected in his own words, this deſcription of the ſtate of the dead is placed in the firſt chapter; and in the ſecond it is thus applied; men who believe the religion of Zerduſht will be afraid not only of great but of ſmall ſins; for ſince all are weighed and numbered, and according to the preponderating of this or that ſcale the ſoul is to be happy or miſerable for ever, whoever thinks of this will be afraid of adding weight to the left-hand ſcale, and earneſtly deſire to heap meritorious actions in that on the right-hand, becauſe his all reſts on this trial. This is very ſound divinity, and very intelligible, where the mind is unprejudiced, otherwiſe it is eaſy to redicule the ſoul-ſupporting bridge, and the action-weighing angels, and conſequently to expoſe Zerduſht, not only as a wicked, but a weak impoſtor. But to proceed; he carefully inſtructed thoſe who heard him, and directed them

[m] Sad-der, Port. 1.

to inſtruct all who would believe in his religion, that no man ought to deſpair of the mercy of God, or ſuppoſe that it was too late for him to amend; he declared, that though we had a faculty of diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, yet that man has no conception of the value which God ſets on our actions, nor how far the intention may ſanctify even a trivial act, wherefore even the worſt of men may hope the divine favour from repentance and good works; this he exemplified by another parable, which is alſo recorded in the book Sad-der, and which runs in theſe words: "It is reported of Zerduſht, the "author of our religion, that one day, retiring from the "preſence of God he beheld the body of a man plunged "in Gehenna, his right foot only being free, and ſticking "without. Zerduſht thereupon cried out, What is this "that I ſee, and wherefore is this man in this condition? "He was anſwered, This man, whom you ſee in this "condition, was formerly the prince of thirty-three ci-"ties, over which he reigned many years, without do-"ing any one good action; for beſides oppreſſion, in-"juſtice, pride, and violence, nothing ever entered his "mind; and though he was the ſcourge of multitudes, "yet, without regarding their miſery, he lived at eaſe in "his palace. One day, however, as he was hunting, he "beheld a ſheep caught by the foot in a thicket, and "thereby held at ſuch a diſtance from food, that it muſt "have periſhed; this king, moved at the ſight, alighting "from his horſe, releaſed the ſheep from the thicket, "and led it to the paſture; now for this act of tender-"neſs and compaſſion his foot remains out of Gehenna, "though his whole body be plunged therein for the mul-"titude of his ſins. Endeavour therefore to do all the "good thou canſt without fear or apprehenſion; for God "is benign and merciful, and will reward even the "ſmalleſt good thou doeſt[n]." Theſe hints of his doctrines, compared with what has been already delivered in ſpeaking of the religion of the antient Perſians, cannot but be ſufficient to ſhew the general import of Zerduſht's ſcheme of religion; as to exterior rites, he altered the old method of burning fire on the tops of mountains, and in other places under the open air, engaging his followers to erect Pyræa or fire-temples throughout all the dominions of Perſia, that this ſymbol of the divinity might not at every

[n] Sad der. Port. 5.

every turn be liable to be extinguiſhed. He gave them likewiſe a liturgy, which they hold to have been brought to him from heaven, and therefore refuſe to make any alterations therein, though the language in which it is written is long ago grown obſolete, and is very little underſtood by the prieſts themſelves. The prieſts, or, as we ſtile them, the magi, were, according to his inſtitution, of three ranks. The firſt conſiſted of the ordinary or parochial clergy, as Dr. Prideaux very ſignificantly terms them; their duty was to read the holy offices daily in the chapels, and at certain ſtated and ſolemn times to acquaint the people with the contents of Zerduſht's books, and to paraphraſe on and explain them. In theſe parochial chapels there were no fire-altars, but lamps only, before which their devotions were performed. The next degree of their clergy had the ſuperintendance of theſe ordinary prieſts, and were to them what biſhops are to us; theſe too had their churches, in which were altars, whereon fire was continually kept, there being a certain number of the inferior clergy appointed to attend them, who, by four at a time, waited conſtantly near the altar to provide it with fuel, and to aſſiſt ſuch devout perſons as reſorted thither, with their advice and their prayers. Above theſe was the archimagus, i. e. the high prieſt, or, as the Perſians ſtiled him, the Mubad Mubadan. Zerduſht himſelf aſſumed this office and reſided in the city of Balch, where he governed his magians, and inſtructed them in all ſorts of learning. As the auſterity of his own life and his extenſive knowledge ſupported him in the high reputation he had gained among his cotemporaries, he recommended, as we have ſeen in the rules given by him for the conduct of the archimagus, the ſame behaviour and the ſame application of ſtudy unto his ſucceſſors. Theſe injunctions were for many ages purſued by them, and was the reaſon that they were admitted into the king's councils, ſate with him in judicature, and had the education of the heirs of the crown, inſomuch, that Pliny tells us, in his time, this religion was received by many nations, and bore ſway in the eaſt over the king of kings. It remains now, that we give an account of the book of the laws ſtill extant among the Perſees, and indubitably written by Zerduſht, whether he was prophet or impoſtor, for as to the remaining actions of his life and his immature death, they belong to the reign of Guſhtaſp, and ſhall be accordingly taken notice of therein.

ZERDUSHT's book, containing the inſtitutes of his religion, is ſtiled Zend or Zend-avaſta, uſually pronounced Zund and Zundavaſtaw, which is not a Perſian but an exotic word, ſignifying a Tinderbox; its author, in compliance with the oriental cuſtom of giving all important treatiſes allegorical names, having pitched on this to expreſs the nature of his book, which was to inſpire its readers with divine zeal; he likewiſe cauſed it to be ſtiled the book of Abraham, intimating, that it contained the doctrines held by that patriarch. It is written, not in the ordinary Perſian character, but in the old Perſic, called from thence, among the ordinary Perſees, the Zund character. The very learned Dr. Thomas Hyde propoſed to the world the publiſhing a correct edition of it with a Latin tra nlation, but meeting with no encouragement to undertake ſo laborious and expenſive a work, the world had been deprived of the ſight of this great curioſity [o]. It was originally written in twelve hundred ſkins, and conſiſts of one and twenty parts, or different treatiſes, all comprehended under the general title of Zend or Zend-avaſta, which is the reaſon, that we have had in Europe ſo many different accounts of this book and its contents. For the ſake of the people who profeſs this religion, and who have notwithſtanding no knowledge at all either of the Zund character, or of the language in which that book is written, a very learned prieſt has taken the pains to make a compendium thereof in modern Perſian, which is the book Sad-der, ſo often quoted by us from the Latin verſion publiſhed by Dr. Hyde, and annexed to his impartial hiſtory of the religion of the antient Perſians. This learned critic is of opinion, that Zerduſht did not originally intend to have made this book conſiſt of any more than two parts, viz. the Zend and Pazend, reſembling the Miſhna and Gemara in the Jewiſh Talmud; the firſt containing the liturgy and principal doctrines of his religion; the ſecond a commentary on them, explaining and ſhewing the rationale of them; but as new adverſaries roſe up daily, and other occaſions required new treatiſes, Zerduſht continued to write them, and to add them to his Zend-avaſta, which ſtill retained the general title of the volume. Amongſt the pieces comprehended under that title, there is one bearing the title of Zeratuſht-nama, i. e. the hiſtory of Zerduſht, which is no other than his life written by himſelf. This, that it may be more generally known, has been rendered into the common Perſian by the prieſts, who publiſhed the

[o] Hiſtor. veter. Perſar. p. 25.

the book Sadder [p]. The celebrated Dr. Prideaux, ſpeaking of this book, acknowledges, that the rules and exhortations to moral living are written very preſſingly, and with ſufficient exactneſs, excepting only in one particular, which is that of inceſt; for this, he ſays, is wholly taken away by Zerduſht, who teaches, that nothing of this nature is unlawful, but that a man may not only marry his ſiſter or his daughter, but his mother; and he very juſtly obſerves, that this is ſuch an abomination, that, though all things elſe were right in that book, this alone were ſufficient to pollute it. But in ſupport of all this, the doctor does not quote either the book itſelf, or its compendium the book Sad-der, or any other treatiſe written by an avowed Perſee, but the authorities of Diogenes Laertius, Strabo, Philo Judæus, Tertullian, and Clemens Alexandrinus [q]. It is but reaſonable, that we ſhould ſuſpend our belief till we have a deciſive account of this matter, eſpecially if we conſider, that in other reſpects theſe authors are frequently miſtaken. It may indeed be urged, that inceſt was commonly practiſed by the Perſian kings (if we give intire credit to the Greek hiſtorians); but admitting this to be ſo, it is no direct proof, that Zerduſht allowed it, any more than the contrary practice of the Perſees at this day is a demonſtration that he did not allow it. As to the reſt of the contents of this book, we ſhall not inſiſt farther on them here, becauſe it would lead us into too long a digreſſion from the thread of our hiſtory; but the inquiſitive reader will find at the bottom of the page ſome farther memorandums relating to the works of Zoroaſter (O).

W E

[p] H. R. v. P. c. xxv, xxvi. [q] Connection of the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. i. p. 320.

(O) In this note we ſhall ſpeak largely of Zerduſht's writings, that is, as largely as the nature of this work will allow; and, that we may do this clearly, we will coſider them, firſt, as they are known to the Perſees and oriental nations in general; ſecondly, as they are known to the Greeks.

The Zende-vaſta, as we have ſaid in our text, is divided into one and twenty treatiſes, each called by the Perſees Neſick, or broadly pronounced Nuſk, i. e. a part. Every one of theſe treatiſes has its proper title ſuited to the ſubject of which he treats. Thus Pazend, which is the name of the ſecond treatiſe ſignifies, the prop or buttreſs of the Zend, becauſe it comprehends, the reaſons ſupporting the doctrines delivered in the firſt part, called ſimply

We will conclude our account of this extraordinary perſon, with obſerving, that he is ſaid by credible authors, to have predicted the coming of the Meſſiah, and this not in dark and obſcure terms, ſuch as might have been applied as well to any other perſon, but in plain and expreſs words, and ſuch as could not be miſtaken; nay farther; it

ſimply the Zend; the ſixteenth treatiſe is that called Zeratuſht-nama, or the life of Zerduſht, mentioned in the text. Dr. Hyde, who, like a generous man, deſired, that all the world ſhould partake of the treaſures he had in his hands, publiſhed the contents of this book, in hopes they might ſo far move the curioſity of the public, as to enable him to publiſh the book itſelf. It contains forty chapters and about a hundred and forty pages, wherein the whole myſtery of Zerduſht's character as a prophet, and the methods made uſe of by him for the propagation of his religion, are ſet forth at large (17). The twentieth treatiſe in the Zende-vaſta is called Bimaſhk-naz, i. e. the Book of Phyſicians, becauſe it treats of the virtues of drugs, and how they may be applied. Thus the writings of Zerduſht contain not only the religion, but the learning, of the magi, and therefore he recommended it to all his ſucceſſors in the office of high prieſt to be perfect maſters of all uſeful learning. As the book Zend is the bible of the Perſees, ſo to expreſs a right or juſt thing, they ſay Zend-aver i. e. permitted by the Zend, and an evil action they call Na-Zend-aver, i. e. not permitted by the book Zend. Zend-Laph, ſignifies a zealous Perſee, but Zend-chuan, which literally rendered is a reader of the Zend, ſignifies not a common reader, but him who reads it in the pariſh church, ſo that it is equivalent to what the Jews call Chacham, and the Mohammedans Imam. As to the notion of Curtius, of the magis ſinging their prayers it is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, true, though they have a particular tone of voice proper to the recital of their prayers, in which they agree with the modern Jews, and perhaps with many other nations (18). Dr. Prideaux is very ſevere on this method of devotion, and compares it to the manner of popiſh prieſts celebrating their maſs (19; but in reſpect to thoſe things which are regulated by cuſtom, perhaps thoſe cenſures ſhould be ſpared, ſince it is hard to find the reaſon, why the cuſtom of one country ſhould render ridiculous the cuſtom of another.

As to what the Greeks knew of Zoroaſter's writings, it is difficult to ſay what ought to be believed; Euſebius ſpeaks of a collection of Phyſics written by this great man, and quotes from thence

(17) Hiſt. veter. Perſ. c. xxiv. p. 329, 330. (18) Ibid. p. 342. (19) Connection of the the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, vol. i. p. 309.

it is affirmed, that the wiſe men out of the eaſt, recorded by the evangeliſt [r] to have come to Bethlehem, and there worſhipped our Saviour on account of his ſtar which they had ſeen in their own country, were the diſciples of Zerduſht. Some of the learned indeed, ſlighting this relation, have fixed on Balaam's prophecy [s], in order to account for that event; and hence without doubt it happened, that ſo learned a man as Hornius was of opinion, that Zoroaſter might have been the ſame perſon [t]. Far be it from us to

[r] Matth. ii. 1. [s] Hyde, H. R. vet. P. p. 384. [t] Hiſt. Philoſoph. lib. ii. c. 4. p. 80.

thence the following deſcription of God's attributes, affirming them to be the expreſs words of Zoroaſter; "God hath the "head of a hawk, he is the firſt incorruptible, eternal, unbe- "gotten, indiviſible, moſt like himſelf, the charioteer of every "good, one that cannot be bribed, the beſt of things good, the "wiſeſt of things wiſe; he is moreover the father of equity and "juſtice, ſelf-taught, ſelf-exiſtent, infinitely perfect, omniſcient, "and the ſole ruler of nature (20)". Suidas aſcribes to him four books of nature, one of precious ſtones, five of the wiſdom of the ſtars (21). Pliny ſays he wrote two millions of verſes, on which Hermippus wrote commentaries, a treatiſe on agriculture, and a book of viſions (22). But of all the works mentioned by the Greeks his oracles are the moſt conſiderable, becauſe of them there are ſtill ſome remains, could we be ſure they were genuine; but Porphyry ſays expreſly, that ſome chriſtian heretics, boaſting of the ſecret works of Zoroaſter, attempted to deceive the world, and, if they believe what they ſay, are deceived themſelves, ſince theſe treatiſes are no better than forgeries (23). The famous prince of Mirandula gave the oracles yet extant ſome reputation by the following account of a manuſcript in his own poſſeſſion; "I was, ſays he, forcibly taken off from other things, "and engaged to ſtudy the Arabian and Chaldean learning by "certain books in both thoſe languages, which came to my hands, "not accidentally, but, queſtionleſs, by the diſpoſal of God in "favour of my ſtudies; hear the inſcriptions and you will be- "lieve it. Theſe Chaldaic books, if I ought to call them books "and not treaſures, are the oracles of Zoroaſter, Aben-Eſra, "and Melchior, magi, in which thoſe things which are faulty "and defective in the Greek are read here perfect and entire. "There is alſo an expoſition by Chaldaic wiſe men on theſe "oracles, conciſe, and ſomewhat obſcure indeed, but full of "rare

(20) Euſebius de præpar. evangel. (21) In voce Ζωροάστρης. (22) Hiſt. Nat. lib. xxvi. c. 1. (23) In vita Plotini.

to contenance any superstitious stories, and as far be it from us either to conceal or to detract from truth, or what has the appearance of truth; we are writing the life of Zerdusht from such authors as have come to our hands, we ought not therefore to omit mentioning a circumstance of such consequence and supported by various testimonies. If the distrust which critics affect to shew of all things reported by oriental writers should be sufficient to overtorn the credit of these predictions, in the judgment of an impartial reader, it is not our fault; we are to relate, but in cases of this nature every man must determine for himself (P). On the whole, we may be permitted to say, that

" rare mysteries, and curious learning. There is besides a book " of the Chaldaic theology, with a copious and admirable " discourse of the wisdom of the Persians, Grecians, and Chal- " deans (24)". Ficinus to whom he directed this letter found these books after his decease, but so worn and illegible, that nothing could be made of them. Some of these oracles, which escaped the injuries of time, were first published at Paris by Lewis Tillet in 1563, with the commentaries of Gemistus Pletho, the same were afterwards translated, and with the comment of Psellus published at Paris 1607. But Franciscus Patricius, having greatly enlarged them by excerpts from Proclus, Hermias, Simplicius, Damascius and Arnobius, sent them into the world with an accurate translation of his own. From him our ingenious countryman Mr. Stanley took them, and published them with the commentaries of Pletho and Psellus, at the end of his Chaldaic philosophy in 1661 (25).

(P) The wisdom of the east was not only a scripture phrase, but used also by the best profane authors, who knew very well, that, notwithstanding the boasting of the Greeks, science came originally from that corner of the world. It is a common, but no very probable, opinion, that they were kings who visited our Saviour in his cradle; tho' they might indeed come from a king, that is from the king of Persia, to enquire for the Messiah. That they might come, as some have insisted, from Arabia is true, because Arabia lay in their way; but that they magi came from another country than Persia, in which they always flourished, is what cannot easily be believed; but that these magi or wise men went into Judea in pursuance of Zerdusht's prophecy, is a point to be proved, not by us indeed, who have not seen the Zende-vasta, but even without seeing it we shall be able to justify what we have said in the text, and defend ourselves from the imputation of superstition, if we can but produce probable authorities

(24) Epist. ad Ficinum. (25) Vide Preface to the Chaldaic Oracles.

that on a view of what different authors have delivered concernirg Zerduſht and his writings, he ſtands fairly entitled to the character we have given him of an extraordinary perſon, eſpecially when we reflect, that his miniſtry authorities. Shariſtani, whom we have more than once quoted, in his hiſtory of the religions of the eaſt, ſays expreſly, that Zerduſht prophefied, in his Zende-vaſta, that in latter times there ſhould ariſe a man called Oſhanderbegha, i. e. Homo Mundi, which differs little from the title Chriſt often gives himſelf of the Son of Man, of whom Zerduſht propheſied, that he ſhould teach the world true religion and juſtice, that for a time his kingdom ſhould be oppreſſed by the devil; but in the end this righteous perſon ſhall triumph, and ſhall eſtabliſh peace and happineſs upon earth (26). To this let us add a very extraordinary paſſage from the travels of Mr. Tavernier: "They give, "ſays he, three children to their prophet, and though they "have not hitherto appeared in the world, their names are however ſettled. As he paſſed the river, ſay they, ab ipſo cecidit "tres feminis genitalis guttas, which are preſerved to the end of "the world. That God ſhall ſend a virgin for whom he has a "favour into the ſame water, who, per receptionem primæ "guttæ, ſhall be impregnated, and bring forth a ſon, who ſhall "be called Ouſhider, he ſhall appear in the world with great "authority, and ſhall oblige it to receive the law of his father, "and ſhall diſcourſe with much eloquence, and confirm what he "ſays with miracles. The ſecond, who ſhall be called Ouſhi-"derma, ſhall be conceived in the ſame manner, he ſhall ſecond "his brother in his deſigns, and ſhall aſſiſt him in preaching, he "he ſhall ſtop the courſe of the ſun ten days, to force by that "ſign the belief of the people whom he teaches. The third ſhall be "conceived by the ſame mother in the ſame way; his name "ſhall be Sennoiet-hotius, he ſhall come into the world with "greater authority than either of his brothers, that he may re-"duce all nations to the true religion; after which ſhall be the "general reſurrection, when the ſouls in heaven and in hell "ſhall return and take poſſeſſion of their bodies, the mountains "and all the metals ſhall then melt, and ſinking into the gulph "of hell ſhall fill it up, ſo that the manſions of the devils ſhall be "ruined. After this great change the earth ſhall be plain and "pleaſant, and men ſhall live happily therein, praiſing God and "his prophet (27). Dr. Hyde obſerves very judiciouſly, that theſe three ſons repreſent the three ſtates of the Meſſiah His nativity, when his coming was publiſhed to the world by various means; his miniſtry while he continued upon earth, preaching and doing miracles; and his ſecond advent when he ſhall judge the

(26) Shariſtani ap. Hyde Rel. vet. Perſar. c. xxxi. p. 383.
(27) Tavern. Voyage. tom. i. lib. iv. p. 485.

niſtry was of no long continuance, according to the moſt authentic accounts not above five years, that is from the time of his preſenting himſelf to Guſhtaſp to his being ſlain at the ſack of Balch ; but it is now time for us to return to the hiſtory of Guſhtaſp, and of the remarkable events which happened during his reign (Q).

THE

the world in righteouſneſs, and his ſaints ſhall rejoice and ſing (28). But the ſtrongeſt evidence of this matter is the teſtimony of the famous Abul Pharajius, who writes thus: "Zorodaſht "or Zerduſht, the preceptor of the magian ſect, began to teach "in Aderbayagjan, or, as ſome ſay, in Aſſyria. He taught the "Perſians, that our Lord Chriſt would manifeſt himſelf, com- "manding them to carry him gifts, telling them, that in the "latter times a virgin ſhould conceive without the help of "man, and that when ſhe ſhould bring forth, a ſtar ſhould ap- "pear ſhining in the day-time, in the middle of which the "figure of a virgin ſhould be ſeen. You therefore O! my "children, have notice of his birth before all other nations, "when ye ſee that ſtar, follow it, which will direct you to the "place where he is born, adore him, offer him your gifts, for "he is that word which eſtabliſhed the heavens (29)". This paſſage is quoted by Dr. Hyde, but there is another in the ſame author which he has not mentioned, which we therefore ſhall from that excellent author exhibit to our readers; "The ſame "year Cæſar the emperor ſent Cyrenius into Judea in order to "tax it. Joſeph the huſband of Mary, going up upon this oc- "caſion from Nazareth to Jeruſalem, that he might give in his "name, when he came to Bethlehem in the way Mary did "bring forth a ſon. The magi brought their gifts from the "eaſt, and offered to Chriſt gold, myrrh, and frankincenſe. "Being queſtioned on this head by Herod in their paſſage, they "anſwered thus: A perſon of great fame among us, in a book "which he left us, hath thus admoniſhed us: There ſhall here- "after be born in Paleſtine a male child deſcending from heaven, "whom the greateſt part of the world ſhall obey; now the "ſign of his appearance ſhall be this; Ye ſhall ſee a ſtrange "ſtar which ſhall direct you till it ſtops, which when ye ſhall "behold, take ye gold, myrrh, and frankincenſe, and offer "them to him, and adore him, then return ye, leſt great evil "ſhould overtake ye. Now therefore this ſtar appearing, we "come to do as we were commanded (30)", a noble teſtimony ſurely.

(Q) The death of Zerduſht was violent indeed, but we cannot call it unhappy, ſince his religion did not periſh with him, which

(28) Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. c. xxxi. p. 383. (29) Abul Pharajius in Hiſtor. Dynaſt. p. 83. (30) Ibid. p 110.

THE old animoſities between the inhabitants of Touran and Iran broke out in a freſh war, while Guſhtaſp ſat on the throne of his anceſtors; it is not eaſy to ſay, whether this monarch or Argjaſp, who then reigned at Touran, was the aggreſſor. Mirkhond inclines to the former opinion, and makes this a war of religion, undertaken to reduce Argjaſp and his ſubjects to the faith of Zerduſht, that prince being, according to Dr. Prideaux, a zealous Zabian [u], which if he was, we know not how to account for it, ſince it ſhould ſeem, that the old religion of Perſia flouriſhed there in the days of Phridun; and, as we have ſeen, Zerduſht was not the

[u] Connection of the Hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Vol. I. p. 321.

which certainly it would have done, if he had been as bungling an impoſtor as ſome would make him, A Perſian hiſtorian tells us, that Argjaſp overturned the Fire-Temples erected by Zerduſht in Balch, and ſlew ſeventy prieſts, putting out the ſacred fire with the blood of the magi (31). Whether this muſt be underſtood literally or figuratively, it would be difficult to tell, if another hiſtorian had not related it more at large. "Notice, "ſays this writer, being given to the king of Touran by "certain merchants, that there were no ſoldiers left in Balch, "all of them having repaired to the army of Guſhtaſp, and that "his father Lohraſp was left alone in that city, with ſuch as "attended on the Pyræa and eighty prieſts; Argjaſp on this in-"formation drew together an army of fifteen thouſand men, "ſending his ſon Kehram before him, and following with all "expedition himſelf. It is ſaid, that when Argjaſp entered Iran, "Loraſp receiving advice thereof came out of his retreat, and "put himſelf at the head of a ſmall troop, with whom he "killed many of the enemy, but in the end Lohraſp with the "eighty prieſts before mentioned was ſlain and the holy fire ex-"tinguiſhed with their blood; with theſe prieſts alſo fell Zer-"duſht the prophet, who then reſided at Balch (32)". Hence it came to paſs, that Suidas affirms of the Aſſyrian Zoroaſter, that he deſired to die by fire from heaven, and adviſed his countrymen to preſerve his aſhes, aſſuring them, that while they were kept their kingdom ſhould never fail (33): All which the Alexandrian chronicle refers to the Perſian Zoroaſter or our Zerduſht (34). Of theſe fables we have ſaid enough, perhaps too much, already.

(31) Megjdi ap. Hyde Hiſt. Rel. vet. Perſ. p. 312. (32) In Shahnama-neſr. ap. Hyde Rel, vet. Perſ. p. 325. (33) ubi ſupra. (34) Chron. Alexand. p. 89.

the inſtitutor of a new, but the reformer of the old, religion; however it was, Mirkhond informs us, that Guſhtaſp having aſſembled the whole forces of his empire, marched with them into Touran, and meeting Argjaſp in battle he vanquiſhed him, ſlew his ſon in the field, and, before the Turkiſh monarch could aſſemble a new army, poſſeſſed himſelf of his capital, and gave the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, after which returning triumphantly into Perſia, he, on ſome jealouſies or ſuſpicion, impriſoned his ſon Iſphendiyar in a ſtrong caſtle, ſeated on the top of a high mountain, called Ghird Kouch, i. e. the round mount; but he had ſoon reaſon to repent the ill uſage of ſo deſerving a prince; for Argjaſp, irritated by the uſage he had met with, raiſed all the forces of Touran, and making a ſudden inroad into the province of Choraſan, he ſacked the city of Balch, where he killed Lohraſp, the father of Guſhtaſp, in his cloyſter, ſlaughtered Zerduſht with all his prieſts attending there on the chief Fire-temple, which he likewiſe overturned, committing all the outrages, that a mind ſtung with the remembrance of what the Perſian king had done in his own country could ſuggeſt [w]. Elate with this conqueſt, he advanced ſo briſkly into the dominions of Iran, that Guſhtaſp did not think fit to meet him in battle, but choſe rather to conſider how an army might be drawn together able to fight that of Argjaſp on his return. His counſellors adviſed him to ſet his ſon Iſphendiyar at liberty, and to intruſt him with the management of the war. Neceſſity compelled him to take their advice, and he accordingly ſent his brother Gjamaſp to Iſphendiyar, not only to releaſe him, but alſo to aſſure him, that his father would reſign to him the throne, in caſe he proved victorious. As ſoon as Iſphendiyar arrived in the army, the Perſians took new courage, and numbers reſorted to his ſtandard, though they had declined following his father. The young prince failed not to make uſe of theſe advantages, and coming ſuddenly on Argjaſp, he defeated entirely all his numerous army, obliging him to retire out of Perſia, and make all the haſte he could into his own dominions. After this glorious victory Guſhtaſp received his ſon with all imaginable marks of kindneſs and eſteem; however, he declined putting him in poſſeſſion of the crown, and, in order to amuſe him, he obſerved; that it would be unbecoming

[w] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xvi. Lebtarik.

unbecoming so brave a prince to put his father's crown upon his head, while his sisters, who were taken prisoners at the sack of Balch, remained still in captivity. Isphendiyar was piqued at this pretence of his father, which shewed that he did not think the prince had thoroughly humbled his enemies, and made that noble youth immediately determine to undertake a new expedition, that his father might have no excuse left for the non-performance of his promise. With this view he selected out of his army 12,000 foot and as many horse, with whom he advanced towards the frontiers of Touran, accompanied by his brother Bashuten, who was elder than himself. Having received intelligence, that Argjasp was retired to one of the strongest places of his dominions, to which there were three different roads, the one plain and easy fit for the caravans, but so round about, that it required no less than six months time to reach the place; the second pretty difficult, but so direct, that by it a man might reach the court of Touran in a month; the third which was hardly passable, lay through woods and morasses, and afterwards over high mountains covered with snow. Isphendiyar having directed his brother to advance as expeditiously as he could through the second of these roads, he with some resolute friends threw himself into the third. They were all habited like merchants, and carried with them jewels and other curiosities of great value. The instructions he gave his brother were these, that when he drew near the residence of Argjasp, he should post his army with all the silence imaginable in the neighbourhood of certain meadows which lay near the city, and that as soon as he should perceive a great number of fires lighted in those meadows, he should order his horse to advance, and execute the orders which should then be given them. Isphendiyar and his retinue, making the best of their way, reached in seven days the court of Touran. The prince being introduced to Argjasp as a merchant who fled from the severity of Isphendiyar, and was desirous of selling his goods in the dominions of Touran; the king received him and his companions with all imaginable courtesy, and accepted very kindly the magnificent present which the prince thought fit to make him. This lucky beginning was followed by a train of success answerable to Isphendiyar's wishes, for in a short time he wrought himself into the highest degree of confidence with the king and his principal courtiers. When there-

therefore he was apprized, that his brother with his forces was arrived at the place appointed, he invited the king and court to a grand collation, in the meadows adjoining to the town. Thither they came in the evening, and great fires being lighted for dreſſing the proviſions, theſe ſerved as ſignals to Baſhuten, who at the head of his horſe ſuddenly charged the Turks, and made themſelves maſters of the city. Iſphendiyar, and thoſe who were about him, diſpatched without delay the moſt conſiderable of the nobility, the prince killing with his own hand Argjaſp king of Touran. Then putting his ſiſters, whom he had releaſed out of captivity, into the hands of his and their brother Baſhuten, he adviſed him to retire with part of his forces into Perſia while he with the reſt marched againſt ſeveral Indian princes, in order to force them and their ſubjects to abandon idolatry, and receive the religion of Zerduſht, in which expedition Iſphendiyar had prodigious ſucceſs, and returned afterwards into Perſia, crowned with laurels. When he arrived at Iſtachr, he expected, that his father would without delay perform the promiſe, he had ſo ſolemnly made and ſo often repeated, of reſigning to him his dominions; but the politic Guſhtaſp intended nothing leſs. He received his ſon as before with all the tokens of amity and tenderneſs; but inſtead of putting the crown upon his head, he entertained him with a ſtudied diſcourſe on his own great abilities and the laudable obedience he had hitherto paid to all his commands. After this the crafty old prince complained, that there was ſtill one enemy left to be ſubdued, even in the heart of his dominions, viz. Ruſtans, who, having fortified himſelf in the provinces committed to his charge, abſolutely refuſed to obey the king's commands, or receive the religion of Zerduſht. Guſhtaſp inſinuated, that it was neceſſary for Iſphendiyar to reduce this nobleman before he aſſumed the diadem, ſince otherwiſe he would receive from his father but half a kingdom. Piqued at this behaviour, the generous Iſphendiyar ſet out for Sigjiſtin, carrying with him his ſon Bahaman; on their arrival there Ruſtan met him and conferred with him at firſt with great civility and reſpect; but when the prince inſiſted on his yielding obedience to his father's commands, and profeſſing immediately the faith of Zerduſht, Ruſtan grew angry, and from hard words they quickly came to blows. As they were both men of great ſtrength and agility of body, as well as of high ſpirit and unconque-

unconquerable valour, the combat was long and doubtful; at laſt it inclined to Iſphendiyar, but Ruſtan collecting all his force into one blow, gave the prince ſo deep a wound that he died upon the ſpot, having only time to recommend his ſon to Ruſtan, and to deſire his brother Baſhuten to take care of his body; both his requeſts were exactly complied with, Baſhuten carried back his body into Perſia, where it received the higheſt funeral honours, and Ruſtan carefully ſent home his ſon. Guſhtaſp was inconſolable for the death of ſo deſerving a prince. His grief, however, was forced to give way to the neceſſity of the ſtate, for the new king of Touran no ſooner heard what had happened in Perſia, than raiſing a great army he invaded that kingdom, and waſted it without mercy with fire and ſword. Guſhtaſp, having collected as great an army as the time would permit, marched with all poſſible diligence to oppoſe him, and, after having encountered and entirely routed his forces, conſtrained him to retire into his own dominions. The public peace being now reſtored, Guſhtaſp, to ſhew the reſpect he had for his ſon's memory reſigned the crown to Bahaman the ſon of Iſphendiyar, and, according to the example ſet him by his father, retired from the world to a magnificent pleaſure-houſe he had erected not far from Schiras, a palace of ſuch ſuperb architecture that in after-times, as Mirkhond tells us, it was attributed to Solomon, the ſon of David, to expreſs its excellence [x]. In all probability it ſtood in the neighbourhood of that mountain, which, lying behind the famous palace of Perſepolis, is held to be the ſepulchre of the antient Perſian kings. We have ſeen from various inſtances, that it was a common thing among the Perſian monarchs to quit their thrones, when they found their health and ſpirits decay, and to ſpend the laſt years of their life in contemplation. If we admit that Guſhtaſp was the Hyſtaſpes of the Greeks, then we may apply what Ammianus Marcellus ſays of the latter to this retreat. "Hyſtaſpes, ſays this hiſtorian, was a moſt wiſe perſon, who "boldly penetrating into the inner parts of upper India, "came to a woody deſart, whoſe calm ſilence was poſſeſſed by thoſe high wits the Brachmans; from theſe he "learned the true ſyſtem of the heavenly bodies and their "motions, and the pure rites of true religion, with which "knowledge he returned into Perſia, and taught it to the "magi, amongſt whom it has by tradition been preſerved

[x] Mirkhond. hiſt. xvi.

" even to this time " [y]. But perhaps, admitting Guſhtaſp and Hyſtaſpes to be one and the ſame perſon, we ought to refer this expedition to his junior years, when he fled from his father into Touran, from whence his journey into India was not difficult. There are ſome Perſian writers, however, who give a very different account of this matter, of which the reader will have a clearer apprehenſion, if he recollects what from an antient Perſian hiſtorian we cited, as to Zerduſht's promiſing king Guſhtaſp to fulfil his extraordinary requeſts. Theſe hiſtorians ſay, that not Guſhtaſp, but his ſon Baſhuten, addicted himſelf to divine meditations; and that this Baſhuten, in conformity to the prophet's promiſe, was tranſported to the mountain Dunbavand or Damavand, with thirty of his guards, where they yet live in the moſt quiet and happy manner, the approach of all living creatures to their ſacred retreat being prevented by thick ſteams of ſal-armoniac iſſuing from all ſides of the mountain [z]. Our famous traveller, Sir Thomas Herbert, aſcended this mountain, and paſſed directly over it without meeting any ſuch ſteams; he acknowledges, however, that there are vaſt quantities of ſulphur thereon, and that in the night ſome luminous vapours are ſeen thereabouts, which he thinks proceed from the ſulphur [a]; but the learned Dr. Hyde is for the old opinion, and is for attributing them rather to ſal-armoniac, but the doctor confeſſes, not only that the hiſtory of Baſhuten is fabulous, but that ſome ſtories of the ſame ſort related of Guſhtaſp are likewiſe unworthy of belief [b]. We may with tolerable certainty affirm, that the reign of Guſhtaſp was the reign of learning in Perſia. In his time flouriſhed a celebrated aſtrologer whoſe name was Gjamaſp, ſurnamed, according to the oriental cuſtom, Al Hakim, i. e. the wiſe or the ſage. That ſuch a perſon there was, and that he flouriſhed about this time, is pretty clear, but who he was is very far from being certain; ſome have made him the ſon of Daniel the prophet [c]; others the counſellor of king Guſhtaſp; but the greater number, and thoſe too of the moſt credible writers, ſay, that he was the brother of that prince, and not only ſo, but his confident and chief miniſter [d]. The ſcience for which

[y] Ammian. Marcel. hiſt. lib. xxiii. [z] Hyde, hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. xxiii. p. 306. [a] Herbert's Travels. p. 112.
[b] Hyde, R. vet. P. ubi ſupra. [c] Chalil. Suph. ap. Hyde, R. vet P. p. 385. [d] Mirkhond. ubi ſupra. Leb. Tarikh.

which he was particularly famous was aſtrology, and from his ſkill therein he is ſaid to have predicted the coming of the Meſſiah. Some treatiſes under his name are yet current in the eaſt, of which the reader will meet with ſome account at the bottom of the page (R).

(R) Dr. Hyde, ſpeaking of the philoſopher mentioned in our text, cites a paſſage from a very antient author, having before told us, that this author aſſerted, there had been among the Perſians ten doctors of ſuch conſummate wiſdom, as the whole world could not boaſt the like; then he gives the author's words, to the ſenſe following: "Of theſe the ſixth was Gjamaſp, an "aſtrologer, who was counſellor to Hyſtaſpes. He is the au-"thor of a book entitled, Judicia Gjamaſpis, in which is con-"tained his judgment on the planetary conjunctions. And "therein he gave notice, that Jeſus ſhould appear, that Moham-"med ſhould be born, that the Magian religion ſhould be aboliſh-"ed &c. nor did any aſtrologer ever come up to him (35)". Of this book there is an Arabian verſion, the title of which runs thus: The book of the philoſopher Gjamaſp, containing judgments on the grand conjunctions of the planets, and on the events produced by them. This verſion was made by Laii, the title he gave it in Arabic was Al Keranat, and he publiſhed it A. D. 1280. In the preface of his verſion it is ſaid, that after the time of Zoroaſter or Zerduſht reigned Guſhtaſp the ſon of Lohraſp, a very powerful prince, who poſſeſſed not only Iran, but Touran and Habaſchia, i. e. Ethiopia, that in his reign flouriſhed, in the city of Balch on the borders of Choraſſan, a moſt excellent philoſopher, whoſe name was Gjamaſp, author of this book wherein is contained an account of all the great conjunctions of the planets, which had happened before the time of this aſtrologer, and which were to happen in ſucceeding ages, and wherein the appearances of new religions, and the riſe of new monarchies, were exactly ſet down. This author, throughout his whole piece, ſtiles Zerduſht, or Zoroaſter, our Prophet (36). That aſtrology, by which we mean foretelling future events, or pretending to foretel them, by contemplating the heavenly bodies, was a ſcience, if we may be allowed ſo to call it, very early in vogue among the Perſians, might be eaſily proved if this were a proper place. To ſay the truth, the very terms in uſe among aſtrologers are irrefragable proofs of it, for they are moſt of them either Arabic or Perſic; and for this reaſon Chaldea, the miſtreſs of our weſtern aſtrology, was in antient times always in the poſſeſſion either of the one or the other of theſe nations. The notion of predicting the riſe and progreſs of religions

(35) E. Lib. Mucj. p. 227. ap. Hyde. R. vet. P. cap. xxxi. p. 384. (86) D'Herbelot. Bibl. orient. Art. Giamaſb.

Bahaman. BAHAMAN, the ſon of Iſphendiyar, ſucceeded his grandfather Guſhtaſp in all the mighty empire he had acquired. Before we enter upon the reign of this prince, it is neceſſary that we ſhould ſettle his name. Mirkhond calls him as we do Bahaman, and ſays, that he had two ſurnames, the

ligions from the grand conjunctions of the planets has been likewiſe propagated in our weſtren parts; Cardan was a bold aſſerter of this doctrine, and if he did not intend it himſelf, we are pretty certain that his ſcholar Vaninus actually thought of ſubverting the belief of the goſpel diſpenſation, by pretending that all religions owed their force and predominancy to the influence of the ſtars (37). The modern Perſians are ſtill great votaries to this ſort of knowledge, but they diſtinguiſh between aſtronomy and aſtrology, they ſtile the former Elm-nejoum, i. e. the ſcience of the ſtars, and the latter Eſte-Krag, i. e. the revelation of the ſtars; they have, however, but one word to expreſs aſtronomer and aſtrologer, viz. Manegjim, which is exactly equivalent to the Greek word Aſtrologos. Of all the provinces of Perſia, Choraſſan is the moſt famous for producing great men in that art, and in Choraſſan there is a little town called Genabed, and in that town a certain family, which for 6 or 700 years paſt has produced the moſt famous aſtrologers in Perſia; and the king's aſtrologer is always either a native of Genabed, or one brought up there. Sir John Chardin affirms, that the appointments in his time for theſe ſages amounted to ſix millions of French livres per Annum, which ſhews how highly theſe ſort of people are yet eſteemed in that country. As to the notions they have of the tranſcendent ſkill of the antient profeſſors of that art, the author juſt now mentioned gives us a ſingular inſtance in the hiſtory of Alkendi, a Jew, who was profeſſor of judicial aſtrology at Bagdad in the caliphat of Almamoum. Againſt this Jewiſh aſtrologer all the Mohammedans had a very great ſpleen; one more hardy than the reſt reſolved to attack his reputation, and to endeavour to diſpoſſeſs him of the caliph's eſteem; to this end he repaired to Bagdad, and finding Alkendi in the caliph's preſence, he aſked him why he took upon himſelf to know more in aſtrology than other people? Becauſe I know, replied Alkendi, what you know not, and you know not what I know. This provoked the Mohammedan doctor ſo much, that he would needs make a trial of his boaſted knowledge in the ſight of the caliph. In order to this each drew a circle about himſelf, and ſat down therein with his books and inſtruments. The Mohammedan doctor at laſt took a piece of paper and a pen, and after ſeeming to write a good deal, folded it up, and gave it the caliph, deſiring Alkendi to give

(37) In Amphitheatr. & Dialog.

the one Dirazdeſt, i. e. long-hand, becauſe his right hand was longer than his left, and the other Ardſhir on this account; when his mother was big with this ſon, there came a great aſtrologer to the court of Guſhtaſp his grandfather, and addreſſing himſelf to Iſphendiyar, preſented him a ſmall baſket, which he told him was for the uſe of the ſon that ſhould be born to him, upon opening it there was

give a proof of his ſkill, by telling what was written in this paper; to which the other after a little time anſwered, You have wrote but two words in your paper, one is the name of a plant, the other of an animal. The caliph opening the paper found this to be true. And this adventure ſpread the fame of Alkendi throughout all the eaſt. It happened there was then reſident in the college at Balch a young ſtudient of bright parts, who had been ſcholar to the Mohammedan ſage, over whom Alkendi had triumphed: He was ſo much piqued at the diſhonour done his maſter, that as ſoon as he heard this ſtory he bought himſelf a poignard, and took a journey of twelve hundred Engliſh miles from Balch to Bagdad on purpoſe to murder Alkendi. When he arrived at this laſt-mentioned city, he enquired the time when Alkendi taught in the public ſchools, which when he had learned, he went thither with his poignard under his gown, as if he had been a ſtudent come to hear him. Alkendi was in the midſt of his lecture when he entered the room, but he immediately made a full ſtop, and turning his eyes on this ſtranger, addreſſed him thus; I know who you are, and to what purpoſe you come. Your name is Albumazar (the true orthography is Abu Ma Shar) and you will become one of the greateſt aſtrologers of your time; but then you muſt lay aſide the bloody deſign which brought you hither, and you muſt throw into the midſt of the ſchool that poignard which you carried on purpoſe to kill me. Albumazar, ſtruck at this ſpeech, firſt threw down his poignard, and then himſelf at the feet of Alkendi, thenceforward he applied himſelf ſtrictly to the ſtudy of Aſtrology, and became, as that ſage had predicted, wonderfully famous, being known to the learned world by the name of Albumazar of Balch (38). The reader may perhaps think this a long and unneceſſary digreſſion; but we had our reaſons for inſerting it. We were ſpeaking of Gjamaſp's predicting the coming of Chriſt. A very learned countryman of our own has reported the ſame thing from Albumazar, his words are theſe: "In the ſphere of Perſia, ſaith Aben-Ezra, there "ariſeth upon the face of the ſign Virgo a beautiful maiden, "ſhe holding two ears of corn in her hand, and a child in her "arms, ſhe feedeth him, and giveth him ſuck, &c. This maiden,

(38) Chardin. Voyag. tom. iii. p. 203.

found a veſſel full of milk and a little flour, the perſon who brought it alledging by way of excuſe, that his circumſtances did not allow him to bring any thing better. Iſphendiyar and his ſpouſe were ſo much ſatisfied with the preſent, that they took from thence the name of their ſon, Ard ſignifying Flour, and Shir Milk, in their antient language; hence it came to paſs, that this prince was better known by his ſurnames than by his proper name, being generally called in the oriental hiſtories Ardſhir Dirazdeſt, and by the Greeks Artaxerxes Longimanus. He is repreſented by Mirkhond as one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter; he was ſo ſollicitous for the impartial diſtribution of juſtice to all his ſubjects, that he ſent ſome favourites of his own privately into the courts of all his governors, that they might bring him exact informations of their behaviour; and when the time of their governments was expired, he ſent for them into his preſence, and either rewarded and commended their virtues, or elſe puniſhed what they had done amiſs according to the nature of the offence. In a year after his acceſſion to the throne, he ſummoned the ſtates of his kingdom, whom he addreſſed in terms full of tenderneſs and love, he told them, that he had aſſumed the regal dignity, not to gratify his own ambition, but to do good to them; he therefore intreated them, if they knew any wrong ſteps he had taken, or any vices that he had, which were detrimental to the public, that they would freely cenſure and reprove them; nay,

" den, ſaith Albumazar, we call Adrenedeſa, the pure virgin. " She bringeth up a child in a place which is called Abrie (the " Hebrew land) and the child's name is called Eiſi (Jeſus). " This was enough to make Albertus Magnus believe, that " our Saviour Chriſt was born in Virgo, and therefore cardinal " Alliac erecting our Lord's nativity by his deſcription, caſteth " this ſign into the horoſcope. But that was not the meaning " of Albumazar, His meaning was (ſaith fryar Bacon) Quod " beata Virgo nata fuit, quando ſol fuit in Virgine, & ita habetur ſignatum in Calendario, & quod nutriet filium ſuum in " terra Hebræorum. That the ſaid virgin was born, the ſun " being in that ſign, as alſo we have it ſet down in the calendar, " and that ſhe was to bring up her ſon in the Hebrew land (39)". The reader is to obſerve, that Albumazar wrote expreſly from the antient Perſic aſtrologers, it may be from the very works of Gjamaſp which induced this note.

(39) Mr. John Gregory's notes on various paſſages of ſcripture, p. 152.

nay, if they held him utterly unworthy of the empire, he exhorted them to depoſe him, for he ſaid, that kings ought to be public bleſſings, and that ſuch as were not ſo ought not to wear the title. The ſtates, after highly commending the king's zeal, and receiving from him whatever they deſired, ſeparated, and going into their reſpective provinces, carried with them the higheſt ſentiments of duty and reſpect for ſo deſerving a prince. Ardſhir or Bahaman took care to repair all the cities, fire-temples, and public edifices, which, during the wars in Iran, had either been beaten down, or through the injuries of time had fallen to decay; this being done, and his empire every-where in a flouriſhing condition, he thought it a proper time to revenge the death of his father, and to reunite the provinces of Sigjiſtan and Kabul to his eſtates; and to this end he raiſed a conſiderable army, and marched into the territories of Ruſtan, whither he was no ſooner come, than he was informed, that this great warrior was dead, but that his ſon Feramorz had taken poſſeſſion of his government, and was marching to oppoſe him with a great army. The king of Perſia, being deſirous that the war ſhould have a ſpeedy determination, did not decline a battle, in which he had all the ſucceſs he could deſire, the enemy being entirely defeated, and Feramorz killed upon the ſpot. He took likewiſe Zal-zer, the father of Ruſtan, priſoner, and returned triumphantly into Perſia, after obliging the inhabitants of thoſe provinces to acknowledge him for their lawful Lord. Mirkhond gives us a very extraordinary account of the death of Ruſtan, which happened a little before this war commenced, he had, according to this hiſtorian, a brother whoſe name was Chajal, whom he ſent to collect his revenues in Kabul, where it ſo happened, that Chajal fell deſperately in love with the governor's daughter, who was a woman of moſt accompliſhed beauty and of the rareſt qualifications; the governor, obſerving how much the young man was ſmitten, gave him all the interruption poſſible in his amour, until he promiſed to do for him whatever he deſired, provided he might have his daughter; Chajal having promiſed this, the governor propoſed to him the putting of his brother into his hands, that he might ſecure to himſelf the abſolute poſſeſſion of his own territories by putting him to death, to which Chajal, for the ſake of his miſtreſs, aſſented. On his return home, diſcourſing with his brother, he informed him, that the governor of Kabul, whom he

truſted

truſted ſo much, was indeed a very tyrant, and grievouſly oppreſſed the people under his juriſdiction. Ruſtan, highly inflamed at this, threatened to put that governor to death, and to extirpate his family, to which end he aſſembled his forces; but his brother, laying hold of the predominant quality of vanity, which was always prevalent in Ruſtan's temper, perſuaded him, that his preſence alone was ſufficient to fright the governor of Kabul into ſubmiſſion, whereupon he ſet out, attended only by a friend and this treacherous brother. As ſoon as they arrived in the neighbourhood of Kabul, the governor with a very few of his attendants came and made his ſubmiſſion, and having moſt humbly beſought Ruſtan's pardon, which Ruſtan having given him, the governor entreated him to reſt that night at his houſe, which was but a ſmall diſtance from them; when they came near its gates, Chajal rode on his brother's right, and the governor on his left, when on a ſudden the ground gave way, and Ruſtan and his horſe fell into a deep pit, which had been prepared for him, and ſo artfully covered with earth and leaves, that he did not perceive it. Ruſtan, being apprized of their treachery, intreated one of the governor's attendants to give him a bow and arrows, that he might not be devoured alive by wild beaſts; the man touched with his misfortunes, put them immediately into his hands, whereupon Ruſtan drawing the bow with all his ſtrength, let fly too arrows with ſuch dexterity, that he ſtruck the treacherous governor and his perfidious brother each to his heart, dying a little after himſelf of the wounds he received on his fall. Such, if we yield an implicit belief to the Perſian hiſtorians, was the end of this mighty warrior, the glory and ſupport of his country and of its kings; but we ſhall ſhew in the note below, that this ſtory of the life and adventures of Ruſtan muſt not be underſtood exactly as they have related it (S). After

(S) The title of this ſection is the hiſtory of Perſia, according to the oriental writers. It is therefore our duty to report whatever we find in authentic hiſtorians; but it does not follow, that we muſt either believe ourſelves, or obtrude on our readers, all things contained in them for matters of fact. We are as ſenſible as the moſt inveterate critics can be, that there is much of fable perhaps in the beſt Perſian hiſtorians, and it is not impoſſible, that we may ſometimes miſtake their meaning. For example, we know that Apheraſiab, king of Touran, muſt have lived ſeveral hundred years, if what we have ſet down in our

ter the reduction of the provinces formerly held by the hero we have juſt now mentioned, Bahaman or Ardſhir, extended his empire on all ſides; ſome hiſtorians ſay, that Kireſh, i. e. Cyrus, was his governor in Babylon; but this is a palpaple miſtake grounded on a real fact, viz. the great kindneſs which this prince expreſſed for the Jews; ſome have reported, that his mother was of that nation; however

our hiſtory be true, or elſe for a long ſeries of years the princes of that country were ſtiled Apherafiab, as the kings of Egypt were called Pharoah, and the kings of the Philiſtines were intituled Abimelech. But then the ſame difficulty recurs as to Ruſtan. His father Zal-zer lived to be carried away priſoner by Bahaman, of whoſe reign we are now ſpeaking, he muſt then have been near ſeven hundred years old, and Ruſtan who was lately dead, muſt have been greatly upwards of ſix hundred, theſe are incredible things, and therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that, notwithſtanding the Perſian Hiſtorians ſpeak all as of one man, there was a ſucceſſion of heroes in that family, who were hereditary governors of the province of Sigjiſtan, and called from their famous anceſtor Ruſtan. Something of this ſort we meet with in Scripture, where not only two kings of Gerar are called Abimelech, but both the captains of their hoſts are ſtiled Phicol (40). What renders our conjecture ſtill the more probable is, that the provinces governed by this family took their name, which is more likely to have happened after a ſucceſſion of governors, than in the time of one man. We mention this merely to prevent a ſuſpicion, that we ſwallow without conſideration all that oriental writers have delivered. When we ſhall have cloſed our hiſtory of the Perſian kings, natives of that country, we ſhall, as we have promiſed, give a large account of the chronology of theſe times, and make it as intelligible as we can. In the mean time, let us add a few circumſtances, which we have not had occaſion to inſert in the text, as to the family of which we we were juſt now ſpeaking. The author of the Guliſtan tells us, that Zal-zer gave his ſon Ruſtan this caution. Never deſpiſe an enemy, however impotent he may ſeem at preſent, for a ſtream which will ſcarce bear a ſtraw at its ſource, grows in its courſe ſtrong enough to carry away a camel and its burden (41). We have frequently taken notice of the mighty encomiums beſtowed by the oriental romance-writers on our hero Ruſtan. Of all his exploits none, however, furniſhes them with ſo much room to expatiate on, as his two days combat with Iſphendiyar. Theſe ſtories were ſo pleaſant in themſelves, ſo agreeably embelliſhed by thoſe who took them for their theme, that

(40) Geneſ. xxi. 22. xxvi. 26. (41) D'Herbelot. Bibli. orient. Art. Zal.

it was, we may be assured, that he had a very great regard for the chosen people, and did them great kindnesses. This prince had a son whose name was Sassan a man much addicted to learning, and especially to astrology, whence it came to pass, that either through his own modesty he pretended not to the empire, or was precluded therefrom by his father on account of his studious life, which that active prince thought incompatible with the duties of a sovereign; however it was, historians are agreed that he did not

that they gave no small interruption to Mohammed in his settling his new religion. It seems there was one Nesser who had been in Persia about his concerns as a merchant, and there picked up the relation of Rustan's combats with Isphendiyar, he vehemently opposed Mohammed, and laughed at his pretended mission, and the better to carry his point, he diverted the people with these stories, which had such an effect, that when Mohammed brought them a new chapter of the Koran, they would frequently cry out, This is an old story; there is no great matter in this; it is not half so pleasant, as the stories of Nesser, which provoked the pretended prophet very much, and put him upon cursing this Nesser violently as an enemy to God and the true religion (42). It is to these stories of Nesser's, and to the behaviour of the people thereupon, that Mohammed alludes in the following passage of his koran: "There is with God great "reward for the righteous. O ye that believe, if ye fear "God, he shall remove your enemies far from you, and pardon "your sins, his goodness is infinite. The wicked have conspi- "red against thee to punish and slay thee, or drive thee from "Mecca; but God hath rendered their conspiracy ineffectual, "he knoweth all the designs of conspirators. When his mi- "racles were related to them, and his commandments taught "them, they said we have heard them; we had said the "like things, had we so inclined; it is but a song and a fable "of old men: Remember thou how they said, My God, if "what Mahomet declareth be true, cause a shower of flint "stones to fall upon us, and rigorously chastise us; he shall "not chastise them when thou art with them, neither when "they beg pardon of him; who is he that is able to hinder "God to punish them? they are not in his grace when they "hinder true believers to enter the temple of Mecca, he pro- "tecteth only such as have his fear before his eyes, but most of "them understand it not. Their prayers are very light, they "go hand in hand in the temple, but shall one day feel the "punishment of God because of their iniquity (43)".

(42) Ibid. Art. Alcoran. (43) Coran. cap. Alsan. i. e. Of the booty.

not ſucceed, nor did pretend to the ſucceſſion, on the demiſe of his father, but led contentedly a private life, though his deſcendants afterwards recovered the kingdom, as will be ſhewn in the next period of our Perſian hiſtory from oriental hiſtorians. After a long and glorious reign, wherein he ſo far extended his dominions, that ſome will have his ſurname of Dirazdeſt derived from thence, Bahaman or Ardſhir died, and left his empire to his wife Homai, whom ſome writers alſo affirm to have been his daughter, and who at the time of his deceaſe was big with child. The favourite ſaying of this prince was, That the gate of a king ought never to be ſhut [c].

HOMAI or Khamani, about five months after her acceſſion to the throne, brought forth a ſon of wonderful beauty. According to the cuſtom of thoſe times, the aſtrologers were conſulted as to the fortune of this young prince. They, it ſeems, were unanimouſly of opinion, that his fate would by no means correſpond with his face, but on the contrary he would bring great misfortunes on his country as well as himſelf, for which reaſon they adviſed that he ſhould be immediately deſtroyed. The tenderneſs of a mother would not permit Homai to follow their counſels, and yet her love for her country extended ſo far, that ſhe determined at any rate to prevent his bringing on it thoſe miſchiefs the aſtrologers had threatened. With this view ſhe cauſed a little wooden ark or cheſt to be made, and having put the child in it, covered him with precious ſtones, and then ſuffered the veſſel to ſail down the Gihon or Oxus. The floating cradle came at laſt within the view of a poor man waſhing linen, who was by trade a dyer. He ſtruck with the novelty of beholding a cheſt on the water, took pains to draw it on ſhore, and was mightily ſurprized on finding therein a child with things of ſuch value, not doubting but it was the deſcendant of ſome great family. He carried it with the precious ſtones which were in the cradle with it to his wife; who concurring with him in opinion that it was the ſon of ſome perſon of diſtinction, bred it up with as much tenderneſs and care as if it had been her own; the dyer giving him the name of Darab, from the vehicle in which and the element wherein he was found, Dar ſignifying a wooden veſſel, and Ab water. When this child was grown up

[c] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xvii. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Bahaman.

up to ſuch an age as required its learning ſome trade, the dyer would willingly have taught him his own; but the boy ſhewed a viſible reluctancy thereto, and appeared to have a ſtrong genius for war. The good old man who had brought him up, far from checking his inclinations, ſtrained his abilities to the utmoſt to furniſh the young Darab with an equipage neceſſary to his ſerving in the army, then raiſed for the reduction of Roumeſtan, into which the young hero readily went. This war was of no very long continuance, but Darab performed therein ſuch extraordinary feats of arms, that they rung through the whole army; wherein, though the flower of the Perſian nobility had ſerved, yet none had attained to ſo high a reputation as this unknown youth. At their return therefore from the war, the commander in chief reported ſuch favourable things of him to the queen his miſtreſs, that ſhe would needs ſee him. Darab upon this was introduced into the royal preſence, where, after ſome diſcourſe about the war and the great things he had done therein, the queen demanded of him what was his name, and who were his father and mother. He anſwered as to the firſt, that his name was Darab, but that as to his parents he was able to ſay nothing; that the perſons he lived with, and whom he acknowledged for his father and mother, were a dyer and his wife; that the man had taken him out of the water, where he floated in a little cheſt, and that from thence they had given him the name of Darab. The queen, having conſidered and inquired into this ſtory, owned him for her ſon, and declared him her ſucceſſor with the general approbation of her people [f]. This princeſs, all the oriental writers who ſpeak of her agree, had a prodigious capacity, and was wonderfully careful in ordering all things for the good of her people. Above all things ſhe ſtudied the adorning of the glorious capital of her dominions Iſtachr; to this end ſhe erected a noble palace therein, the ruins of which are glorious even to this day, and are the ſame which the Perſians call Chilminar, and in the palace of Perſepolis. We will not take upon us to affirm, that theſe authors are in the right, but we may ſafely ſay, that, in all human probability, this palace was built about this time; and the reaſon which the eaſtern writers aſſign for queen Homai's chuſing to erect it here is neither abſurd nor incredible; they alledge, that Guſhtaſp having erected ſeveral

[f] Mirkhond. Hiſt. ſect. xviii. D'Herbelot. Artic. Homai.

veral Pyræa or Fire-temples, and cut for himſelf and for his ſucceſſors, ſuperb tombs in the rock which lies behind this palace, Homai was tempted to build a royal houſe in their neighbourhood, that all theſe marks of Perſian magnificence might appear together, and ſet off each other; to her alſo are attributed ſeveral other monuments of a royal mind and a deep deſire of fame, ſuch as a multitude of pyramids, ſmaller but not unlike thoſe in Egypt, ſcattered throughout all Perſia, and every where overturned by the ſoldiers of Alexander the Great. This princeſs is likewiſe ſaid to have built a city called Semrim or Semirah, whence a famous Perſian author hath been led to think, that the Homai of the Perſians was the Semiramis of the Greeks; but in this perhaps there is more of criticiſm than ſolidity [g]. The author of another Perſian chronicle is ſo far from thinking her either the Semiramis of the Greeks, or ſo famous a queen of Perſia, as other authors make her, that he has totally omitted her name in his hiſtory of the Perſian monarchs of the dynaſty of Caianides [h]. Mirkhond, however, aſſures us, that ſhe reigned thirty-two years, and then reſigned the crown to her ſon Darab [i] (T).

DARAB,

[g] Tarik. Montekebh. [h] Tarikcozideh. [i] Mirkhond. ubi. ſupra.

(T) The oriental hiſtories mention various queens who flouriſhed and did great things in their reſpective countries, and yet are little known to us in the weſt. If we conſider what the Perſian hiſtorians ſay of her building the glorious palace at Iſtachr, we ſhall find it not ſo improbable as at firſt ſight it may ſeem. We have ſhewn before from authorities of all kinds, that in the reign of Guſhtaſp arts and ſciences flouriſhed exceedingly in Perſia; his grandſon and ſucceſſor Bahaman muſt have carried them ſtill higher, for he was very ſucceſsful in all his wars, and after he had finiſhed them applied himſelf to the adorning of his country with ſtately buildings, as Mirkhond expreſly informs us. That his widow therefore, who was alſo a potent and ſucceſsful prince, ſhould endeavour to eſtabliſh her fame by erecting ſo magnificent a pile, has nothing in it unlikely or incredible; ſhe might adorn this new-raiſed palace of hers with the ſpoils brought by her immediate predeceſſors out of Egypt and Syria; and as to the grand proceſſion which yet appears on the walls of that palace, if one might be indulged to conjecture, why may it not be ſuppoſed to repreſent the homage paid to Bahaman or Ardſhir by the ſtates of Perſia, when he aſſembled

Darab. DARAB, as we have already heard, was educated by a poor dyer, or fuller, who took of him all the care that could be expected from a man in his low condition. It is reported by a Perſian writer, that the young Darab, being one day at the water-ſide with his ſuppoſed father, addreſsed himſelf thus to the dyer: "I ſhould be very glad if "you would tell me the truth as to my birth, for I begin "to imagine, from the averſion I have to this buſineſs and "from my contempt of all manual labour, that I am not "really your ſon, as you have hitherto made me believe". "Whoever, ſaid the dyer, beheld a ruby and ſuppoſed it "dropt from a common ſtone, might conceive, that a "youth of your ſhining parts was what till this time you "have paſſed for, the ſon of a fuller". "Whatever my "parts may be, returned Darab, I ſhould be much pleaſed "to hear, without either allegories or metaphors, who "I am to ſuppoſe myſelf, and whether that ſpirit of am"bition which I feel in my breaſt ought to be checked or "cheriſhed; upon this the honeſt old man related to him "all he knew, which as ſoon as Darab heard, he demand"ed the jewels, and having received them went directly "to the army, and applying himſelf to the commander in "chief, told him all that his reputed father had related". The general was at that very time about to give battle to the

aſſembled them in the firſt year of his reign, and ſubmitted his conduct, and even his qualifications for the royal dignity, to their cenſure. That he did this, Mirkhond affirms, and that they were profuſe in their expreſſions of gratitude and loyalty on that occaſion. What more noble tranſaction could this princeſs chuſe, than this recognition of her huſband's right to his crown, from virtue as well as deſcent, by a generous and wiſe people. But let this proceſſion be what it will, it may as well be placed here as any where elſe, and till the learned by dint of their enquiries and criticiſms can furniſh us with a better account, we may as well accept of this from the Perſian hiſtorians. As to the modern Perſians, they, as we have here before obſerved, ſpeak very tenderly on this head; and if we bar their tales of king Solomon and the fairies, have nothing to offer againſt queen Homai's being the founder of that ſtupendious fabric, the ruins of which are now called Chilminar, i. e. forty pillars, though if we may truſt Dr. Hyde, its old Perſic name was Hazar ſutun, i. e. a thouſand columns (44).

(44) H. R. Vet. P. cap. xxiii. p. 440.

the Greeks, he therefore gave no anſwer to Darab, but adviſed him to keep his own counſel, and to ſerve the queen valiantly in the approaching engagement. Which inſtructions of his he exactly purſued, and behaved with ſuch prudence and vivacity in the battle, that the general gave eaſy credit to what he had told him, and, on his return from the war, preſented him to the queen, and gave it as his opinion that he was her ſon. Which of theſe ſtories is true, or which comes neareſt the truth, we pretend not to determine. All hiſtorians agree, that he aſcended the throne as the ſon of Bahaman or Ardſhir and that he gave the higheſt proofs of his royal deſcent by his wiſe and gentle adminiſtration. His valour had been ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed before he aſcended the throne, he ſuffered it not to ruſt after he aſſumed the royal dignity; at the ſame time he loved juſtice, and took care to have it exactly adminiſtered throughout all his wide dominions; he was likewiſe a munificent patron of arts and ſciences, eaſy of addreſs, eloquent in ſpeech, and one of the moſt humane princes that ever ſwayed a ſceptre. On ſome account or other he found it neceſſary to turn his arms on Filikous, that is Philip, king of Macedon; at firſt by his captains, and at laſt in perſon with ſuch ſucceſs, that Philip, being driven to extremities, was obliged to accept ſuch terms as Darab thought fit to impoſe; and they were theſe; that the king of Macedon ſhould pay yearly the ſum of forty-thouſand pieces of gold by way of tribute, and ſhould give his daughter, one of the handſomeſt princeſſes in Greece, to Darab for wife, which was accordingly done. The very firſt night that Darab paſſed with his new ſpouſe, he found her breath ſo offenſive, that he reſolved to ſend her back to her father, notwithſtanding that, as ſome writers ſay, ſhe was with child. After the Macedonian war was over, Darab applied himſelf wholly to the arts of peace, and to ſettling ſuch things as were ſtill in diſorder, and inventing new methods for giving eaſe and ſatisfaction to his ſubjects. Amongſt other wiſe and glorious acts of this good prince, the ſettling of poſts throughout all Perſia is particularly recorded, which he executed with ſuch ſkill, that he had news brought him from every corner of his empire, by couriers ſetting out regularly twice a day. He was the founder of a pleaſant and beautiful city in proper Perſia, on which he beſtowed his name, calling it Darabgerd, i. e. Mount-Darab, in the middle of which roſe a hill in ſhape of a tent or a pavilion, and without its walls lay a

circle of hills, producing salt of various colours, transported from thence into all the provinces of Persia; he likewise erected another city called Khourch, and after a reign of four years, according to Mirkhond [k], of fourteen, says another writer [l], and of twelve, says a third [m], he died universally lamented, and left the crown to his son (V).

Darab. II. DARAB the second, or the younger, surnamed Darab Kuchek, came very young to the crown, and what was much worse, came to it without any of the qualities of a prince; he was of an ill disposition, haughty, brutal, false, and cruel, properties which rendered him in a short time hateful to his people, and obnoxious to his neighbours. The Persians, unused to such treatment, entered into private negociations with Ascander, the son of Filikous, that is Alexander the Great, the son of Philip, whom many of the Persian writers believe to have been the son of Darab the first by the daughter of Filikous, whom he sent

[k] Hist. sect. xix. [l] Tarikh Montekebh. [m] Lebtarikh.

(V) It is certainly no bad caution to an historian, that in his writings he should forget his country, or rather, that he should lay aside that partiality which a man naturally has for his country; the Persian historians, as we have said in our text, represent Darab moralizing in his last moments, and reading a lecture on the vicissitudes of this world with his expiring breath closing all with passionate intreaties, that Alexander would use his subjects kindly, and take his daughter Rouschengh to wife. Who can avoid admiring a prince, so truly a prince, even in the sight of death? The Greek writers on the other hand make Darius moralize too, but then it is in favour of their hero; he was so struck with the virtues of the Macedonian, that he yielded to him his sceptre rather with admiration than disgust. Let us hear what Plutarch puts into the mouth of Darius on this subject, and we shall be constrained to own, that the desire of making all facts contribute as far as possible to the glory of one's country is not peculiar to Persian writers. Plutarch, having long expatiated on the virtues of Alexander, tells us, that Darius was a long time of opinion that he owed his successes to fortune; but when he understood the truth, he said, "Well, "I do not yet perceive the condition of the Persians so deplo- "rable, since the world can never tax us now with imbecillity or "effeminacy, whose fate it was to be vanquished by such a per- "son. Therefore my prayers shall be to the gods for his pro- "sperity, and that he may still be victorious in war to the end "that in well doing I may surpass Alexander. For my emula-

"tion

ſent back becauſe of her ſtinking breath, and perſuaded him to enter Perſia with an army, promiſing him to join with him as ſoon as he arrived with a force ſufficient to protect them, and to put him in poſſeſſion of an empire, of which they held Darab to be unworthy. As a pretence for making war, they adviſed Aſcander to refuſe payment of the tribute which his father had agreed to ſend annually into Perſia; and with theſe negotiations the king of Macedon readily fell in. Darab, finding that Aſcander did not ſend his tribute as uſual, ſent an embaſſador to demand it; to whom Aſcander anſwered, that thoſe who paid tribute in his country were dead; but others ſay, that the pieces of gold in which the tribute was payable, being called by a name which ſignified at once a piece of corn and an egg, Aſcander anſwered Darab's embaſſador in deriſion, when he demanded a mighty ſum of gold for the tribute in arrear, that the bird which had laid thoſe eggs was flown into another world, alluding to his father's death, who had burthened his ſubjects with this tribute. This anſwer terribly provoked Darab, who, to ſhew at once his reſentment and contempt of ſo weak an enemy, ſent a ſecond

" tion and ambition lead me in point of honour to ſhew myſelf
" more cordial and friendly than he. If then the father have
" otherwiſe determined of me and mine, O Jupiter, preſerver
" of the Perſians, and you his equal deities, to whom the care of
" kings belong, hear your ſuppliant, and ſuffer none but Alex-
" ander to ſit upon the throne of Cyrus (45)". One may ſafely ſay, that here is a juſt ground to ſuſpect this paſſage of forgery as any of the romantic ſtories in the Perſian authors. Darius worſhipped no God but the true God; he was utterly unacquainted with the Jupiter of the Greeks; and it does not appear, that even after Alexander conquered Perſia, he eſtabliſhed the ſuperſtitions of the Greeks there. That Darius might recommend his kingdom or his daughter to Alexander, or that he might intreat him to uſe his ſubjects well, is credible; but that Darius fell in love with the virtues of an enemy, who came unprovoked to lay waſte his empire, is a ſtroke of Greek eloquence which may pleaſe us well enough in an oration, but can hardly be digeſted for hiſtory. We muſt therefore bear with the Perſians as well as the Greeks, ſeek truth in the writings of one as well as the other, receive her kindly as oft as we find her, aud not charge one people more than another with concealing or diſguiſing her to ſerve a turn.

(45) Plutarch. de Fortuna Alexand.

ambaſſador with a harſh meſſage, accompanied with a preſent, more expreſſive of his maſter's ſentiments than any ſpeech or letter could have been; this preſent was a little caſguet, containing a dibble, or planting ſtick, a bag full of ſmall ſtones, and another full of ſmall coin; the firſt to intimate that he was young and inconſiderate, and that he had better employ himſelf in his gardens than in matters of ſtate; the ſecond ſhewing the power and ſtrength of the Perſian nation; and the third their riches; the whole implying, that it was a raſh imprudent thing for ſuch a petty prince as he to oppoſe ſo great and powerful a monarch. However, this ambaſſador with his preſent found Aſcander on the point of going into the field, and had therefore no opportunity of carrying back to his maſter any anſwer. The troops of the king of Macedon were not very numerous, but they were all choſen men, ſuch as were valiant in their perſons, and at the ſame time enured to hardſhips. On his entering Aſia he met with little oppoſition, partly through the hatred which the people had conceived againſt Darab, and partly from the generoſity of Aſcander's behaviour, who treated them not as enemies, but ſubjects. When he arrived in Armenia, he received a letter from Darab, wherein that monarch pretended great concern for his welfare, adviſed him not to hazard a battle, but rather to conſent to a peace while it was yet in his power, adding ſome menaces at the cloſe. Aſcander returned him for anſwer, that empires were beſtowed by God alone, who changed them as he thought proper. After this he continued his march till he entered the province of Aderbayagjan, where he defeated one of Darab's captains, who endeavoured to oppoſe his paſſage, and having done this, he advanced into Ghilan; this province, according to Mirkhond, was in old times a flouriſhing kingdom, called by its inhabitants Endſafet, i. e. the White Indies, in alluſion to the beauty of the country, which is far preferable to that of the Indies properly ſo called; its ſituation alſo being remarkably happy by reaſon of the Caſpian ſea on one ſide, and an eaſy correſpondence with Tartary, Perſia, and Armenia, lying round them. This country Aſcander quickly ſubdued: from thence he marched into the heart of Perſia, where, in the province properly called by that name, Darab met him with a prodigious army; after an obſtinate and bloody battle,

Aſcander

Aſcander carried the victory, and Darab was forced to fly, leaving his camp, his wives, and his daughters in the power of the victor. In their flight the Perſians met with a river, wherein many entering heedleſly were drowned; at laſt a ford was diſcovered, through which Darab, attended by the principal perſons in his army, paſſed; but of the ſoldiers, who followed him, crowding one another, the weakeſt were thrown down, and periſhed miſerably in the water. As ſoon as the king was come to a place of ſafety, he ſent once more ambaſſadors to Aſcander to treat of peace, offering in caſe he would ſend back his wives and daughters, and retire with his troops back to Greece, he would renounce all right of tribute, and make ſome other conceſſions; at the ſame time, that he entered into this treaty, he diſpatched ambaſſadors alſo to the kings of India and Macherek, intreating them to yield him aſſiſtance, that they might be able to drive the Greek out of his dominions; which they furniſhed with ſuch readineſs, that in a ſhort time he had an army on foot more numerous and potent than that which he had loſt. As for Aſcander, he treated the offers made him by Darab with deriſion, making all the haſte he could to engage the Perſian forces a ſecond time, notwithſtanding he was well informed of the great reinforcements they had received. It was not long before he brought him to a battle, in which the Greek gained another complete victory, Darab flying with a few of his captains to a ſtrong fortreſs, where, before he could well recollect himſelf, ſome of his own ſubjects moſt treacherouſly put him to death; that is, they gave him ſeveral mortal wounds with their poignards, and then fled to the camp of Aſcander, leaving their unhappy prince weltering in his blood. Aſcander no ſooner received the news, than he went with the utmoſt expedition to Darab's fortreſs, and found him in his laſt agonies, which ſight ſo touched the Greek, that, melting into tears and holding up his hands o heaven, he proteſted, he had neither knowledge of, nor pleaſure in, ſo execrable a deed. The dying king expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, aſſured him, that he thoroughly believed all he ſaid, beſought him to chaſtiſe the traitors by whoſe hands he died, and intreated him to eſpouſe his daughter Rouſchengh, and not to put the ſeveral provinces of the empire under the direction of ſtrangers, with all which Aſcander promiſed to comply. Then Darab, after making many pitiful complaints of the miſery

of human life and the inconſtancy of fortune, all of which are repeated by Mirkhond, yielded up the ghoſt after a reign of fourteen years. Thus far we have followed for the moſt part the author laſt mentioned. An author mentioned at the bottom of the page informs us, that in compliance with Darab's laſt requeſt, Aſcander or Alexander appointed for the governors of Perſia natives of that country; but that afterwards he had it in his head to have changed this diſpoſition, and to have appointed Greeks in their room; but that Ariſtotle, whom this writer calls his viſier, adviſed him to leave things as they ſtood, and not to remove any of the Perſian lords, to whom he had given the direction of provinces [n]. It is very certain, that this circumſtance is not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, agreeable to truth: Ariſtotle neither accompanied Alexander in his expedition, nor took upon him to dictate to him in matters of ſtate, except in general terms; otherwiſe it is not at all improbable, that he would have given him the advice mentioned by this author, ſince it would evidently have contributed to the keeping of the people quiet and eaſy; and would alſo have been very conformable to the temper of Alexander, who, when in a right frame of mind, always profeſſed a generous regard for mankind in general, and a deſire of behaving as an univerſal parent towards thoſe over whom as a univerſal monarch he ſought the power of ruling; at leaſt, this is the idea Plutarch [o] would give us of him, and of Ariſtotle, who, though a philoſopher, was a great politician, and had perhaps better conceptions of this conqueror's intentions, than moſt of the writers who have taken upon them, not only to record, but to criticize, his actions (W). The reader might very well expect,

[n] Iahiaal Caſvini in Lebtarikh. [o] De fortuna Alexand.

(W) That Alexander ſhould promiſe a dying monarch whatever he demanded ſeems perfectly agreeable to his character, as drawn by eaſtern and weſtern authors; he was fierce in battle, but full of pity towards the vanquiſhed. That Ariſtotle gave him general precepts as to government we may eaſily believe; and if the authority of Plutarch had due weight, we ſhall conceive the expedition of Alexander againſt the Perſians to have been no other than an attempt made by an active philoſopher to civilize all mankind. It would be, however, a difficult matter to ſwallow this; we ſhall therefore, inſtead of preſſing it farther, produce the paſſage from the Greek author laſt mentioned, to which

pect, that we ſhould here put an end to this ſection, eſpecially ſince he has already ſeen the hiſtory of Perſia, according to the Greek writers, concluded at the death of Darius. But ſo it is, that in order to purſue the ſcheme

which we alluded in the text, and which will ſufficiently ſhew, that the Perſian writers are not abſolutely in the wrong when they aſcribe ſome points of Alexander's conduct to the influence Ariſtotle had over him, tho' they are groſly miſtaken in making him his viſier. " If philoſophers, ſays Plutarch, aſſume to them-
" ſelves their higheſt applauſe for cultivating the moſt fierce and
" rugged conditions of man, certainly Alexander is to be ac-
" knowledged the chiefeſt of philoſophers, who changed the
" wild and brutiſh cuſtoms of ſo many various nations, reducing
" them to order and government. 'Tis true indeed, that ſo
" much admired common wealth of Zeno, firſt author of the
" ſtoick ſect, aims ſingly at this, that neither in cities nor in
" private houſes we ſhould live under laws diſtinct one from ano-
" ther, but that we ſhould look upon all men in general to be
" our fellow countrymen and citizens, obſerving one manner of
" living, one kind of order, like a flock feeding together with
" equal right in one common paſture. This Zeno wrote, fan-
" cying to himſelf as in a dream a certain ſcheme of civil order,
" and the image of a philoſophical common-weal. But Alex-
" ander made good his words by his deeds: For, as Ariſtotle
" ſagely adviſed him, he did not rule the Grecians like a mo-
" derate prince, and inſult over the barbarians like an abſolute
" tyrant; neither like one that took particular care of the firſt
" as his friends and domeſtics, but ſcorning the latter as mere
" brutes and vegetables; did he fill his empire with fugitive in-
" cendiaries and perfidious tumults. But believing himſelf ſent
" from heaven as the common moderator and arbiter of all na-
" tions, and ſubduing thoſe by force whom he could not aſſoci-
" ate to himſelf by fair offers, he laboured thus, that he might
" bring all reigions far and near under the ſame dominion. And
" then as in a feſtival bowl, mixing converſations, manners,
" cuſtoms, wedlocks all together, he ordained, that every one
" ſhould take the whole habitable world for his country, of
" which his camp and army ſhould be the chief metropolis and
" garriſon; that his friends and kindred ſhould be the good and
" virtuous, and that the vicious only ſhould be accounted fo-
" reigners. Nor would he, that the Greeks ſhould be di-
" ſtinguiſhed from the Barbarians by their long garments, by
" their targets, by their ſcimitars, or turbants; but that the
" Grecians ſhould be known by their virtue and courage, and
" the Barbarians by their vices and their cowardice. However,
" that their habit, their diet, their marriages, and cuſtom of
" converſe, ſhould be every where the ſame, engaged and
" blended together by the ties of blood and pledges of off-

" ſpring

laid down in the title of this ſection, we are bound to carry on our hiſtory to the death of Alexander; for, as we have ſhewn before, the oriental writers, in order no doubt to ſave the credit of the Aſiatics, have pretended, that the empire of Iran, with its dependencies, which were then very great, came into the hands of Alexander, not ſo much by conqueſt as by right; in this light therefore Alexander was the laſt monarch of the Dynaſty of the Kaiânites, and his reign conſequently ought as much to be taken notice of here as the reigns of any of his predeceſſors [P].

ALEXANDER, ſon of Philip, king of Macedon, is by the Perſian writers ſtiled Iſcander Ben Filoukous, which ſignifies the ſame thing, only they pretend, that it was a kind of ſurname beſtowed on him for the following reaſon; they will have it, that he was the ſon of Darab the firſt by the daughter of Filikous, whom he ſent home becauſe of her ſtinking breath, but that Philip bringing him up as his own ſon, and leaving to him the kingdom, he called himſelf out of gratitude Alexander the ſon of Philip, though he put in his claim to the kingdom of Perſia as heir to Darab his father (X). The oriental writers in general beſtow

[P] Mirkhond. ſect. xx, xxi. D'Herbelot. Bibl. orient. Art. Darab, Eſcander.

" ſpring (46). How glorious a reputation would Alexander have obtained, if his actions had been uniform, and apparently founded on ſuch notions as are attributed to him by the philoſopher? His burning of Perſepolis is a little inconſiſtent with the idea given us by Plutarch; but it is very probable, that great man meant no more than to ſhew us what Alexander would have done, if he had always acted up to the heroic maxims laid down by his tutor Ariſtotle. On the whole, it may be juſtly ſaid, that it was the paſſions of Alexander only which ſpoke him a man: in his cooler moments, and when he acted without their impulſe, he ſeemed ſomething more than man; ſuch are the effects of an excellent education, and of ſuch importance it is, that thoſe who are to govern multitudes ſhould be ſuperior in knowledge to the multitude they govern.

(X) The hiſtory of Alexander the Great has not only been intermixed with fables by the Perſian writers; the eaſtern authors in general, even thoſe moſt eſteemed, abound with very extraordinary circumſtances relating to that conqueror. Joannes Malala, a very celebrated writer, to whom we are indebted for

(46) Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

beſtow another ſurname upon him, viz. that of Dhoul-carnein, or rather Dulcarnein, which ſignifies literally with two horns, in alluſion to the two ends of the world, the

for a very curious hiſtory of the Conſtantinopolitan emperors, hath given us ſome ſtrokes in his account of Alexander, which do not very well agree with what the Greek writers have delivered, though he follows them in the main: For example, he makes Roxana the daughter of Darius, in which he joins with the Perſian hiſtorians, who, as we have ſeen, alledge, that the emperor of Perſia, in his laſt moments, intreated Alexander to marry his daughter Rouſchengh; whereas Arrian makes Roxana the daughter not of Darius, but of Oxyartes; but this is a ſmall matter: we have in the ſame author a ſtory of ſome length, which is quite in the oriental taſte: "It was the cuſtom, ſays "he, of Alexander the Great, in the expeditions he made af-"ter the conqueſts of Perſia, to go in diſguiſe with ſuch am-"baſſadors as he ſent to the courts of neighbouring princes, "that in this ſituation he might make ſuch obſervations as "might facilitate his deſigns. Of this it ſeems Candace, queen "of the inner or higher Æthiopia, had notice, whereupon ſhe "made ſtrict inquiry as to the form and preſence of this con-"queror; the reſult of this was, that ſhe was told, he was low "in ſtature, had large broad teeth, ſome of which ſtood out; "that of his eyes, one was of a light grey the other quite black, "which marks ſhe carefully remembered. When therefore Alex-"ander appeared with his ambaſſadors in her preſence, ſhe in-"ſtantly fingled him out, addreſſing herſelf to him in theſe "words; You, O Alexander, have been too wiſe for all the "world, and yet one woman has been too wiſe for you, to "which he replied, I therefore grant you and your ſubjects my "protection, as a reward for your extraordinary capacity; I al-"ſo accept you for a wife, to which Candace readily yielded. "After this marriage Alexander went into Æthiopia and ſe-"veral other countries (47)". If we were critically to enquire into the origin of ſuch ſtories, we ſhould perhaps find it no difficult thing to ſhake of all romantic circumſtances, and leave only the naked truth; but the compaſs of theſe notes neither admit of ſuch diſquiſitions, nor indeed does the nature of this work allow them. Our preſent buſineſs is to ſhew what oriental writers have ſaid of affairs mentioned in the text; and this therefore leads us to cite what is recorded by Abul-Pharajius. This celebrated hiſtorian calls Nebuchadnezzar by the name of Bochtanſer as the Perſian writers do, and in his ſhort account of the Perſian kings preſerves exactly the names recorded by Mi-khond; I mean the latter race of kings, the deſcendants of Guſhtaſp, who ſucceeded after the Greek power ceaſed to have dominion

(47) Chronographia, p. 249.

the east and the west, both of which the eastern writers affirm to have been conquered by two Alexanders, to whom therefore they have given this firname. The first Alexander

dominion in Persia; he calls the last king of Persia Darab, the son of Darab; of Alexander he speaks thus: "Alexander, the "son of Philip, reigned six years after the death of Darius, "having also reigned six years before his death. He subdued "many nations, so that his dominions extended even to India, "and the frontiers of China. He was called Dhul Karnain, "i. e. two horned, because he seemed to have passed from one "horn of the sun to the other, i. e. from east to west. Five-"and-thirty kings he slew, and twelve cities he founded; two "of these in the province of Chorasan, viz. Hera and Marwa; "one in the region Alsogd, viz. Samarchand, and in Egypt "Alexandria; when he returned out of India he went to Ba-"bylon, where he died of poison, and his body being put in-"to a chest of gold, was borne on the shoulders of kings "and nobles to the Egyptian Alexandria, where it was inter-"red. It was Alexander who began the wall Yajuji, which "was composed of stone and iron, the iron being let into the "stone to fasten it by the help of fire, each of the stones be-"ing twelve cubits in length, and eight broad. This wall "when it was finished came down to the place called Babo l' "Abwah, in the vallies of the region of Kaphjak, from whence "it was carried over and through the mountains as far as the "sea of the Greeks; nor were there wanting many of the Per-"sian kings, who to defend their dominions from the incur-"sions of the Turks, sought to find the foundations of this wall; "at last they were found by Yazdejerd, the son of Bahram "Jur, who began to carry on the work, but did not live to see "it finished; several succeeding kings prosecuted the same "design, but none of them with effect, till God rendered it "easy to Chosroes Nusherwan, who built it strongly, uniting it "to the mountains, and at last brought it down to the sea, place-"ing iron gates at the end, so that a hundred men were then "able to defend what would otherwise require an army of "an hundred-thousand (48)". Of this wall, as it nearly concerns the history of Persia, it is necessary that we should give some farther account. The famous Abu l'Ghazi Baliader Khan of Khowarazm, in his genealogical history of the Tartars, has given us the following account of it; "Those of Kitay have built a "great wall to cover their country, in which there are two iron-"gates for the passage of the merchants and other travellers. This "wall is called Sat in Arabick, which signifies Fortress; in the "antient Turkish language it is called Turk-urga; and in the "language

(48) Historia Dynastar. p. 97.

ander, if any credit could be given to the authors who have writen about him, ought to be preferred far before the

" language of Kitay Ungu. Alexander the Great cauſed a like " wall to be raiſed to cover the frontiers of his dominions; but " it was compoſed of all ſorts of metals. His deſign by this " wall was to hinder the nation of Jadſutz Madzuth, i. e. of " Gog and Magog from carrying their ravages into the lands un- " der his dominion, where they had done great miſchief in times " paſt. 'Tis a general tradition with the Tartars, that thoſe " people have the muzzle of a dog; and this wall being made " up of all ſorts of metals, they did all in their power to make " a paſſage through it by dint of licking, but they could not " ſucceed. That nevertheleſs before the day of judgment, they " ſhall come and lick their way through the wall, and that then " they ſhall do a great deal of miſchief in the world. Nauſhir " Wanadill, ſultan of Samachy, cauſed in like manner a wall " of earth to be built round about his kingdom *(49)*". On this paſſage the ingenious editor of that curious work has added the following remarks; " The remains of this wall, which the " Perſians pretend their king Naw-ſhirwan cauſed to be drawn " from the Caſpian to the Black ſea, are at this day to be ſeen " upon the confines of the province of Shirwan and Georgia: " it begins at the higher town of Derbend, and extends thence " north-eaſtward acroſs the mountains of Georgia towards the " Black-Sea. Theſe remains are every where three feet thick, " but its height is very unequal; for in ſome parts it is ſtill " ſix and ſeven feet high, in others only one or two, and in " ſome places it is quite beaten down. It appears at firſt ſight " to be built of ſtone, but when one comes to examine it near, " it proves to be only a kind of petrified earth, ſand, and ſhells, " which has formed ſo ſolid a body, that there is no free-ſtone " better than it; and it is on this account that our author thinks " it might be called a wall of earth. The late emperor of " Ruſſia, in his Perſian expedition, had the curioſity to go ſee " the remains of this wall, ſo far as the ſituation of the coun- " try and his affairs would permit him; and he could not but " admire the ſolidity of that compoſition, which he found " every where ſo exceeding hard, that there was no breaking " off any pieces of it without employing a good deal of ſtrength. " He found alſo ſome leagues within the mountain a ſkirt of " it which ſeemed to be intire, and was about fifteen foot high. " In all probability, this wall had ſtood intire to this day if " it had nothing to fear but time; but the hands of men which " built it have alſo deſtroyed it; and moſt of the towns, bur- " roughs, and villages of the country thereabouts are built with " the ruins of this wall (50)".

(49) Geneal. Hiſt. of Tartars, Vol. I. p. 42. (50) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 722.

the latter, ſince he ſtretched his conqueſts to the very extremity of the globe, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, and built a brazen wall in the north in order to hinder the deſcendants of Gog and Magog from pouring down like a torrent upon their ſouthern neighbours. It is pretty difficult to diſcover at what time this mighty hero lived, and as difficult to know when he died. Some writers place him in the days of Abraham, and ſay, that he lived ſixteen hundred years; but then they give him for his chief counſellor the prophet Khedher, who it is ſaid found out the fountain of life, and having drank thereof rendered himſelf immortal; which prophet, according to others, was cotemporary with Keykobad, of whom we have ſpoken ſo much already. As to the latter part of this ſtory, it is eaſily cleared up, ſince it is certain, that they confound Khedher, the counſellor of this mighty monarch, with a latter prophet of the ſame name, or rather ſirname, who is no other than the prophet Elias, whoſe tranſlation to heaven in a fiery chariot is by them changed into a diſcovery of the fountain of life, and gainning immortality by drinking its waters [q]. But enough of this elder Dulcarnein, unleſs we could ſay more of him with certainty, or even with probability. Our Alexander received the ſame ſirname from his being monarch both of the eaſt and weſt. The eaſtern writers, and eſpecially the Perſian hiſtorians, pay him great honours, and tell a multitude of things concerning him, which are not to be met with in the Greek or Latin hiſtories; for example, they tell us, that this monarch being aſked why he paid greater honours to his tutor than his father, he anſwered, that it was but juſt, becauſe his father made him deſcend from heaven to earth, whereas the inſtructions of his maſter had made him to riſe from earth to heaven [r]. One day he ſaid to a counſellor of his who had been long about his perſon, I am not ſatisfied with your ſervice, for this reaſon, I know that I am a man, and that as a man I am liable to errors and miſtakes, for which you have never reproved me; if this happened for want of perceiving them, then you muſt be ignorant and unworthy of your office: but if you

[q] Mirkhond. ubi. ſupra. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Dhoulcarnein, Khedher. [r] Vit. Rabialakiar.

you did know them, and yet were ſilent, it was treaſon [s]. It is likewiſe reported of him, that to make an experiment of a courtier's temper, he removed him from a higher to a lower office, and afterwards took occaſion to aſk him how the latter agreed with him, and how he brought himſelf to diſcharge its functions; Very well anſwered the courtier, ſince it is not any office or dignity that does honour to a man, but the man that does honour to it, ſince every poſt requires ſenſe and honeſty to execute it well, and he who poſſeſſes theſe cannot fail to diſcharge his duty with reputation. Alexander, having heard this, commended him highly, reſtored him to his former employment, and gave him a great reward [t]. Somebody wondering, in the preſence of Alexander, at his aquiring, ſo young, ſo large an empire, and adding it was ſtill ſtranger he preſerved it, he thereupon turned about, and ſaid, By two maxims I have done all this, I have taken care to treat my enemies ſo well, that they have found it their intereſt to become my friends; while, on the other hand, my care of my friends has been ſuch, as to raiſe out of gratitude a double affection for my ſervice. Khondemir, the famous hiſtorian, ſpeaking of Alexander the Great, informs us, that a perſon in a very bad apparel preſented him one day a petition admirably well penned, the king having read it with great pleaſure, and admiring greatly both the thoughts and the ſtyle, looked next on the perſon of the man, and then anſwered him thus: Friend, if you had taken care to appear before me in a habit as neat and decent as that which you have cloathed your thoughts, I ſhould have been much better pleaſed with you than I am; to which the man readily anſwered, Your ſervant has received from nature that capacity of ſpeaking and writing which you are pleaſed to commend; but it is to you, great monarch, who are ſo much famed for your bounty and generoſity, that he muſt be indebted for ſuch a garment as may render him worthy of your regard. Alexander was ſo well pleaſed with the modeſty and juſtice of this anſwer, that he ordered a magnificent habit to be brought, and with a conſiderable ſum of money gave it to this wiſe man in neceſſity, whoſe learning till then had left him in rags. In the Nighiariſtan, i. e. a book ſo called, the word ſignifying literally a gallery or place to walk

[s] Hafez. in Bahariſtan. [t] Moiannabi. ap. D'Herbelot. Biblioth. orient. Art. Eſcander.

walk in; we are told, that a certain flagrant rebel being brought bound hand and foot into the preſence of Alexander, that monarch generouſly reſtored him to his freedom; which ſurprizing thoſe about him, one of his favourites had the boldneſs to ſay, Sir, if I were in your place, I would not have extended mercy to ſuch a man; and I, replied Alexander, who am not in yours, have pardoned him; then after a ſhort ſilence, he added, I the more readily pardon my enemies, becauſe there is no compariſon between the pleaſure one taſtes in an act of clemency and in an act of vengeance. Khondimer, ſpeaking of the death of Alexander, aſſures us, that finding his laſt moments approach, he wrote to his mother two verſes to conſole her to the purport following; Your ſon, after having counted ſome moments of life, is delivered to death, he is gone like a flaſh of lightening, and has only left behind him matter of diſcourſe [u]. It may be ſuppoſed, that the intent of theſe verſes was to put his mother in mind, that as human life, ſo human glory was a mere nothing, and that therefore ſhe ought not to grieve at his being ſnatched ſo ſoon from an empire ſo lately acquired, ſince, if he had lived longer, it would have been of no great conſequence to himſelf, and would have furniſhed only more matter of ſpeculation to thoſe who amuſe themſelves with repeating the actions, and ſometimes cenſuring the conduct of others. On what authority theſe ſtories are grounded is difficult to ſay; they are chiefly recorded by moral and political writers, who aim rather at inſtructing men by paraphraſing on remarkable actions and wiſe ſayings, than at delivering a dry detail of facts, which without ſuch reflections inſtruct very little. A Perſian author of great genius hath related a remarkable ſtory of the hero we are now ſpeaking of, which is in all probability founded on what the Greeks tell us of his ſparing Thebes, becauſe it gave birth to Pindar. The Perſian ſtory runs thus: "Alexander having given orders after the reduction of a "very ſtrong place, that it ſhould be given up to the "mercy of the ſoldiers, ſome of his courtiers informed "the king, that there was in this place a philoſopher of "great note who deſerved his majeſty's notice; the king "ordered, that he ſhould be immediately ſent for; when "he appeared, it ſo happened, that he made but a very "indifferent figure; upon which Alexander, turning to "thoſe who had ſent for him, ſaid, with a ſmile of con-

"tempt.

[u] D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient. Art Eſcander.

" tempt, What ſtrange figure have you brought me here?
" Which ſo piqued the philoſopher, that he repeated im-
" mediately the following lines, which he made upon the
" ſpot.

O! prince of manners void, though great in fame,
Why ſhould'ſt thou ſlight my perſon, tho' uncouth?
Doſt thou not know, that man's exterior form
Is but the ſcabbard of the enliv'ning mind?
Why ſhould'ſt thou judge then of the weapon's edge,
When yet you've nothing ſeen except the caſe?

He added to this poetical reproof the following words in proſe: " One may ſay of a man unendued with virtue,
" that his body is no better than a priſon, ſince the ſoul
" muſt find itſelf ſo penned up therein, that any other
" confinement would ſeem liberty in compariſon thereof.
" The vicious man is tortured continually, there is no
" occaſion for a hangman and guards to puniſh or diſtreſs
" him, the very ſkin which covers his body is at the ſame
" time the unſurmountable wall of a perpetual priſon"
The ſame philoſopher added, " There is nothing more
" unreaſonable than to envy others thoſe gifts which God
" and nature have beſtowed upon them. The boſom of
" the envious man is continually full of anger and ſpleen
" againſt his creator, he thinks every thing amiſs which
" is given to others, and at the ſame time covets whatever
" is not deſigned for him. As it is thus the cuſtom of the
" envious to oppoſe conſtantly the conduct of him who
" governs the world with infinite wiſdom, ſo the mouth
" that thus murmurs againſt providence deſerves no other
" anſwer than to be filled with earth. One of this diſ-
" poſition exclaims at every thing he ſees in the hands of
" his neighbour; For what reaſon ſhould this man have
" more than I"? At theſe words he ſtopped, but Alexander, admiring the boldneſs as well as prudence of the man bad him go on, aſſuring him, that he took all that he ſaid in good part; the philoſopher on this proceeded in his harangue: " Wiſe men, continued he, are liberal of
" their wealth, and give part of it to their friends while
" they are alive, while the covetous are ſuch fools as to
" fatigue themſelves in laying up riches for their enemies.
" The railleries thrown out by the great againſt ſuch
" as are in low condition tarniſh the luſtre of their high
" qualities, and take off that deference which other-
" wiſe would be paid them. Whoever wearies him-
" ſelf with ſtriking thoſe who dare not ſtrike again,

" will

" will be eaſily beaten when he meets one who dares
" oppoſe him ; and he who puts to the ſword without pi-
" ty, will one day feel without pity the edge of a ſword."
Alexander at this ſtopped him, revoked his reſoluti-
on, pardoned the citizens whom he had deſtined to deſtruction, and rewarded the philoſopher for his timely advice [w]. It may very poſſibly happen, that ſome rigid critic may object to the inſerting of this dubious relation in our hiſtory ; but we hope, though it ſhould be exploded as a fact, it will yet be received as a proper inſtance of the Perſian mode of writing hiſtory, and at the ſame time we remark this, let us be indulged another obſervation, that the writings of Xenophon, who was very well acquainted with the antient Perſian learning, correſpond nearly with the manner of thoſe authors we have lately cited ; for he reaſons on all the facts which he delivers, inſomuch, that his moral and political reflections have in the opinion of many removed him, as well as the Perſian writers, from the claſs of hiſtorians into that of romance writers. But as his excellent treatiſe of the education of Cyrus has within theſe few years found many warm and learned defenders, ſo, it may be, the time is near, when we ſhall ſee apologies writen in favour of oriental hiſtorians, who, like Herodotus, may have their credit perhaps reſtored, when the ſubjects they treat of come to be examined to the bottom (Y). The Perſians

[w] Farez in Bahariſtan.

(Y) It is a common miſtake which reigns in Europe, that the eaſtern nations, and particulary the Perſians, are in the groſs very illiterate, and abſolutely paſſive under a heavy tyranny, which they either believe to be eſtabliſhed jure divino, and therefore not to be contradicted, or elſe ſtupidly drag the yoke, without daring to enquire by whom or how it is impoſed. One would imagine, that the frequent revolutions which have happened in the eaſt, and in Perſia particularly, would have overturned this notion, becauſe there could be no ſuch thing as a rebellion or a revolution among abject ſlaves ; there muſt be ſome reaſoning to perſuade people to take arms on the one ſide, and ſome arguments offered to prevent an immediate and total defection on the other ; of conſequence therefore, there muſt in ſuch countries be politicians, nay, and there muſt have been always politicians, ſince rebellions and revolutions are no new things. But the truth is, the people of good ſenſe in Perſia have in all ages had as rational ideas of government as we can pretend to, though it muſt be allowed, they have unanimouſly preferred

Perſians are not only much charmed with the character of the great Alexander, they are alſo wonderfully pleaſed with that of his vizir as they call him, or, as he was in truth, his preceptor Ariſtotle; this wiſe man they call ſometimes by the name of Ariſthathialis, but commonly by

preferred monarchy to all the other forms, or rather have profeſſed a diſlike of any form of rule but it; it is likewiſe true, that they have a profeſſed fondneſs for that patriarchal right of kings, which has been turned into ſuch high ridicule by ſome of our great politicians; but after all, though they allow their kings to be abſolute, yet they do not think they have any right at all to be wicked; they acknowledge, that we owe them the ſame duty we do our parents; but then they will have their kings act like parents too, on pain of forfeiting that reſpect; they own, that the prince is to be looked upon as god's vicegerent, this was the old and catholick opinion among the Perſians; but at the ſame time they were far from paying him divine honours, or the king from hiding himſelf, as the Greek writers would perſuade us, from the ſight of the people, that they might conceive extraordinary ideas of one who dwelt in ſuch ſtate; the truth of all this will appear from an antient cuſtom in uſe among the kings, of whom we have been ſpeaking, on the firſt day of April, called from thence, that is, from this cuſtom, Chorrem-ruz, i. e. the day of mirth, on which, as a very antient writer informs us, the king deſcended from his trhone dreſſed in a white garment; afterwads riding abroad on a white horſe, accompanied by his nobility, he and they gave open and indiſcriminate audience to all who approached them, laying aſide all diſtinctions, and acting as if they were equals; huſbandmen and clowns ſat down at the ſame table with the king, without ceremony told him their minds, and without fear made ſuch requeſts as they thought fit. The king on the other hand addreſſed them in theſe terms; I am one of you, and notwithſtanding the elevation of my ſtation, I know that all I have ariſes from your labour, and that kings could not be without you, any more than you could be without kings; let us then agree like brothers, ſince nothing but union can preſerve us (51). The foregoing hiſtory hath ſhewn us, that the Perſian kings in antient times were really as wiſe, as humane, and as condeſcending as any that have reigned in the north or weſt; it would be invidious to ſay more ſo. If we look for the reaſons which occaſioned this, we may find them even in a Greek writer: "At fourteen years "old, ſays this excellent writer, thoſe who were called the royal "preceptors among the Perſins take charge of the children of the "crown;

(51) Hyde H. R. vet. P. c. xix. p. 253.

by way of abbreviation Ariſtou; they report, that h. was wonderfully ſagacious even in his childhood, that he addicted himſelf very early to the ſchool of Plato, and continued therein upwards of twenty years, till he ſet up for

" crown; they are in number four, the moſt renowned perſons " in the kingdom for wiſdom, juſtice, temperance, and valor; " the firſt of theſe teaches the magick of Zoroaſter, the ſon of " Oromazes (he ſhould have ſaid the worſhipper, for Oromazes " was the name of god), and teach alſo the royal inſtitutions, " &c." As to the modern Perſians, on whoſe credit we are now forced to take the hiſtory of theſe early times, they too are wiſe enough to abhor ſlavery, and to ſpeake and write as freely about government as we. For example, the famous poet Sahdy wrote an expreſs treatiſe on this ſubject, called an advice to kings; among other wiſe and prudent admonitions, he delivers theſe: " " It is the wiſdom of kings to be kind to the poor, and not to " oppreſs the rich; the felicity of a ſtate depends on the good " ſenſe and right diſpoſition of the ſovereign. The ſecurity of " his country depends on his adminiſtring juſtce impartially, " proſperity follows ſecurity, and will be where that is. If a " country is once known to be ſecure, merchants will reſort " thither; the gain from thence will be large, and all temporal " bleſſings will abound. If the country become rich, the king " cannot well be poor, and beſides, at the laſt day he ſhall be re- " compenſed amply by god for ſo well diſcharging his duty, " whereas he who acts in a contrary manner will in every reſpect " meet with a contrary fate. Be always kind to merchants and " publick miniſters, that ſtrangers being well received may carry " a good report of you into their own country; ſoon will that " kingdom fall wherein the ſouls of ſtrangers are afflicted; be " wiſe therefore, uſe the traveller well, that whereſoever he goes " he may ſpeak well of you.——A prince ought always to have " before his eyes this maxim, dominion really belongs to god, " and he has no certainty how long it ſhall be delegated to him; " he ought likewiſe to remember, that the country he rules was " given by god to the people who inhabit it, to the end he may " not be miſled by falſe ideas of things that have no ſolidity, " and place his truſt on joys that may not perhaps laſt five days. " It is reported of the caliph Aron Keſchid, that he one day ſaid " to the famous Beloul his brother, give me ſome good advice; " he anſwered, there i snothing to be carried out of this world into " the other but good and bad works; it is in your power to carry " which load you pleaſe.——This Beloul was a very knowing " man, who, that he might have the more leaſure to attend his " ſtudies, would never marry. The caliph his brother aſked " him another time for his advice, how he might govern his peo- " ple for their advantage and his own; the ſage anſwered, let

" you

for himſelf, and became author of the ſect of Maſchai-oun, i. e. the Peripateticks; they affirm likewiſe, that he died very old, and in high reputation throughout all Greece. They are very poſitive, that he was prime miniſter to Alexander, the ſon of Philip, and, in conſequence of this notion, they report a multitude of fine ſayings and moral maxims under his name. Ben Caſſan informs us, that Ariſtotle compoſed above a hundred different treatiſes on various ſubjects, aud amongſt the reſt mentions one which is neither found among his works as we have them at preſent, nor is at all taken notice of by any of the Greek writers. Its title runs thus; A diſcourſe on the conduct which a great general ought to obſerve after the gaining or loſing of a battle; which, Ben Caſſan ſays, he dedicated to Alexander the Great. As to his philoſophy, we cannot find that it was thoroughly ſtudied by the antient Perſians, though in after-times it came to be in high credit with the Arabians *. But to return to Alexander; Mirkhond, who has wrote very copiouſly of his conqueſts, affirms, that he reduced many nations to the eaſt of Perſia under his dominion, and that he advanced as far as the Indies, that he was the founder of many glorious cities, particularly

* D'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. Art. Ariſthalis.

" your deciſions become laws through their apparent equity,
" and never make reaſon yield to your will; prevent as far as
" you can requeſts, give little to ſuch as aſk, but think of giving
" in time to ſuch as merit and do not aſk; the king is the head;
" the people are the body of the ſtate; if the king is either ig-
" norant or wicked, the head will devour the body with its teeth.
" —The government of an empire is an affair which requires a
" genius attentive and collected, and a heart which turns itſelf
" continual towards the moſt high god to invoke his aid, that its
" owner may turn his fect, his hand, his tongue, and his pen
" aright; and the king who acts thus god will undoubtedly endue
" with grace to conſerve his empire and his piety (52)". It is evident from theſe citations, that the Perſians have at preſent and have always had very rational ſentiments as to the reciprocal duties of governors and ſubjects; and it is likewiſe plain, that the diffuſe manner of writing peculiar to the eaſt is not without its advantages, ſince the intent of hiſtory is not tiring the memory, but directing the judgment, which is perfectly anſwered by the oriental mode of delivering the wiſe ſayings as well as great actions of the famous kings.

(52) ap Chardin Voyages, tom. iii. p. 253.

of Heri, or Herat, and Samarkand; he reports likewiſe, that this prince being mightily taken with the Perſian learning, cauſed three celebrated treatiſes written in that language to be tranſlated into Greek; the firſt relating to phyſick, the ſecond to aſtrology, and the third to natural philoſophy (Z), he divided, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, his ample

(Z) At firſt ſight it may ſeem, that Mirkhond might have inſerted this ſtory of Alexander's cauſing books to be tranſlated out of the Perſic language into Greek, merely to do honour to his country; but it would be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe this, when we have good grounds to believe, that the fact was really as he reports it. Theſe grounds are, firſt, that Alexander was a very learned and inquiſitive prince; and ſecondly, that it was his cuſtom to tranſmit whatever he thought might be uſeful to the commonwealth of learning in Greece; as for inſtance, the aſtronomical obſervations which were found in Babylon. But as Mirkhond has ſet down the ſubjects of the books, which he alledges were tranſlated by that conqueror's command, the matter ſeems to be put out of diſpute, ſince all the ſciences he mentions were indiſputably better underſtood in Peſia than in Greece. Firſt, as to phyſic, if we conſider the preſcriptions of Hypocrates and other antient phyſicians, we ſhall find that the drugs then in uſe were moſt of them brought from the eaſt, and not a few from Perſia; and if they had their drugs from theſe places, why ſhould we queſtion their learning from the inhabitants of theſe places how to uſe them? But farther ſtill; among the works of Zerduſht, there is a treatiſe which bears the title of Biziſhk-nama, i. e. the book of phyſicians, which is ſaid to treat intirely of the virtues of herbs, and how they ought to be applied; nay, he is reported to have been ſo very ſkilful in theſe matters, that Shariſtani in his treatiſe of the religions of the eaſt, which we have ſo often quoted, attributes expreſly all the miracles Zerduſht is ſaid to have done to his ſkill in ſimples only (53). Now take it either way, if he was inſpired, he knew all things, if not, he knew ſo much of ſimples as to paſs himſelf for a prophet; conſequently there might be treatiſes on phyſic among the Perſians well worth Alexander's directing to be put into Greek. Secondly, as to aſtronomy and other mathematical ſciences, we have proved in our note N. that they were well known to this people, when they were very little known to the Greeks, and that from the teſtimony of the Greeks themſelves; it is true, that the modern Perſians ſtand indebted for moſt of their knowledge in theſe ſciences to the writings of the Greeks, which are tranſlated into Arabick and Perſian; but the reaſon of this is plain, becauſe the antient books

(53) Shariſtani ap. Hyde, R. vet. P. c. xxii. p. 300.

mple dominions into ninety governments; and, after a ſhort and glorious life, ended his days at Babylon in the thirty-ſixth year of his life, and ſeventeenth of his reign[y], leaving his conqueſts to be divided among his captains, who are diſtinguiſhed by the Arabians and Perſians with the title of Molouk al Shaovaif, i. e. the kings of nations or families. The Perſians likewiſe take notice of Alexander's brother Aridœus, whom they ſtile Ardous, and generally ſpeak-

[y] Mirkhond. hiſt. ſect. xxi.

books relating to theſe abſtruſe ſciences were not ſo carefully preſerved as thoſe which regard hiſtory and morality; theſe being valuable in the ſight of many; thoſe precious only in the eyes of few. As to moral philoſophy, which was the ſubject of the third book mentioned by Mirkhond, it was the darling ſtudy of the antient Perſians, if we may venture to credit any thing which oriental writers have delivered. Morality is the ſubject of the book, intituled Gjouidan Chrad, aſcribed to Huſhang, a king far older than Zerduſht. Morality was the ſubject of moſt of Zerduſht's writings, as we gather from ſuch fragments of them as we have ſeen, and eſpecially from the book Sad-der, which, though written ad captum vulgi in verſe and in a ballad ſtile, contains as many moral ſentences as are to be found in Diogenes Laertius's lives of the philoſophers. To theſe arguments in favour of the learning of the antient Perſians we may add the amazing love of ſcience viſible in the modern Perſians; for we can hardly account for it any other way than by their mixing with the antient inhabitants of this country, and borrowing from their ſtores, ſince they far exceed the Turks, and indeed all the eaſtern nations, except the Chineſe, in their affection for learning; as a proof of which we ſhall alledge the reigning maxims in their ſchools, not unworthy perhaps of being ecchoed in our univerſities: Doubting is the beginning of ſcience: he who doubts nothing diſcovers nothing: he who examines nothing diſcovers nothing: he who diſcovers nothing is blind, and muſt remain blind. An extraordinary affection for myſterious theology ſeems to have been the reigning paſſion of the antient Perſees, and of the Perſians at this day. Among the latter there is a ſect ſtiled Suphi or Sophi, who profeſs themſelves admirers of the Pythagoric philoſophy. Pythagoras, as we have ſhewn, is generally, and not without good grounds, ſuppoſed to have been the ſcholar of Zoroaſter, and is thought to have learned from him thoſe refined notions with which theſe men are charmed. To deſcribe the notions of the uphi in few words, we muſt ſay, that according to their own account, they are quietiſts, or enthuſiaſts; in the opinion of the vulgar atheiſts. They faſt often and to exceſs, they pretend to ecſtacies and converſations with God. They profeſs themſelves friends alike to all men, and believe that the good in all religions are ſa-

ſpeaking make him the ſon inſtead of the brother of that monarch; they agree, however, with the Greeks, in repreſenting him as a prince little qualified for empire; but they ſoften this account, by pretending that he deſpiſed grandeur for the ſake of wiſdom, having learned from Ariſtotle to think thoſe goods only valuable, which neither fortune nor force can take away.

We have now conducted the hiſtory of the Perſian empire from its origin to its diſſolution after the death of Alexander the Great; in our next period we ſhall ſee it revive again, under a prince deſcended from their antient kings and of the magian religion. We have referred our reſearches into the chronology of the writers from whom we have taken this hiſtory, till we come to the utter extinction of the monarcy of the native Perſians in Yezdegherd; but before we cloſe this ſection, it will be proper to obviate ſome objections to the bulk of the foregoing hiſtory, which may ariſe from the very tenour thereof. For firſt it may be ſaid, that there is ſo much of confeſſed fable in almoſt every reign of theſe Perſian monarchs, and the years generally ſpeaking aſſigned for the reign of each are ſo incredible, that a prudent man will be tempted to reject the whole, rather than take up with a tale full of apparent abſurdities. To this we anſwer, that if it once becomes an eſtabliſhed rule to reject every hiſtory which carries in it a mixture of fable, all the antient hiſtorians muſt be condemned in the lump. Beroſus, if we may judge from the fragments which ſtill remain of his work, inſerted many fabulous narrations in his Babyloniſh antiquities. Manetho, the Egyptian hiſtorian, can expect no

ſaved. They have a remarkable averſion for church-men, which is owing perhaps to the outrageous antipathy the clergy ſhew towards them. Sir John Chardin gives us a whimſical inſtance of this; he ſays he was preſent, when a preacher at Spahawn told the people in his ſermon that the Suphis were atheiſts, that they deſerved to be burnt, and that he who killed one of this ſect did an action more pleaſing in the ſight of God, than if he ſaved the lives of ten other men. As ſoon as he came out of the pulpit, five or ſix Suphis who were among his audience cudgelled him heartily; and when our author interpoſed and begged them to give ear to the poor man's cries, one of them anſwered briſkly, What! Ought a fellow who preaches up murder complain of a beating? (54)

(54) Chardin. Voyages, tom. iii. p. 1. 12

no mercy if once this law be owned. Herodotus, Cteſias, Xenophon, and innumerable others [z] will ſhare the ſame fate with Mirkond andthe reſt of the Perſian writers. But after all, there is ſo tolerable an account to be given of that mixture of fable which is interwoven with the Perſian hiſtory, that if a critic's ſtomach be not very nice, he may, after a little conſideration, be brought to digeſt it. We opened this ſection with obſerving, that the antient Medes and Perſians were very curious and exact in ſetting down all matters of conſequence in their chronicles, and in preſerving thoſe chronicles through a long ſucceſſion of time; the truth of this fact we prove from indubitable authorities ſacred and profane. As to the ſtile of theſe records, we may form ſome judgment of it from the edicts remaining in the ſacred ſcriptures, and from the paſſage cited in relation to a conſpiracy againſt Ahaſuerus in the book of Eſther; and from all theſe it is plain, that though it was noble and ſententious, it was far from being hyperbolic or romantic [a]. But theſe records are no more; what we have now is taken from Mohammedan writers, who have certainly altered the old Perſian hiſtory, and digeſted it according to their own taſte; nay, what is ſtill worſe, many of theſe writers, neglecting the more antient and plain accounts of the old Perſian empire, have taken up with the romance written long after, to tickle the ears of the people, and perhaps to ſerve other purpoſes, which at this diſtance of time we are unacquainted with. Can we wonder after this at the fables recited in the foregoing hiſtory? Can we ſuppoſe, that ſtrangers, born with a contempt for the Perſees, the deſcendants of the old inhabitants of this country, will do their anceſtors ſtrict juſtice? Can we believe, that thoſe who, in conſequence of the religion themſelves profeſs, are inveterate enemies to that religion which was held by the kings of whom they write, will ever ſpeak of it with impartiality and truth? Or can we doubt, that theſe writers have made many other alterations, when we find them aſſerting of ſuch kings as they report to have lived wiſely and piouſly, that they were not Magians, but true believers, i. e. of their own religion; whereas nothing can be more certain, than that the Perſian monarchs from Keyomaras to Yezdegherd were all of one religion, allowing for ſuch alterations in that religion as

[z] Stillingfleet. Origines Sacræ, lib. i. c. v. [a] vi. 2.

are incident to all religions in ſo long a tract of time? But the egregious length of the reigns of the kings of Perſia remains yet untouched. To this charge there is indeed no reply, we admit it to be juſt, but at the ſame time we can ſafely ſay, the ſame charge may be brought againſt every antient hiſtory extant among the orientals. To give but one inſtance from the hiſtory of the Tartars written, by Abu l' Ghazi Bahader Khan of Khowarazm, from records the moſt antient and authentic, if the royal author is to be believed, and yet he places but ſeventeen Khans between Bertizena Khan and Kabul Khan, though, according to his hiſtory, there intervened 2550 years between thoſe princes, and in another part of his hiſtory he allows a thouſand years for the reigns of ſix princes [b]. Theſe are miſtakes as great as any that are to be met with in the hiſtorians we have cited, and it would be no difficult thing to draw together many examples of the like nature, if this were a proper place. But this ſingle one is ſufficient for our purpoſe; we do not pretend to ſay, that the numbers ſet down in our catalogues of kings are right, or capable of being defended; we only allege, that they are not more prepoſterous than the numbers which are met with in other oriental hiſtorians, who are notwithſtanding allowed to have ſome truth in their works. This confeſſion we hope will procure us ſome favour, and pave the way to thoſe amendments which we ſhall offer in due time. But, ſecondly, It may be objected, that our Perſian hiſtory from the oriental writers, being in moſt reſpects directly oppoſite to the hiſtory in the foregoing ſection, which is extracted from the Greek writers, one of the two muſt be rejected, ſince oppoſites can never be alike true. To this we may ſay, that we would be glad to compound the difference, and to allow, that the Perſian hiſtory from the Greeks is frequently to be preferred to this, and that this is in other places frequently to be preferred to that. Something in ſupport of this demand has been already ſaid on account of Xerxes's expedition, the life of Zoroaſter, and the death of Darius. Beſides, as we have before obſerved, the Greeks differ among themſelves, nay, there is not one author amongſt them, who in ſpeaking of the Perſian affairs may not be proved to have been miſtaken in ſeveral points, even from his own works. As for inſtance, Herodotus, who in one part of his hiſtory makes

[b] Preface to the genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, p. viii.

makes them worſhippers of the elements, and in another polluters, in a third chaſtiſers of them; add to this, that the Greeks, like all other writers, were notoriouſly partial to their country and countrymen, as indeed were the Perſians; ſo that on the whole what we aſk will not appear very unreaſonable, eſpecially when we refer it to the judgment of the reader to compare, to weigh, and to decide as he pleaſes. But, thirdly, It may be objected, that theſe accounts, being oppoſite to what is recorded by the Greek writers, and having no authority to ſupport them but their reputed antiquity, ought for this reaſon to be rejected, ſince true hiſtory is always ſupported by concurrent teſtimonies of natives and foreigners, the latter of which is wanting here; the ſtrength, however, of this objection, which is the laſt, and perhaps the moſt plauſible of all that can be offered againſt the foregoing ſeries of facts, will be effectually weakened from the following conſiderations, which we had no opportunity of inſerting in the body of the work. Firſt, amongſt thoſe writers which are beſt known to the learned, there are none which come near the times contained under the beginning of this period. Among the Greek hiſtorians the hiſtory of the Medes and Perſians aſcends, as we have ſhewn, very little higher than Cyrus, if we except what Diodorus Siculus has tranſcribed from Cteſias (A), which has

(A) We have ſo often mentioned Cteſias and his works in the courſe of this ſection, that there ſeems to be a neceſſity of our giving a ſhort account of this author and his works, to render thoſe remarks we have had occaſion to make perfectly plain and clear. Cteſias lived °thirty or forty years after Herodotus; he was by profeſſion a phyſician, and ſeems to have been very eminent therein; he was taken priſoner by Artaxerxes Mnemon, whom he cured of a wound, which he received in the battle which he fought againſt his brother Cyrus. He reſided ſixteen or ſeventeen years in the Perſian court, and, though the favour he was in there, had leave to peruſe the royal chronicles and thoſe authentic hiſtories of which we have ſo often ſpoken. From theſe he compiled in XXIII books the hiſtory of the antient empires of Aſſyria, Media, and Perſia; which hiſtory of his he brought into Greece, where it was received with the greateſt applauſe. Diodorus Siculus, to whom we are as much indebted as to any antient author whatever, has tranſcribed into his bibliothec the ſubſtance of Cteſias's firſt ſix books, after having given us the following character of their author; "Cteſias the Cnidian was later than Herodotus, for he flouriſh-

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has been generally exploded by the critics [c]. With reſpect therefore to writers of great antiquity, if our hiſtory be unſupported by them, it is likewiſe uncontradicted. The firſt race of Perſian kings are to be placed in a void, where if we do not fix them, we know not whom to fix beſides, unleſs we take up with the feigned catalogue of Aſſyrian monarchs contrived by Annius of Viterbo; and as to writers of a later date, our Perſian hiſtory is not deſtitute of friends amongſt them, ſuch as are unbiaſſed, and againſt whoſe credit there is nothing to be ſaid. The royal author of the hiſtory of the Tartars, ſpeaking of the original of his nation, which he derives, as moſt of the oriental writers

[c] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. iv. ch. 10. ſect. 3.

"ed at the time of Cyrus's expedition againſt his brother Ar-
"taxerxes, in which being taken priſoner, he was, for his
"ſkill in phyſic, received into Artaxerxes favour, in whoſe court
"he lived in much honour and eſteem ſeventeen years. During
"that ſpace he digeſted into a regular hiſtory whatever he found
"worthy of notice in the Perſian chronicles, wherein, by a
"fundamental law of the empire, all remarkable actions were
"exactly regiſtered; and this hiſtory he brought with him into
"Greece (55)". Diodorus in the very place from whence we have quoted this paſſage, prefers Cteſias to Herodotus, as he does in moſt other places of his book where he cites either of them. Xenophon, ſpeaking of the death of the younger Cyrus, quotes this writer with applauſe (56). Plato agrees with him as to the power of the antient Aſſyrian empire (57). Ariſtotle alſo commends him (58), and in a word almoſt all the antient authors who have written in Greek prefer him to Herodotus. The very learned patriarch of Conſtantinople Photius has preſerved in his bibliothec an abridgment of this author's Perſian hiſtory, before which he premiſes, that this writer differed not a little from Herodotus, and even from Xenophon, who was univerſally held to have written more knowingly on the affairs of the eaſt, and particularly of thoſe of Perſia, than any of the Greeks; but ſo it is, that Xenophon, as well as Cteſias, has been ſuſpected of mingling fiction with true hiſtory, becauſe he has not repreſented the Perſians as an ignorant barbarous people, plunged in ſenſuality and ſloth, according to the uſual cuſtom of his countrymen. Beſides his Perſian hiſtory, Cteſias wrote alſo an indian hiſtory wherein, it is generally agreed, there are a great many ſtrokes of fable; this indian

(55) Biblioth. lib. ii. p. 109 (56) In Exped. Cyri. p. 226.
(57) In. leg. (58) Hiſt. Anim. lib. viii. c. 28.

ters do, from Turk the eldeſt ſon of Japhet; he proceeds thus: "Turk was a man of ſuperior genius, having been "the firſt who invented many of the conveniencies of "life; he made himſelf tents, and pitched upon a fixed "reſidence in a place called at preſent Iſachkoll, he had "four ſons; 1. Taunak; 2. Zakale; 3. Benſazar; 4. "Amlak. At his death he appointed his ſon Taunak for "his ſucceſſor, who became a very rich and ingenious "prince, author of many fine inventions. It happened "one day, that Taunak having gone a hunting and killed "much

dian hiſtory of his has exceedingly hurt the credit of his other writings, and ſeems to be the true ſource of thoſe ſevere cenſures, which many, and eſpecially modern, authors have paſſed on this famous hiſtorian. Photius at the end of his abſtract gives us this character of the writer we are ſpeaking of; "The "ſtile of Cteſias, ſays he, though it is extremely plain and ſim-"ple, is far from being unpleaſant; he uſes the Ionic dialect, "not every where as Herodotus does, but in ſome words only, "for the ſake of varying his language; what is objected to him "of his frequently running into fabulous ſtories, is not without "grounds, eſpecially in what he has written concerning India. "The delightfulneſs of this hiſtory ariſes chiefly from his diſ-"poſition of facts, which are ſo placed, as continually to ſur-"prize the reader, and keep his attention engaged: even his "moſt fabulous accounts being adorned with a pleaſant and "eaſy eloquence (59)". Beſides theſe large exracts, there are various fragments of this author to be met with in the works of Athenæus (60), Apollonius (61), Plutarch (62), Ælian (63), Stephanus Byzantius (64), &c. It would conſtrain us to draw this note into too great a length, ſhould we ptetend to ſhew wherein this author differs with the Greek writers, or wherein he agrees with the oriental authors, treating of the Perſian hiſtory; for the ſatisfaction, however, of the inquiſitive peruſer, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſhort account of thoſe reigns which interfere with the foregoing ſections of the Median and Perſian empires.

Cyrus is by him ſaid to have married Amythis, and to have had two ſons Cambyſes and Tanyoxarces; he allows him to have reigned thirty years, and ſays, that he died of a wound received in battle.

Cambyſes, according to him, married Roxana, and, after a reign of eighteen years, died of a wound which he caſually gave himſelf in the thigh.

The

(59) Phot. Biblioth, Art. lxxii. p. 106. (60) Deipnoſophiſt. x. (61) Hiſtor. Mirab. xx. (62) In Vita Artaxer. (63) De Animal. Natura, lib. vii. c. 1. (64) Voce Δυρεαιοι

" much game, ordered a piece to be roaſted; but when
" he was juſt going to eat ſome of it, he by chance let a
" bit drop upon the ground, and having taken it up and
" put it to his mouth, he found it delicious by reaſon a
" grain of ſalt had ſtuck to it; which having given him
" to underſtand, that this land was impregnated with ſalt,
" he ſet himſelf to improve this diſcovery, and became
" the firſt inventor of the uſe of ſalt, no one before him
" having known what ſalt was, or that it could ſeaſon
" victuals. Cotemporary with him reigned a prince in
" the country of Iran, called Cajumars or Keyomaras.
" Taunak lived 240 years, and at his death left his throne
" to his ſon Ielza Chan, who lived many years, and be-
" fore his death appointed his ſon Dibbakin Chan to ſuc-
" ceed him. Dibbakin Chan lived alſo a long time, and
" diſpoſed of the ſucceſſion before his death to his ſon
" Kajak Chan, who reigned a great length of years, and
" had for his ſucceſſor after his death his ſon Alanza Chan.
" From the days of Japhin and his deſcendants to the time
" of Alanza Chan, the true religion was preſerved, and
" during

The Magian, ſtiled by the Greek writers Smerdis, is by him called Sphendadates; he computes his reign to have laſted only ſeven months, and to have been ſlain by ſeven conſpirators.

Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, reigned thirty-one years, died of a ſickneſs which laſted thirty days, and left his empire to his ſon Xerxes.

Xerxes had to wife Amyſtris; his children were Dariæus, Hyſtaſpes, Artaxerxes, Achæmedides, Artarius, Amytis, and Rhodoguna; this king was ſlain by Artapanus and Spamitres.

Artaxerxes, his wife's name was Damaſpia; he reigned forty-two years, left but one legitimate ſon, viz. Xerxes, but ſeventeen by concubines, of whom Secyndianus and Ochus afterwards ſucceeded him.

Xerxes the ſecond he held the regal dignity forty-five days and was deſtroyed by a conſpiracy.

Secyndianus, after a reign of ſix months and twenty-five days was ſmothered in aſhes.

Ochus, called alſo Dariæus, married Pariſatis, he reigned thirty five years, and had the following children, viz. Arſaces, Cyrus, Artoſtes, Oxendras, and thirteen others; he died of a languiſhing diſeaſe at Babylon.

Arſaces, this is the ſame prince whom the Greek writers ſtile Artaxerxes Mnemon; he overcame his brother Cyrus, his wife's name was Stateira; and in his time Cteſias reſided in Perſia, and compiled his hiſtory (65).

(65) Photii. Biblioth. p. 135, 136.

" during the reign of this prince his ſubjects lived in a " profound peace, having great abundance of all ſorts of " riches [d]." From this paſſage it is evident, that the records of Tartary mention this Keyomaras juſt where the Perſian hiſtorians place him; and it is likewiſe plain, that the belief of the true religion is reported by the ſame records to have remained untainted in theſe countries, which is exactly what our Perſian writers ſay; the ſame author agrees with them in many other things, ſuch as making Sam, i. e. Shem, and his deſcendants the original inhabitants of Iran or Perſia, and in acknowledging Huſhſhangh, the grandſon of Keyomaras his ſucceſſor: he relates likewiſe the wars carried on by the deſcendants of Turk againſt the monarchs of Iran, and proportions the reigns of thoſe Khans to the reigns of the kings of Perſia mentioned in the foregoing hiſtory. In Dr. Hyde's learned book of the religion of the antient Perſians, there are many Arabic and other hiſtorians quoted in ſupport of ſuch paſſages of the antient Perſian hiſtory, as he has occaſion to touch on in that work. It is true, that learned and judicious writer is far from conceiving, that all theſe oriental hiſtorians have delivered ought to be taken on truſt; on the contrary, he points out many of their errors, as he does alſo thoſe of the Greek writers, whence he argues, as we do after him, that intire credit ought to be given to neither, but that the likelieſt method for attaining truth is to read and compare both [e]. Secondly, the whole ſeries of antient hiſtory teaches, that in the moſt remote ages of the world theſe countries were very populous, and under the dominion of potent monarchs; this is exactly conformable to what our writers of the Perſian hiſtory and other oriental authors affirm; ſo that we muſt either renounce that opinion, which has hitherto been generally entertained, of theſe eaſtern countries being firſt and moſt fully peopled, or we muſt admit, that theſe accounts are probable, if it were in reſpect only to this point. Thirdly, there remain of the antient Perſians, thoſe poor diſtreſſed creatures who are now ſtiled Perſees, as ſo many living witneſſes of the truth of this hiſtory. We can no way avoid affording our belief to this propoſition, that the religion they profeſs is the very ſame which their anceſtors held in the reign of Yazdegherd; and if ſo, we muſt trace this religion from their

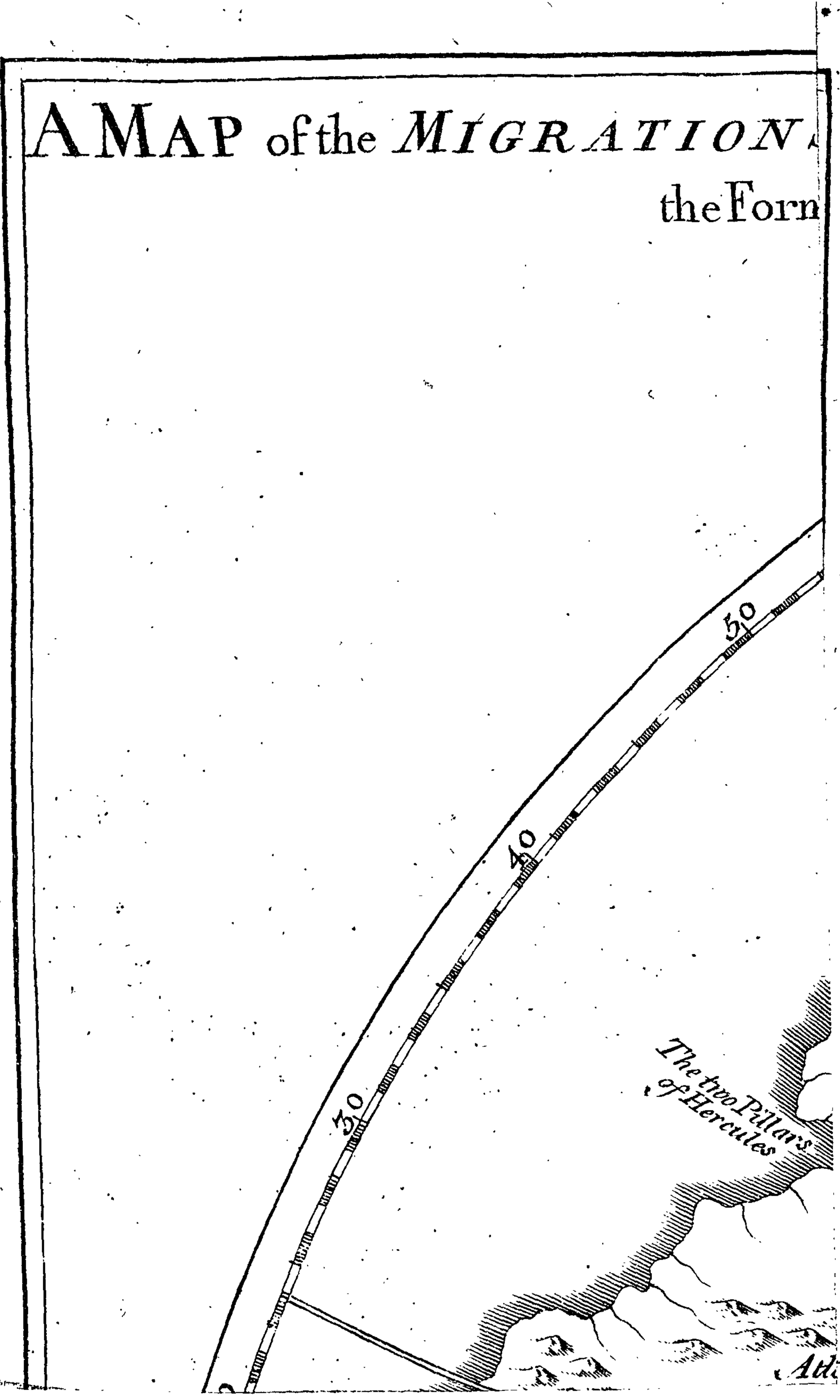
[d] P. 1. ch. ii. p. 6. [e] Hyde, H. R. vet. P. in Præf.

their accounts, thoſe of their conquerors, and ſuch as are to be met with among their neighbour nations. Now the the Perſees, as well thoſe in India as thoſe which ſtill remain in their own country, affirm ſteadily, that it was ſettled by Keyomaras, reformed by Zerduſht, and ſo continued till the diſſolution of the empire of the native Perſians. The modern Perſians and the Arabic hiſtorians acknowledge theſe facts to be ſo; they are likewiſe admitted by ſuch of the oriental chriſtian writers as have come to our knowledge: we may therefore conclude, that there is not ſo much in this third objection as at firſt ſight there may ſeem; but that, conſidering the nature of the thing, this hiſtory has as ſtrong evidence in its favour as any other hiſtory of equal antiquity, excepting that of the Hebrews; a propoſition which we long ago undertook to prove, and which we have hitherto proſecuted with no ſmall pains. The reader will no doubt take notice of ſome deviations in this ſection from our extraordinary method, and of frequent recapitulations of facts, which have drawn this ſection to an extraordinary length; but at the ſame time we hope it will be obſerved, that this is a ſubject that hath hitherto been untouched, a ſcene of confuſion, wherefrom little was expected; if therefore it has coſt an unuſual trouble to give it ſome form, it ought to be excuſed, ſince tranſactions of this nature agree with the old mode of reducing Chaos, wherein there was firſt motion, and then light. The firſt is here, the latter may come in time; hitherto oriental hiſtories have been confined to the learned languages, and, like books of alchimy, been deſpiſed as trifles by ſome, and eſteemed as treaſures by others. Of their value we pretend not to decide, it was our buſineſs to bring them here, to place them in the view of our Engliſh reader in the beſt method we could; and having done this, we are to leave them to the judgment of the public.

CHAP.

A MAP of the *MIGRATION*

the Forn



A MAP of the *MIGRATIONS* and *SETTLEMENTS* of the CELTES, *OR* GOMERIANS, and SCYTHIANS; the Former in EUROPE, and the latter in ASIA.



S. W. Sculp.t

CHAP. XII.

The Hiſtory of the Scythians and Gomerians, their Migrations into Europe, under the ſeveral names inſerted in the Margin *.

* viz. the former of Scythians, Celto-Scythes, Sarmatians, Maſſagetes &c. the latter of Gomerians, Cymmerians, Celtes, Galatians, Gauls, Titans, Sacks, and Celtiberians.

SECT. I.

An Inquiry into the Origin, Antiquity, Migrations, and Settlements of the Scythians and Gomerians, conſidered as two diſtinct Nations, by way of Introduction to their Hiſtory.

Celtes and Scythians deſcended from Japhet.

THESE two nations are ſo blended in antient hiſtory, that it would be next to impoſſible to aſſign their different territories, or give their hiſtory with any tolerable clearneſs, without previouſly tracing them to their diſtinct originals, taking a curſory retroſpect of their migrations and ſettlements, and conſidering each of them under thoſe various names, by which they are mentioned by antient hiſtorians. We have already ſeen at the beginning of this hiſtory, that they were both deſcended from Gomer †, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet. This laſt we have alſo proved to have been the eldeſt ſon of Noah *, and to have received this peculiar bleſſing from his father, that *God would enlarge his borders* [a], upon which account Moſes obſerves immediately after, that *the iſles of the Gentiles*, by which is underſtood Europe, *was divided by*, or *among his poſterity* [b]. This perhaps is what induced Beroſus and thoſe who have followed him, to make ſuch deſperate haſte to ſettle Gomer's children in Italy, Aſturia, Biſcay, and other parts of Europe, even ſo early as 142 years after the flood. Hence others, no leſs ſanguine, have ventured to bring Gomer

† See Vol. I. p. 467. & ſeq. * Ibid. p. 348. [a] Genes. ix. 27. [b] Ibid. x. 5. See Vol. I. p. 467.

Gomer intoGaul, Tubal, unto Spain, Aſkenaz intoGermany, and Magog into Sweden or Denmark [c]. Theſe precipitate migrations ſtand ſufficiently confuted by their palpable impoſſibility [d] (A), were there nothing elſe to diſprove them. But nothing appears more certain, than that thoſe patriarchs never came out of Aſia. On the contrary, we find their deſcendants making a conſiderable figure in that cradle of the world, and ſettling themſelves as near as they conveniently could to one another, till ſcantineſs of room, want of paſturage, accidental diſcords, or ſome other reaſons, obliged them to branch out further on all ſides towards Europe and northern Aſia, whilſt the deſcendants of Shem and Ham enlarged their territories in their ſeveral allotments, in the ſouthern parts of Aſia and Africa, as we have already ſeen in their ſeveral hiſtories.

To make the ſame appear the more clearly with reſpect to the ſons of Gomer, let us now take a ſhort retroſpect of their firſt ſettlements in Aſia, their migrations thence into Europe, their ſucceſſive ſtations before they came into thoſe parts in which they ſettled themſelves into regular kingdoms and governments; and from which ſome of them returned again into Aſia in proceſs of time, where they gave names to countries, cities, mountains, and rivers, which have cauſed ſuch a confuſion in antient hiſtorians, for want of rightly diſtinguiſhing between thoſe two diſtant migrations. This circumſtance makes it very neceſſary to examine, in the firſt place, whether the Scythians and the Gomerians, properly ſo called, were originally the ſame

[c] Pezron. Antiq. Celt. chap. 3. [d] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hiſt. p. i. c. 8. ſect. 3. Bochart. Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & ſeq. Pezron. ubi. ſup.

(A) Nothing indeed were more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe, that they ſeparated themſelves from the reſt before the general diſperſion at Babel; and if immediately after, how little time ſoever be allowed for the building of that ſtupendous fabrick the remainder will be vaſtly too ſhort for a migration of near 3000 miles, thro' woods, foreſts, and deſarts; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage; for ſo far Sir Walter Rawleigh has proved it to be by land, in the place above quoted. It were ſtill more monſtrous to ſuppoſe, that they could come into Europe by ſea, with ſuch a numerous retinue, ſo long before any thing of navigation, even by coaſting, was known.

ſame, or two diſtinct nations. Without ſuch a previous inquiry, we ſhall find their names, countries, and exploits ſo confuſed, that it would be next to impoſſible to ſettle their geography, or underſtand their hiſtory, with any ſatisfactory clearneſs.

WE have formerly hinted at the different opinions of the learned concerning this point *, which ſeems chiefly to be owing to theſe two cauſes. 1. That none of the ſacred hiſtorians mention theſe two nations by any other names than that of their progenitor [e]; and 2. That prophane authors have been ſo confounded by their variety of names, migrations, and exploits, in ſeveral parts of Aſia as well as Europe, and particularly by the affinity of thoſe names which they gave in both places, to towns, rivers, mountains, and the like, in their driving one another out of their territories, which they often did by turns; that it is not eaſy to know whether they ſpoke of the ſame nation under different names, or of two diſtinct ones. Sure it is, that if they meant the latter, they have moſt egregiouſly confounded them, by aſcribing names, places, and exploits to the one, which belonged to the other, which makes it extremely difficult to diſcover when they ſpeak of the Scythians, and when of the Celtes or Gomerians. At leaſt it is evident, that Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Juſtin [f], to name no more, have called the Scythians, who remigrated into Aſia, by ſome names, and attributed ſome actions and places to them, which, upon cloſer examination, are found to have belonged to the Celtes or Gomerians, whom they had driven thither out of their European territories. An accurate antient geographer tells us [g], that the old Greek hiſtorians gave the name of Scythians and Celto-Scythians to all the inhabitants of the northern regions, though it is plain, that a conſiderable part of them were properly Celtes or Gomerians [h]. And in the ſame book he adds, that thoſe people who inhabited beyond the Caſpian ſea, which ſhould be the Scythians, were by the ſame Greek hiſtorians called ſome Sacks, and others Maſſagetes,

* Vol. I p. 467. 468. & ſeq. [e] Vid. int. al. Ezek. xxxviii. 2. 3, 6. [f] See Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. Herodot. lib. i. & 4. Juſtin. lib. 1. c. 8. & ſeq. [g] Strab. Geogr. lib. ii. [h] Vid. Genebr. 1949. Lewis's Introduct. in Hiſt. Britan. cap. iii. Pezron. ubi ſup. Jun. in Geneſ. x. 2.

ſagetes, though the former of theſe names, at leaſt, belonged only to the Celtes, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper piace.

For theſe reaſons, many learned men have choſen to reckon them as one people, branched out into that variety of names and characters, under which they are diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory. Notwithſtanding which, and the ſilence of the ſacred books, Joſephus's authority has been more univerſally received both by antient fathers and modern authors; who affirms, the Celtes and Gauls to be deſcended from Gomer, and the Scythians from Magog his next brother [i]; and we think very juſtly too. As to the firſt, there is not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of it; for, beſides the teſtimony of the Jewiſh hiſtorian, we have this undoubted proof, that, notwithſtanding all the various denominations which they have undergone, and which ſeem rather to have been given to them by any other nations than aſſumed by themſelves (B); they have ſtill preſerved

[i] Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. Vid. Hieron. Theodoret. & al. in Geneſ. x. 2. Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 38. Rawl. ubi. ſup. p. 1. c. 8. ſect. iv. Jun. Le Clerc. Patric. in Geneſ. x. 2. Pezron. ubi ſupra, c. iv. & al. mult.

(B) By theſe names we mean, not only thoſe which were a palpable corruption of their original one, ſuch as Cymbrians, Cymmerians, Cammerians, and the like; but thoſe of Celtes, Gauls, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, and perhaps alſo thoſe of Scythians, Celto-Scythians, Celtiberians, and ſome others; all which, if we may gueſs at them by their etymons, ſeem to have been given to them, ſome out of compliment and on account of their valour, and others out of contempt and in revenge for their incurſions, plunders, and conqueſts. Thus the word Celtæ, in Greek κελται or κελτοι, ſignifying horſemen in Homer and Pindar, might be given them on account of their great expertneſs in horſemanſhip (1).

Another author (2) derives that word, and that of Gaul, from the Celtic, in which both ſignify a warlike man. Bochart conjectures, that they were called Gauls and Galatians from the redneſs of their hair (3).

That of Titans may either allude to it, as it was a name of the ſun, whoſe etymon can no where be ſo appoſitely found as in the Celtic, which Ti or Ty, ſignifies a Houſe, and Tan, or Taen, Fire, and both together, The houſe of fire. Some, however, fetch it from the Celtic Tit, which in that as well as in the Hebrew, ſignifies duſt or dirt; ſo that Τιτανες ſhall ſignify

(1) Vid. Goodwin. Not. in Comm. Cæſar. lib. i. c. 1. Not. 3.
(2) Pezron. Antiq. Nat. Celt. chap. 3. (3) Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 6.

ſerved their original name of Gomro, or Cymro, or deſcendants of Gomer; and retain it to this day in all thoſe countries where the Celtic or Gomerian language is preſerved; which is therefore called Gomeraeg or Cymbraeg, that is, the language of Gomer [k].

To all this we may add the concurrent teſtimony of Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, Dionyſius of Alexandria, or rather Charax, Mela, and others, who mention them under the names of Comarians, Camarians, Chomarians, Cymbrians, Cymmerians, and ſuch like; all which do plainly appear to be a corruption of their original name of Gomerians [l]. We have likewiſe the authority of ſome antient fathers, who agree, that Gomer was the father and founder of the Gomerians, called afterwards Celtes, Galatians, and Gauls [m]. And if all this be not enough to prove the Celtes to be derived from Gomer, we ſhall add another pregnant argument out of Cluverius, who proves, that the antient Celtic nation, which according to him included the regions of Illyria, Germany, Gallia, Spain, the Britannic and other northern iſles, did all ſpeak the ſame language [n], which could be no other

[k] Pezron. Lewis, & al. ubi ſupra. [l] Ptolem. lib. vi. c. 11—13. Mel. ubi ſupra. Plin. lib. vi. c. 16. Dion. per. v. 700. [m] Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Geneſ. Euſtat. Com. in Examer. Isidor. orig. lib. ix. c. 2. Zonar. Bed. & al. [n] Antiq. German. lib. i. c. 6. & ſeq. & Introd. ad Geogr. l. ii. c. 5. & ſeq.

nify the ſame as terrigenæ, or children of the earth or dirt. This laſt etymon, if admitted, may be ſuppoſed to have been given them in ſcorn, and to imply the baſeneſs of their origin, as that of Sacks, which ſignifies thieves and plunderers, was given them on account of their living chiefly by that trade.

That of Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtiberia, or Spain, might be deſigned to diſtinguiſh thoſe Celtes on that, from thoſe of this, ſide of the Pyrenees, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew in another note. For thus we find Gallia or Gaul divided into Cis and Trans alpina, and the word Iberia ſeems derived from the old Celtic and Teutonic Iber, which ſignifies over (4); and thus Spain, which is ſometimes found in the plural number, was divided into Citerior and Ulterior.

Other etymologies of their names we omit, becauſe authors have been too apt to fetch them from other languages, in order to make them ſquare with their own hypotheſes, becauſe they were ignorant of the Celtic, from which it is moſt natural to derive them, as ſhall be further proved in due time.

(4) Vid. Cluver. lib. ii. c. 3.

than the Gomeraeg, or the language of Gomer, which had been univerſally preſerved among all his deſcendants, as we ſhall ſhew more fully when we come to ſpeak of their language and hiſtory. To all theſe we ſhall add at the bottom ſome authentic monuments, which the warlike deſcendants of Gomer and his brethren have left in their various ſettlements, which ſtill more corroborate what we have ſaid concerning their origin, migrations, and ſettlements (C).

WERE we as well acquainted with the Scythian nation, with reſpect to theſe two particulars, it would not be difficult to trace it to its fountain-head, and to diſpel that obſcurity which we find in antient authors concerning them, who, as we hinted before, have too much confounded them with the Gomerians. However, we are not without ſome additional proofs to the teſtimony of Joſephus, who affirms them to be deſcended from Magog above-mentioned, and for which he has been followed by many of the fathers and by a greater number of moderns [o]. For firſt

[o] Hieron. Auguſt. Euſtat. Theodor. Bed. Joſeph. Ben-gor. Judæi fer. omn. Jun. Bochart. Rawleigh. Munst. Heylin. Patric. & al. innum.

(C) Thus the Gomerians left their name to the Albanian mountains, when they exchanged them for the more pleaſant plains of Phrygia; and to a city of this province, which in Pliny's time was ſtill called Cymmeris. Aſkenas Gomer's ſon gave his to the Sinus Aſkanicus, to a lake and river of the ſame name, and in the leſſer Phrygia to a city and province, and to the Inſulæ Aſkanicæ.

From Riphath, another of his ſons, we have the Riphean nation and country, ſince called Paphlagonia, and from Togarma, his youngeſt ſon, whom the Greek verſion calls Θοργαμα and Τοργαμα. the Trogmans or Trocmans of Cappadocia and Pontus; all theſe the reader may further ſee in the learned Bochart (5).

In like manner Magog, Meſhech, and Tubal, whoſe bands are joined together by the prophet (6), have left their names to ſeveral countries bordering upon thoſe of Gomer; as Magog to the Gogarens, Meſhech, or, as he is called by the ancients, Moſoch, to the mountains Moſchici between Colchis and Armenia; and mentioned by Ptolemy, Piiny, and Mela; as the reader may ſee it further proved in Bochart above quoted.

(5) Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. & ſeq. Rawleigh, Heylin, Pezron, & al. Vid. & ſup. Vol. I. p.467, 468. & ſeq. (6) Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix. 1.

firſt, we find ſome antient monuments of that patriarch, and of his two brothers Meſhech and Tubal, in the neighbourhood of his brother Gomer, in the regions of leſſer Aſia, where they planted themſelves after the diſperſion (D). Secondly, As they ſpread themſelves towards Europe, and Gomer's deſcendants turned towards the north weſt, ſo thoſe of Magog may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to have ſpread themſelves towards the north-eaſt into both Scythias, where we find ſome plain foot-ſteps of their progenitor, beſides the name of Mogli, which was that of the antient Moſcovites and Tartarians (E); and ſeems only a eorruption or abbreviation of Magogli, the ſons of Magog. To theſe we may add, Thirdly, that there is ſcarce a nation under heaven that ſo fully anſwers the warlike, bloody, and dreadful character, which the ſcriptures

(D) Of this kind are the provinces of Mongog or Mongug, Congigo, Gigwi, and ſome others; and the cities of Gyngui, Angui, Gorgangoi and Goigui in Tartary †.

(E) Accordingly, we do ſcarcely find any part of Europe in which ſome of theſe are not mentioned by antient geographers and (7) hiſtorians, under the names of Gomerians, Cymbrians, Celtes, Celtiberians, Celto-Scythians, and ſuch like, as we ſhall more fully ſee in the ſequel.

As for Iberia or Spain, Joſephus doth indeed affirm, that it was firſt peopled by the Thobalines, or ſons of Tubal or Thobal, as he calls him (8), who was the fifth ſon of Japhet (9). On the other hand, Sir Walter Rawleigh thinks it more probable, that it was firſt inhabited by the Africans, who did from thence conceive ſuch fondneſs for it, that they have been ever ſince ſtriving from time to time to regain it (10). But we ſee no reaſon for preferring either of theſe opinions to the concurrent teſtimony of the authors above quoted; to which we may add, that the firname of Celto, given to that province, and that of Celtiberians or Celt-iberians to its inhabitants, doth make it much more probable, that the Celtes were the firſt peoplers of it, eſpecially if we conſider, that the name of Iberia ſignifies in the old Celtic and Teutonic, over, or on the other ſide, as we hinted in a former note. So that the Celtiberians might mean only Celtes on the other ſide of the Pyreneans, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe on this ſide (11).

† Vid Bochart. ubi ſupra. & al. ſup. citat. (7) Vid. Joſeph. Antiq. i. c. 7. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. & alib. Mela. lib. i. c. 2. iii. c. 2. Cæſ. Comm. c. i. Plin. lib. vi c. 16. Strab. D. Sicul. & al. (8) Ant. lib. i. c. 7.. (9) Geneſ. x. 2. (10) Hiſt. chap. 8. ſect. 3. & ſeq. (11) See above Note B.

give us of Gog and Magog, as that of the barbarous Scythian; upon all theſe accounts therefore we hope, we may venture with Joſephus to derive them from that patriarch.

HAVING thus far cleared the way, and diſentangled, as much as poſſible, the intricacy of antient authors concerning theſe two nations, we ſhall now proceed to add ſomething of their different migrations from Aſia into Europe, which will ſtill give a further light to what has been ſaid already. The reader may remember, that we formerly ſettled Gomer, their common progenitor, with his deſcendants about him, in the province of Phrygia [p]: Aſknenaz his eldeſt ſon, or, according to the Armenians, Togarmah his youngeſt, or, it may be, both of them, in Armenia; and Riphath the ſecond ſon in Cappadocia; or, in ſome province in the neighbourhood of Phrygia [q]. For the condition the young world was then in would not permit them to go far from each other at firſt; and when their increaſe made it afterwards neceſſary to enlarge their territories, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they kept a correſpondence with each other, by means of thoſe rivers along whoſe banks both they and their deſcendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of paſture for their numerous herds [r]; even when they began to ſpread themſelves further and wider into Europe, they ſeem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were, by a ſettled contract. For in proportion to their advancing northward, we find the Gomerians, who had taken the left hand, inſenſibly ſpreading themſelves weſtwards, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and ſo quite up to Spain, whilſt the Scythians, or deſcendants of Magog, moved to the right eaſtward, towards Moſcovy and Tartary, as far as the borders of Cathai, if not beyond.

THUS

[p] See vol. i. p. 469. &c. Bochart. ubi ſupra. l. iii. c. 8.

[q] Vid. Euſeb. Loc. Hebr. &

[r] See Rawl. hiſt. ubi ſup. ſect. vi.

It is likewiſe more natural to ſuppoſe, that the warm ſituation of Spain might invite the Celtes thither from the more northern climates of Europe, than that the Africans could come thither ſo early by ſea; unleſs we can ſwallow that ridiculous Spaniſh tradition, which makes Tubal to have croſſed over thither, and to have built the town of St. Vaal, which is ſtill ſtanding at this day (12).

(12) Hiſt. of the world, ubi ſup. ſect. 4.

THUS was all Europe, and the far greater part of Aſia, their utmoſt extent northward, peopled by thoſe two famous nations, the former almoſt wholly by the Celtes or Gomerians, that is from the utmoſt parts of Spain to Scythia Europeana eaſtward, and the latter from thence almoſt to the territories of China, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. So that the whole extent of theſe two nations reached from the 10th degree weſt to the 8th eaſt longitude, and in latitude from the 40th degree quite up to the artic circle.

UPON the whole then, it appears, that the firſt rank belongs to the noble Celtic nation, as deſcended from the elder brother, tho' the preference has been given to the Scythians by the univerſal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted, that their progenitor was Gomer's younger brother. Scytharum gens antiquiſſima was even a proverb among them; upon which account we gave them the firſt rank in the plan of this hiſtory. But being now convinced of the contrary, and we hope that our readers are ſo by this time, we ſhall reſtore it to its right owners the Celtes, who claim it on account not only of their elderſhip, but much more on that of their ſuperior merit; as will appear more fully from the hiſtory of both.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the Celtes, under the names of Gomerians, Cymmerians, Cymbrians, Celtes, Gauls, Galatians, Titans, Sacks, &c.

WE have already ſpoken of the migrations of theſe ſons of Gomer, from Aſia into Europe, and endeavoured to account, as well as we could, for their variety of names in the laſt ſection; wherein we obſerved their regular progreſs from Phrygia their firſt ſettlement, through Thrace, Hungary, Germany, Gallia, Italy, till they had ſpread themſelves to the utmoſt borders of Spain. In this large European tract it was, that, having fixed their boundaries between the Scythians and themſelves, they began to appear a powerful nation under a regular monarchy, and gave their country, or others for them, the

The various names of the Celtes.

name of Gallia and Gallatia, whilst themselves did retain their own antient name of Gomero, or Gomerians. As for those of Cymmerians, &c. which seems only a corruption of that, it is observable, that it was given to none of the Celtes, but those who inhabited the more northern regions of Europe, above the Euxine sea and the north of the Danube, where they were less known and intermixed. Thus that part of Germany now known by the name of Holstein was called Cymbria Kersonesus. The names of Titans and Sacks were given only to those of lesser Asia, so that they seem to have been only known in this part of Europe by those of Celtes and Gauls (A). The name of Galatians, γαλαται, was given them also by the Greeks, but it is plain, it meant the same with the Gauls, and accordingly antient authors make them descended from the same father, namely Gomer. It was not, however, in this tract of ground they began to be famous for their warlike exploits; they had already signalized their names in several parts of the both higher and lower Asia, where, it is likely, they began very early to be governed by several valiant princes of their own, and this is the reason that we find the name of Gomerians and Gomarites, as well as those of Sacks and Titans, in those parts among antient geographers, which names were afterwards changed to that of Celtes, after their spreading themselves into Europe,

[a] See Pezron. Ant. Celt. Nat. c. 2.

(A) Cæsar, in his commentaries, doth indeed tell us, that they took the name of Celtes to themselves, whilst the Romans did give them that of Galli or Gauls (1), not knowing in all likelihood, that they both signified the same thing in the old Celtic, namely warriors (2). We would not depend too much upon uncertain etymologies, though we have ventured to give some other sense of these two names; as they are fetched from other languages, and indeed there is nothing more easy than to find in all languages such likeness of sounds as Gauls and Galli, Celtes and κελεται, though of such different meanings, as to make it very dubious, which is the right etymon. At least those are the most likely to be the truest, which are derived from the language itself unto whom the name belongs; excepting, however, such of them as, we observed there, were given in contempt and by way of reproach, as that of Sacks or Robbers. But here it is certain, that the Celtes made too great a figure in the world, long before Gæsar's time, to have been called Galli in derision.

(1) lib. 1. (2) Vid. Pezron, Ch. ii.

Europe, as will more fully appear by the ſequel. But thoſe early exploits are ſo intricate, and built ſo much upon conjecture, that it would be dangerous to rely too ſtrenuouſly upon them. At the moſt, it is plain, that theſe Aſiatic conqueſts did not remain long enough in their poſſeſſion to deſerve a place in this geography of their country. Thoſe exploits will be beſt reſumed in the hiſtory of thoſe nations with whom they had to do. Whilſt we confine their territories at preſent within thoſe limits of Europe in which we can ſpeak of their actions with much greater certainty (B).

Their Territories.

It is not eaſy to fix the exact boundaries, which divided the Celtes from the European Scythians, for the reaſons given in the laſt ſection. We may perhaps be more particular, when we come to the geography of the latter. At preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that the former extended from the Danube, their ſuppoſed boundary, to the fartheſt part of Spain and Portugal, reaching at leaſt three degrees from eaſt to weſt, that is from that famous river

[b] Comp. Joſeph. Ant. Jud. l. i. c. 7. Euſtat. Comm. in Examer. Hieron. tradit. hæbr. in Geneſ. ix. Iſidor. Origin. l. ix. c. 2. & Pezron. ubi. ſup. [c] Vid. Ptolem. Strab. Mela. & al.

(B) We muſt not, however, omit taking notice, that when the prophet threatens the Jews with bringing Gomer and his armies againſt them from the north quarters (3), he ſeems to intimate, that there were ſtill ſome of the deſcendants of that patriarch ſettled in ſome of the northern parts of higher Aſia even in his time, and that they continued there till the fulfilling of the prophecy, that is, till ſome years after the Babyloniſh captivity, when they made the terrible irruption into Paleſtine, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place.

Accordingly we find Ptolemy placing the Chamarians and Comarians as two diſtinct nations, though originally the ſame; the firſt with Chamara, their ſuppoſed metropolis, in Bactria along the ſouth banks of the river Oxus; and the latter a little further north in the province of Sogdiana (4). Mela, though he differs ſomewhat from Ptolemy in their ſituation, doth agree in placing them in the northern provinces of Aſia (5), where we may have occaſion to viſit them again in the ſequel of this hiſtory, as well as the Sacks another branch of the Celtes, whom Strabo, (6) places a little farther weſtward in Cappadocia along the ſouth coaſt of the Euxine ſea.

(3) Ezek. xxxviii, 6. (4) Ptol. lib. vi. c. 11. & 13. (5) Libi, c. 2. (6) Lib. xi.

river to cape Feneſtre. It was bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean ſea, and weſt and north-weſt by the weſtern and northern ocean. How far it extended full north, whether to the Hyperborean or frozen ſea, or only to the Baltic, we preſume not to ſay. The laſt, however, ſeems moſt probable, for reaſons we ſhall give in the hiſtory of Scythia. For it is probable, they did not advance towards Sweden, Denmark, and the other more northern regions, till they found themſelves too ſtreightned in the more pleaſant climates of the ſouth; which did not happen in all likelihood till many centuries after their migration into Europe. However, it is certain, that in the time of Julius Cæſar, not only they, but alſo the northern iſlands of Britain, Ireland, and even Iceland, were inhabited, and made part of the Celtic Gallia. As for the ſouthern iſlands on the Mediterranean, ſuch as Sicily, Corſica, Majorca, and others, we need not doubt, but they were much ſooner peopled than thoſe on the northern ocean.

Geography.

So conſiderable was the Celtic nation, even in Auguſtus Cæſars time, though greatly abated of its former grandeur and ſhrunk into much narrower limits; that it contained no leſs than ſixty great people diſtinguiſhed by the names of cities or diſtricts according to Strabo. Tacitus ſays 64 [d], but this is nothing to Joſephus, who reckoned the number of theſe nations about 315 [e], or to Appianus, who made them amount to 400, and their cities, if the greateſt part of them were not really villages, to 1300. But how much greater a figure they muſt have made before that time, may be gueſſed by that notable expedition they made into Italy, in the time of Tarquin the elder, that is almoſt 600 years before Chriſt, when Belloveſus, having penetrated through the Alps, with a numerous army, did in a ſhort time invade a great part of Italy, called from them Gallia Ciſalpina. For this and their ſucceeding exploits againſt that province, and their conqueſt of its metropolis, we may juſtly look upon it as part of the Celtic or Gallic territories, tho' we ſhould grant it to have been originally peopled by ſome other nation than the deſcendants of Gomer. But this doth not ſeem to us to be the real cauſe, for though we have already ſufficiently diſcountenanced the fable of Beroſus, who brings Gomer into Italy

ſo

[d] Annal. l. 3. [e] Bell. Jud. l. 2. c. 16. [f] Vid. Reynecc, ap. Rawley hiſt. lib. ii. c. 24. Sect. 1, 2.

ſo ſoon after the flood ; yet it is much more likely, that his deſcendants were the firſt that peopled it with the reſt of Europe, it being impoſſible ſo fine a country ſhould eſcape them in their progreſſive migration, than to ſuppoſe, that either Kittim the ſon of Javan or his deſcendants were got thither before them. To make this ſtill more probable, we muſt remind our readers of two things, namely, that the Umbrians were by many antient authors eſteemed the moſt antient people in Italy *. And Pliny in the place laſt quoted tells us, that when the Hetrurians entered that country, and made war againſt the Umbrians, they deſtroyed 300 of their cities ; which proves, that they muſt have been there a conſiderable time. Our next obſervation is, that the Umbrians are affirmed by other antient hiſtorians to have been the deſcendants of the Gauls or Celtes †. And if it be ſo, it will be more reaſonable to believe, that theſe Gauls or Umbrians had already paſſed the Alps and ſettled themſelves in Italy, long before Saturn's time, ſince we find, that he made no ſcruple to go and take refuge amongſt them, and was courteouſly received by them, than to imagine, that the country was inhabited by the ſons of Javan, or, as others pretend, that the Arcadians, their ſuppoſed deſcendants, could come thither ſo early by ſea ; they who are only famous for their paſtoral life, and conſequently ſo unacquainted with navigation (C). If ever

* Florus lib. i. c. 17. Plin. l. iii. c. 14. Dionys. Halic. l. i. c. 8. com. Serv. in Virgil. † Solin. ex Bocho. Iſidor. & al. ap. Pezron. c. 10.

(C) We need not obſerve further to our readers, how fond the Arcadians were of vaunting their antiquity above all other nations, and how much they valued themſelves for their aſſumed name of Aborigines every where. Whether the Celtes did take that of Tytans or Τυτανες, one ſignification of which is almoſt of the ſame import with that of Aborigines or Terrigenæ, out of the ſame oſtentation, we would not venture to affirm after Pezron, ſeeing it is capable of another ſignification, as we ſhewed in a former note. We may ſay in general, that the etymons of the various names of Italy are manifeſtly forced, as Latium from lateo to be hid, becauſe Saturn ſheltered himſelf there, and Italy from the Greek Æolia or the Arcadian Elatus (7). Upon the whole then, thoſe who will not allow it to have been peopled at firſt by the Umbrians above mentioned, and theſe to have been a colony of the Celtes or Gomarians ; muſt be contented to remain in the dark about it.

(7) Reynecc. ub. ſup. Camden. Heylin. & al.

ver therefore either of theſe did poſſeſs themſelves of Italy, as ſome have conjectured from uncertain etymologies and ſome intricate teſtimonies from antient authors, it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe it to have been of later date, and that they drove the greateſt part of the Celtes out of it over the Alps; and this may be the reaſon of their making ſo many brave attempts to recover it out of their hands.

PLUTARCH, indeed ſpeaking of the Gallic or Celtic nation, tells us, that ſome of them paſſing over the Riphean mountains, went and dwelt towards the northern ſea, the extreme or the northern parts of Europe, whilſt others remained in the ſouth parts, between the Pyrenees and the Alps [g]. Where he adds, that having taſted of the wine that came out of Italy, they marched over the Alps, under the conduct of a malecontent, named Arron, and conquered thoſe territories which had been till then held by the Tuſcans. But the name of Celtiberia, by which Spain was antiently known, and that of the Celtic promontory, now Cape Feneſtre or Finiſter, the utmoſt verge of Spain weſtward on the one hand, and of Gallia Togata or Ciſalpina on the other, including near one third part of Italy [h] weſtward, ſhews nothing leſs than their having confined themſelves within the limits of thoſe two ridges of mountains (D). It is likely, that our author either knew nothing of theſe Celtic names, or if he did, that he thought the Celtes had been only the invaders of thoſe two provinces, rather than the firſt inhabitants of them, the contrary of which, we hope, we have ſhewn by this time to be at leaſt the more probable of the two.

UPON

[g] In vit. Camill. [h] Vid. Ptolem. ub. ſup. Mela. lib. iii. 1. 2. Cluver. & al.

(D) We could further confirm this by multitudes of names of cities, towns, rivers, mountains, capes, promontories, &c. both in Spain and Italy, which are to be met with in all the antient geographers, and many of them even extant to this day, all which, being plainly of Celtic origin, do ſhew them to have been given to them by that nation; but we ſhall refer our readers for them to the authors quoted in the margin (8).

(8) De his vid. Wott. Archæol. Lluid. lexic. Cambrobrit. Hick. lexic. Breerw. de orig. ling. Hackew. orig. nat. ſeptent. Lewis hiſt. Mag. Brit. Pezron. ubi ſup. & al mult.

UPON the whole then, the antient territories of the Celtes extended themſelves eaſt and weſt, from the head-ſpring Iſter or Danube, which divided them from the European Sarmatia (E), quite croſs Europe into Cape Finiſter and the ſtreights of Hercules now Gibraltar, and contained the following provinces, namely Iberia, now Spain and Portugal; Gallia [i] or Celto-galatia, now France, with the low countries; Germany as far as the Danube eaſtward and Denmark northward; Rhetia, Vindelicia, and Noricum, ſince Swiſſerland, Savoy, and Lombardy, and the Gallia Ciſalpina or Togata, containing that part of Italy, now Piedmont, the dutchies of Milan, Parma, Mantua, &c. and the republicks of Venice and Genoa, beſides the ſouthern and northern iſlands of Europe, which we have lately had occaſion to mention.

THESE extenſive territories had, however, been very much curtailed long before Julius Cæſar's time, having been reduced within the boundaries of the Alps and Pyrenean mountains from eaſt to weſt; by the Mediterranean on the ſouth; and by the Rhine and Britiſh ocean on the north and north-eaſt. In Cæſar's time we find it ſtill leſſened by all that tract which lies between Geneva and the Alps, which had been ſometime before added to the Roman empire, over and above the Gallia Ciſalpina lately mentioned, which they had invaded in Tarquinius Priſcus's time, and advanced almoſt as far as the middle of Italy. This Gallia, thus curtailed, was called Comata. Cæſar divided it into three nations, namely Belgæ, Aquitans, and Celtes or Gauls [k] (F). But by this time a great part of the Celtes territories had been diſmembered from it; as Spain, which had paſſed from the Carthaginians to the Romans; the Gallia Narbonenſis, which was become

[i] Vid. Polyb. lib. iii. [k] Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 1.

(E) Herodotus ſays much the ſame thing, though in other words, when he tells us (9), that the Iſter hath its ſpring in the land of the Celetes, and traverſing the European regions enters obliquely into the borders of Scythia.

(F) Probably from the inhabitants wearing their hair long, contrary to the cuſtom of the Romans. Thus we find alſo the Gallia Citerior called Togata from the long robes, and the Ulterior or Tranſalpine Braccata from the breeches which were worn by its inhabitants.

(9) Comm. lib. ii. c. 4. & ſeq.

become a grovince of the Roman empire [1], and included all the ſouthern provinces of Gallia along the Mediterranean from the Pyrenees to the Alps: this laſt contained at leaſt Gaſcony, Languedoc, Province, and Dauphine. Nevertheleſs, theſe three diviſions were far from being all that the Celtes had left in Europe, though Cæſar has made the moſt of them in his account of that war (G). Other diviſions

[1] Bell. Gallic. lib. iii. c. 20.

(G) By which diſtinction it is plain, that he ſpeaks only of the Gallia which he conquered, and not of the whole territories of the Celtic or Gallic nation, which ſtill ſpread themſelves vaſtly further, at leaſt towards the north; and therefore, when he comes to explain himſelf, and to give the particular names of each people belonging to each of thoſe three nations, it appears, that he goes no further than his own conqueſts (10), ſo that it ſhould ſeem, as if he had affected to compliment himſelf with the ſubduing of a numerous and powerful nation, of which the Celtes, ſo famous both in Europe and Aſia, were but the third part.

It was probably out of the ſame oſtentation, that he ranks, for inſtance, 16 people under the name of Belgæ; namely the Bellovaci, or thoſe who belonged to the city or diſtrict of Beauvais; the Sueſſones thoſe of Soiſſons; Nervii now Cambraiſians; Atrebates or Artois; Ambianes or Amiens; Morini whoſe capital was Terouana; Menapii, or the Gantines, Antverpians, and Brabantines; Caletes or thoſe of the diſtrict of Caux; Velocaces, now Vexinois; Vero-manduos, or Vero-mandois, now St. Quintin; Aduatici, now not known, and variouſly gueſſed at; the Condruſi, Eburones, Cæræſi, and Pannones, concerning which we are alſo much in the dark. Now it is plain, that all this pompous liſt did take up little more than the north part of France and the Netherlands.

The ſame may be ſaid of another third, viz. Aquitain, among which he reckons twelve diſtinct people, making up in all the Gallia Armorica, ſo named from the Celtic word Armor, which ſignifies thoſe countries which are upon the ſea coaſt; this province was afterwards called by the Romans Aquitain from its mineral waters (11). And this contained at moſt the weſtern provinces of France from the river Ligeris, now Loire, to the Pyrenees, according to his own account of it in another place (12).

As to the Celtæ, to whom Cæſar tells us the Romans gave the name of Gauls, their country extended only north and ſouth from the Ligeris or Loire to the Sequana or Seine, and eaſt and weſt

(10) Vid. Godvin. annot. in Cæſ. Comm. ibid. (11) Vid. Plin. l. iv. c. 17. (12) Comment. lib. i. c. 1. & alib.

diviſions of Gallia, which were made by Auguſtus and other Roman emperors (H), after the conqueſt of it, will be beſt ſeen in the Roman hiſtory.

SEAS

weſt at moſt from Burgundy to Low Britanny, including the Gallia Lugdunenſis, part of which laſt was already under the Romans. But how ſhort did all theſe three come of the Celtic territories, when ſome authors tells us, that they extended from the Pyrenees and Alps quite to the Scythians (13)? When another tells us, that all the inhabitants on each ſide of the Rhine were ſtill called Celtes (14)? ſo that all that were on the other ſide of that river were out of the boundaries of the Gallia Belgica, and much more ſo out of thoſe of the other three. Whether or no this Gallia Celtica was ſo called, and its inhabitants Celtes, in Cæſar's time, by way of excellence above the reſt, as the province of Holland is commonly taken for all the ſeven, and whether or no the other Celtes were unknown to that conqueror, we will not pretend to determine. Only it is plain, that the three Gallic provinces which he ſubdued, one of which only he diſtinguiſhes by the Celtic name, were but about one half of the whole nation even in his time,

(H) This may perhaps be thought a proper place to have ſpoken of the iſles of Great-Britain, both as they were firſt inhabited, and are ſtill in ſome parts, by the Celtes or Gomerians, which laſt name, as well as the antient language of that nation, is ſtll preſerved amongſt them, eſpecially in the north part of Wales. But as they make ſo great a figure in antient hiſtory, from their being firſt planted by ſome colonies of that nation, their hiſtory will be better referred to another book, wherein we ſhall reſume that of the weſtern and northern empires according to our firſt plan of this work.

However, it will not be amiſs to hint ſomething here concerning the name of Britain, which has been confounded by Camden and others with that of Gomro, as if they had both belonged to the ſame people; for it is certain, that the former is only to be found among the Britains in France, who call themſelves Britained, and are as great ſtrangers to the name Gomro, as the Gomros or Welſh are to that of Brithained or Briton. It ſeems therefore, that thoſe antiquaries have too lightly rejected the ſtory of Brutus coming into England and conquering the gigantic inhabitants of it, from which conqueſt that part was afterwards called Britania or Britain, which Camden and his followers will have to be derived from Brit painted and Tain region; becauſe the Britains painted their bodies, and were upon that account called by the Romans Picts or Painted.

It

(13) Diodor. l. v. c. 9. Plutarch. in vit. Camil. vid. & Mel. Cluver. & al. (14) Dio. Caſſ. l. xxxix.

SEAS of note were the Mediterranean, the weſtern, Britiſh, and northern occean, and the Baltic. Their principal lake in theſe territories is that of Geneva, which is upwards

It doth not appear at all probable, that if the Britains, who went out of England into France, had been the ſame with the Gomros, or antient inhabitans of Britain; they would have changed their original appellative, in which all the other deſcendants of Gomer did ſo pride themſelves, for the nickname of Britained or painted; much leſs, that they ſhould have quite obliterated the former, which was ſtill ſo carefully preſerved by their neighbours. But if the Trojans were themſelves a colony of the Gomerians or Welſh, as a modern author ſeems to have nearly proved (15); and theſe after the deſtruction of their city, came under Brutus, or Trotus, as he is called by Vitus, and by others Brito, and from him they were called Britains, and invaded a conſiderable part of this iſland; it will at once account for the name, and for the great affinity there is between the Gomeraes or Welſh, and the Britained or Britiſh, which laſt is objected by the antiquaries againſt the probability of the firſt.

It is therefore not only more for the honour of this nation, but alſo more reaſonable to ſuppoſe with Sir John Price (16), that theſe iſles were at firſt peopled by the antient and warlike Gomerians, than by the conquered and fugitive Trojans; for who can think, that they ſhould have been ſo long unknown to the former as 1000 years after the diſperſion; for ſo long at leaſt it was before the latter can be ſuppoſed to have come from Troy hither, by which time the others had ſpread themſelves all over Europe. And is it not alſo more probable, that theſe gave it the antient name of Albion, which in their language ſignifies white, from the whiteneſs in which the Cliffs of Dover appeared clad from the other ſide of the water, than that it received it from Albion, the brother of Borgion, the ſon of Neptune?

We may add, that Beroſus and thoſe who have followed his ſteps (17) have given us a liſt of 20 kings of Celtes who reigned in Gaul, and the greater part of them alſo over Gomeros on this ſide of the water, before Brutus. The reader will ſee by the following liſt of their names how ſeveral Cantons of Gaul might probably receive theirs from them, as Longobards from Bardus and Longus, their fifth and ſixth monarchs. Gallia Narbonenſis from Narbo; Lugdunenſis from Lugdus; the Belgic from Belgius; the Allobroges from Allobrox, &c. they run as follow:

1. Samothes

(15) Lewis Introd. in. hiſt. Britan. c. iv. & lib. ii. c. 14.
(16) Deffen's hiſt. Brit. (17) Vid. Vitus Baſinſt. hiſt. Brit. lib. i. not 25. & auct. ab eo citat.

upwards of twenty miles in length and about eight in breadth, and by its navigableneſs inriches both the city of that name and all the countries about it. To this we may add that of Serviere in high Dauphine, very remarkable upon another account. It is a good day's journey up to the Alps, and yet has been found to have a communication with another much ſmaller at eight or nine miles diſtance, and is calculated to ſtand near a half mile perpendicular lower than the former without being overflowed, or ſending out more water than a very inconſiderable ſtream, ſcarce ſufficient to turn a mill. Chief mountains are the Pyrenees and Alps, otherwiſe called Apenine, which are of very great length, and of ſuch prodigious height, that they are always covered with ſnow of incredible hardneſs. The latter we ſuppoſed by Livy and others to have been called Apenine from Hannibal. Peninus, but much more probably from the old Celtic word Pen a head, by reaſon of the exceeding height and whiteneſs of them. So that Apenine may be only a contraction of A Pen Ghwin, white heads, as the word Alps may be derived from the Celtic Alp or Alb, white.

THE chief rivers are the Iſter, which runs into Scythia and empties itſelf into the Euxine or Black Sea. The Rhine which ſprings from the mountains of Switzerland and runs through Germany and Holland into the Britiſh ſea. The Seine, Loyre, and Garonne, of which we have lately had occaſion to ſpeak, as they divided the Gallia Celtica, Belgica, and Aquitana from each other. The Durius

1. Samothes, by others called Dis & Diſcelta. 2. Magus. 3. Sarron. 4. Druis. 5. Bardus. 6. Longus. 7. Lucus. 8. Celtes. 9. Galates. 10. Narbon. 11. Lugdus. 12. Belgius. 13. Jaſius. 14. Allobrox. 15. O Egyptus. 16 Paris. 17. Olbius. 18. Galates. II. 19. Namnes. 20. Franicus.

It is true, this liſt ſeems rather to be that of the princes of ſeveral cantons of the Celtes, than a regular ſucceſſion of the kings of the whole nation, which it is not likely was governed by one ſole monarch. Nevertheleſs as they reigned either in Gaul or Britania, long before this Brutus (ſuppoſe him to have come from Troy, as will be further ſeen when we come to that part of our hiſtory) the moſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he invaded and took a great part of the latter from the Gomeros, its original inhabitants, who were thereby forced to retire further weſtward, where they have continued ever ſince.

Durius now Duero, which deſcends from the mountains of Sierra in Aſturia into the Atlantic ocean at Oporto. The Tagus or Tajo, which croſſes great part of Spain and Portugal, and falls into the ſame ocean below Olyſipon or Liſbon. The Anas now Guadiana; the Bœtis or Tarteſſus now Guadalquivir; theſe two empty themſelves in the gulph of Cadis. The Iber now Ebro, which deſcends from the ſame mountains of Sierra with the Durius, but taking a contrary courſe from it, runs eaſtward into the Mediterranean, and empties itſelf into the gulph of Valencia. The Rhodanus or Rhoſne, which hath its ſpring from the mountains of Switzerland but deſcends a contrary way, and croſſing the lake of Geneva, runs through the ſouth part of France and empties itſelf into the Mediterranean about Marſeilles; the Padus or Po, and Adeſis now Adige, which deſcend, the former from Piedmont and the latter from Switzerland, and fall at a ſmall diſtance from each other into the gulph of Venice. Thoſe of Italy and of the European iſlands will be ſeen in another chapter.

We ſhall only add, that the greateſt part of the names of theſe and of other ſmaller rivers are certainly of Celtic extraction, and agreeable to their properties. Thus Garunna from Garw, rough, expreſſes its great rapidity. Rhodanus from Rhedog, to run ſwiftly, implies its ſwift courſe. Arar now Saon is ſo called from its ſlowneſs, its deſcent into the Rhoſne being ſcarce perceptible. Durius or Duori from Dour, water or river, whence the names of a great many cities and towns ſituate near the water-ſide ended in Duro and Durum. Thus likewiſe the names of counties and diſtricts which end in Tan, or Tain, and in the Latin Tania, as Aquitain, Britain, Luſitania, &c. are formed from the Celtic Tan and Stan, a region [m], and imply the country of waters, of the Britons, and Luſians, which laſt were a Celtic people from whom came the Portugueſe. We omit a multitude of cities, towns, mountains, and other antient names which are palpably of the ſame extraction, concerning which the curious may conſult the authors above named.

Natural and artificial rarities in ſo ſpacious a field would take up too much room in this hiſtory, and are ſo well known to the curious, that we think, they may be ſafely

[m] Vid. Camden, Brit. Lewis introduct. in hiſt. Britan. Pezron. antiq. lib. iii. ſub. voc. tan. & alib.

ſafely omitted, thoſe only excepted as have ſome immediate relation with ſome remarkable facts as ſhall fall in the courſe of this hiſtory, when we come to reſume it in another chapter. One thing only we beg leave to mention here, namely the Littus Lapideum, otherwiſe the Campus Lapideus, or ſtony ſhore or field, of above a mile in length upon the coaſts of the Gallia Narbonenſis or Languedoc, where Hercules is ſaid to have fought the giant Albion, the ſon of Neptune; which place is ſtill called by the inhabitants Les Craux, from the multitude and largeneſs of ſtones with which it is covered; that word being derived from the Celtic Craig or Craic, which ſignifies rocks or ſtones [o].

[n] Hiſt. Delphinial. Lugdun. 1498. [o] Vid. Lewis Introd. in hiſt. Brit. c. iv.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, and trade of the antient Celtes.

THO' the Celtes exceed all other nations in antiquity, their deſcent being, as we have ſeen, from Gomer the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, the eldeſt ſon of Noah, in which reſpect they outgo the Egyptians, Phrygians, and even the Scythians; yet it muſt be owned, that our knowledge of their government comes vaſtly ſhort of the two firſt, whether it be owing to the want of records, or rather to the ſlowneſs and length of their migrations into Europe, where we find them firſt ſettled, into a ſpacious and regular polity. A late antiquary [a] hath indeed attempted to prove, that upon the diſperſion of Babel, Gomer and his immediate deſcendants did preſently enter into Armenia, thence into Phrygia and Cappadocia, till at length, under the conduct of Acmon, and afterwards of his ſon Uranus, two warlike princes, they ſpread themſelves further, and ſent their colonies from leſſer Aſia even into Sparta. Chronus or Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury or

[a] Pezron. antiq. Na. Celt. paſſ. & ch. 15.

Teutat, were their three next ſucceſſors; and it was this laſt, according to our author, who ſettled the Gomerians then called Titans in Europe into a regular government, gave them laws, and there they changed their name into that of Celtes and Gauls. According to this ſyſtem then this Gomerian polity muſt have begun about the time of Terah, Abraham's father, or even of Nahor, if Maneus be admitted to have been, as ſome hiſtorians think, the father of Acmon; tho' Saturn was the firſt who took the title of king.

ALL this our author brings proof for from antient authors, which would carry us too far to repeat; we ſhall find a proper place for the hiſtory of thoſe princes, ſince deified by a great part of the world; for the preſent we ſhall only obſerve, that nothing is more likely, than that their government was originally monarchical as well as that of other nations, ſince we find it in the ſame form even in Cæſar's time, when they had ſpread themſelves all over Europe. Only by that time they had ſo far altered the form of their government, if we may believe that hiſtorian, that inſtead of one monarch they were divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and did not yield the abſolute command to any one, except when their territories were threatened with invaſion from a common enemy [b]. This is further confirmed in part by another hiſtorian [c], who tells us, that the Cimmerians or northern Gomerians, being invaded by the Scythians their neighbours, called a council of their kings and people, whoſe diſagreement about defending or abandoning their country occaſioned the loſs of it, as well as the lives of thoſe who reſolved upon oppoſing the invaders. It is indeed heard to conceive, how ſo warlike a nation, extended over ſuch large tracts of ground, and in ſuch a difference of climates, ſhould continue long under one head, without ſplitting itſelf into ſeveral kingdoms; ſo that it is rather a wonder to find, that they preſerved ſo much of their antient affinity and government in Cæſar's time, as to unite themſelves under one head in caſes of common danger.

WHAT their laws were, whether reduced into a body, or depending upon the will of their ſovereign, we cannot find. We are indeed told by the antiquary abovementioned, that Mercury did poliſh and give them laws, and

[b] Comment. l. 6. &. al. Herodot. l. iv. [c] Pezron. ubi ſup.

and by others [d], that Samothes, otherwiſe called Dis and Diſcelta, a man of ſingular learning and wiſdom, and the firſt founder of the Celtic monarchy, gave them a body of laws and diſcipline, which he wrote in the Hebrew tongue but in the Phœnician character; and that the Greeks did borrow the latter from the Celtes when they re-entered Aſia. The miſtake of theſe authors in affirming, that he wrote in Hebrew, and retained that tongue above all other nations, the deſcendants of Heber excepted, may be eaſily accounted for from the great affinity there is between the Celtic and it, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak; and as to his uſing the Phœnician character, there is nothing extroardinary in it, ſince it was the moſt univerſal at that time, and is now allowed to have been the ſame with the Samaritan or antient Hebrew. The reader may ſee what has been heretofore ſaid upon that ſubject †. It is added, that he was therefore called the Saturn of the Celtes, and that their learned men, ſuch as their divines and philoſophers, were called from him Samothei. But if ever he wrote ſuch a body of laws, it is certain we have nothing left of them, neither can we find any footſteps of either his or any other's in any author, but what are too recent to be mentioned here. However, as they very much deviated from the ſimplicity of their brethren the Scythians in their manner of life, they can no more be ſuppoſed to have been without ſome for the preſervation of property, than their warlike genius could be without martial diſcipline.

Their government.

The Curetes, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, were the interpreters of their laws, judged all cauſes whether criminal or civil, and their ſentence was reckoned ſo ſacred, that whoever refuſed to abide by it was by them excluded from aſſiſting at their ſacred rites; after which no man dared converſe with him, ſo that this puniſhment was reckoned the moſt ſevere of all, even more than death itſelf.

Religion.

Their religion was very like that of the Scythians. They worſhipped the ſame gods, as Jupiter under the name of Taran, which in the Celtic ſignifies thunder. Mercury, whom ſome authors call Heus or Heſus, probably from the Celtic Huad which ſignifies a dog, and might be the Anubis latrans of the Egptians. But Mars was held in the

[d] Vid. Lewis hiſt. Brit. cap. 2. & auct ab eo citat. † See before, Vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect 4. Of the language writing, &c. of the Jews.

greateſt veneration by the warlike, and Mercury by the trading part, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place. It will not, however, be eaſy to reconcile the greateſt part of theſe Celtic deities with what Pezron ſays of them with great probability, that they were originally kings of that nation, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel. All that need be ſaid at preſent on that head is, that the Celtes after having dwindled into idolatry, like other nations, did like them deify their kings and heroes after their deaths. Thus we find the Cretans at once worſhipping Jupiter, and ſhewing his ſepulchre at the city of Gnoſſus; for which reaſon, whilſt Callimachus calls them lyars, for forging a tomb for that god, others, eſpecially the chriſtian fathers, juſtly blamed their folly for adoring him as a deity, whom they acknowledged to be interred among them. How theſe gods, or at leaſt their names, came to be adopted by other nations, will be ſhewn, when we come to ſpeak of the fabulous and heroic times; and it would be labour loſt to enquire what gods or religion the Celtes had before they deified their kings; but ſince that time we find them very much addicted to all kind of ſuperſtition, divination, aſtrology, magic, and other kinds of witcheries. The care of religion was immediately under their Curetes, ſince known by the name of Druids and Bards (A). Theſe were, as Cæſar

(A) The Curetes were among the Titanic Celtes what the Druids were afterwards among the Gauls, and were had in the ſame reverence and eſteem, inſomuch, that the education of Jupiter was committed to them, and Cres one of his ſons was of their ſociety. It is not eaſy to trace their original; and Strabo, exact and learned as he was, doth not ſeem to be ſatisfied with all he has ſaid about them (1). Their name of Curete ſeems derived from the Celtic word Curo, to ſtrike or beat one thing againſt another, whence the Greek κρουω, by the tranſpoſition of a letter, which ſignifies the ſame. And this ſeems to have been given them on account of their ſtriking their ſhields with their javelins, which an antient author tells us they did (2), when they kept young Jupiter concealed in a cave, that his jealous father might not hear his cries. But whether they went heretofore to the wars, and encouraged the combatants with this their noiſe and dances, or were exempt from that duty like the Druids, as ſome pretend (3), we will not determine. If the Druids

(1) Geogr. lib. x. (2) Apollod. Bibl. lib. i. c. 1. ap. Pezron. (3) de Bell. Gall. vid. & Lewis hiſt. Brit. c. v. Pezron. c. xiii. Heylin & al.

Cæſar tells us [e], the performers of ſacrifices and all religious rites, and expounders of religion to the people. They alſo inſtructed youth in all kind of learning, ſuch as philoſophy, aſtronomy, aſtrology, the immortality and tranſmigration of the ſoul from one body into another, which was both an incitement to virtue and an antidote againſt the fear of death. Theſe they taught their diſciples by word of mouth, eſteeming them too ſacred to be committed to writing. Learning.

OTHER more common ſubjects, ſuch as their hymns to their gods, the exploits of their princes and generals, and their exhortations to the people in time of war, and eſpecially before a battle, all theſe were written in elegant verſe, and recited, or rather ſung, by them upon all proper occaſions. Diodorus, ſpeaking of the Celtes, tells us farther, that theſe poets uſed to accompany their ſongs with inſtrumental muſic, ſuch as that of organs, harps, and the like, and that they were had in ſuch veneration, that if an army was engaged in battle, if one of theſe poets or Bards appeared, both ſides immediately ceaſed fighting, ſo that their fury gave way to wiſdom, and Mars to the Muſes.

[e] De Bello Gal. lib. vi. c. 12.

ids were exempt from that duty, they muſt have been different from the Bards, who, though in all other reſpects of the ſame order with them, yet were obliged to go and encourage the people to war with their poetic and muſical compoſitions. Upon this account it is, that theſe Bards are affirmed by Cæſar (4) to have been the inventors of muſick and poetry, or rather to have received it from their king Bardus, whom Beroſus affirms to have reigned over the Gauls and Britains, or Cymbri (5), from whom they were called Bards.

The Druids, ſome think, were ſo called from Beroſus's Druys, the 4th king of the Celtes, a man of uncommon learning for thoſe days (6); but we think with Camden, that Pliny's is far more probable, who thinks, that they were ſo called from the Celtic and Greek word Dros or Droſs, an oak (7), which tree was held ſo ſacred by the Celtes as well as Scythians, that they performed moſt of their religious rites near ſome large oaks, if not in oaky groves, and offered no ſacrifice without ſome leaves of that tree. As we ſhall ſhew more fully in their hiſtory.

(4) Vid. Caius ant. Cantab. Perion, Baſinſtock. (5) Nat. hiſt. lib. vid. Camden, Lewis; Pezron. (6) Bell. Gall. l. vi. (7) Vid. Caſ. ubi ſup. ex Beroſ. & Cæſar. Com.

But the true reaſon was, that they were univerſally believed to be prophets as well as poets, ſo that it was thought dangerous, as well as injurious, to diſobey what they ſuppoſed came from their gods.

THESE prophetic philoſophers kept academies, which were reſorted unto by a great number, not only of their own youth, but even of other countries, inſomuch, that Ariſtotle ſays, that their philoſophy paſſed from thence into Greece, and not from Greece thither [f]. Other authors add many things in praiſe of their virtue and morality[g]. But a Roman hiſtorian [h] makes no ſcruple to call their religion an impious one, and as ſuch to have been forbidden by Auguſtus and aboliſhed by Claudius. Lucan is no leſs ſevere againſt them; and this might indeed be partly attributed to the hatred which the Romans bore to them; yet it muſt be owned, that they had ſome barbarous cuſtoms, ſuch as ſacrificing human victims to their gods, as more acceptable to them than thoſe of anyother animals [i]. And Diodorus tells us of another inhuman cuſtom they uſed in their divinations, eſpecially in great matters, which was done by killing a man with a ſcymetar, to draw their augury from the running of his blood from his mangled limbs.

Cruel cuſtoms.

BUT though they reſembled the Scythians in ſome of their barbarous cuſtoms and warlike temper, yet they were far enough from imitating them in their paſtoral life. They built large cities where-ever they came, they fortified and adorned them with ſpacious walls, towers, and ſumptuous edifices. They were upbraided by the Romans with following the oldeſt law in the world, which ever leaves to the ſtrongeſt what the weaker cannot defend [k]. And indeed ſo greedy were they of conqueſt and plunder, as well as of keeping what they had gained, that they ever fought with ſuch ſtrength and fury, that nothing could withſtand them. And ſo ſudden and violent were their onſets, that, like fire and ſtorm, they drove all before them. They ſeldom gave quarter to their enemies, which made them be looked upon as a cruel people [l]. As for the priſoners they took in war, they ſold them to their great men, who made ſlaves of them, and appointed the moſt ſightly

[f] Ap. Laert. de vit. Philoſ. c. i. [g] See Vitus Baſinſtok, Camden, Lewis, & al. [h] Sueton. in vit. Claudi. [i] Mela. lib. iii. c. 2. [k] Vid. Plutarch. in vit. Camil. [l] Id in vit. Mar. Vid. & Strab. Taciţ. Dio. Herodian, Mela, & al.

ſightly of them for their retinue. Inſtead of the ſkins of their enemies worn as ornaments by the more ſavage Scythians, theſe choſe to adorn themſelves with their ſpoil. They wore gold rings, and bracelets, and chains about their necks; and were very neat in their dreſs, as we have had occaſion to hint a little higher.

Warlike diſcipline.

We have alſo obſerved, that they were expert horſemen, ſo that, conſidering their martial genius and diſcipline, their cavalry ſeldom failed of doing execution. They were no leſs famed for their armed chariots and their dexterity in managing them. In other reſpects we do not find, that they had any thing but what was common to moſt all other nations, and ſo ſhall not dwell longer upon them. Their other arms were bows and arrows, darts, javelins, and ſcymetars, daggers, and bayonets; they had likewiſe ſhields and head-pieces, and as they were divided into petty kingdoms or tribes, they divided their armies in the ſame manner in time of war, that the valour and merit of every tribe might be the better known, and that every man might be thereby ſpurred to advance the honour of that to which he belonged. As a further encouragement to their bravery, it was the buſineſs of their poets to record the actions of thoſe that ſignalized themſelves in ſongs and ſtories, which were afterwards ſung at their games and other ſolemnities, as well as when they went to engage an enemy; and this had ſuch an effect upon them, that they choſe to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than to be made priſoners. It was alſo their cuſtom before a battle to obſerve the moon, and, if poſſible, to avoid fighting till after the full of it. And this was not ſo much with a view of having a longer time for execution, as from a ſuperſtitious belief, that it would prove more fortunate; in this they were afterwards imitated by the Lacedæmonians. They uſed alſo, like other nations, to conſult their prieſts or augurs upon all emergencies, but eſpecially before an engagement, and if the augury proved good, theſe prieſts uſed to march before them with ſongs, and dances, and muſical inſtruments, till the onſet was begun; but if their augury proved otherwiſe, they gave ſuch heed to it, that nothing but abſolute neceſſity could prevail on them to fight. Their martial laws uſed likewiſe to be written in verſe, and ſet to ſome warlike tunes, which they were obliged to learn by heart, and to ſing upon proper occaſions, ſo that their very youth were verſed in them, and knew the theory of military diſcipline, long before they

were

were of age to bear arms. They ſeem, in a word, to have omitted nothing that could inſpire them with a deſire of conqueſt and glory, and cheriſh the warlike temper for which they have been ſo famed in hiſtory. How much their valour was dreaded, both by the Romans and other European nations, will be ſeen in another chapter, and we ſhall ſhew in the ſequal of this, that they ſignalized themſelves no leſs in Aſia, both before and ſince their migration into Europe.

Language. THEIR language, which we have already had occaſion to ſpeak of, was the old Celtic or Gomerian, preſerved ſtill by the Welſh. This has been ſo fully proved by numberleſs antiquarians, that we ſhall content ourſelves with referring our readers to them, without entering into ſo ſpacious and intricate a field [m]. Thoſe who are acquainted with it muſt readily own, that no tongue, either antient or modern, carries greater marks of antiquity than this Gomroeg; and that, though it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been very much blended with the Greek, Latin, and German in proceſs of time, yet it retains ſtill ſo much of the admirable ſimplicity of the Hebrew grammar and conſtruction (B), that one would be apt to conclude them only dialects of

[m] De his vid. Camb. Brit. Joach. Perion. orig. ling. Celt. Brierw. inquir. in Orig. ling. Lluydd. Davies & Robert. Gram. Wooton, Hick. lexic. Lewis & Pezron. ubi ſup. & al. mult.

(B) With reſpect to the Hebrew, we refer our readers to what has been ſaid of it in the hiſtory of the Jews *, and it would be endleſs to enumerate in how many inſtances the Gomroeg, now the Welſh, doth imitate it. We ſhall, however, give our reader ſome few inſtances of it by way of ſpecimen, and refer him for further particulars to the authors quoted above.

1. The Gomroeg is ſo near akin to the Hebrew, that an antiquary (8), who was maſter of both, has given the learned world a ſpecimen of a conſiderable number of phraſes out of the Old Teſtament, which are ſo alike in both, that they ſeem to have been originally the ſame, and their difference to be only owing to diſtance or time and place, and other ſuch like cauſes, by which a language is naturally altered. It diſtinguiſhes the caſes like the Hebrew, not by different terminations as the Greek and Latin, but by prepoſitive articles, 3. It often changes the radical or primitive letter of a word according to the prepoſition, adverb

* See before, Vol. iii. ch. 7. ſect 4. Of the language writing, &c. of the Jews & ſeq. (8) Ch Edwards's ſpecimen printed An. 1675. Vid. & Lloyd Gram. & al.

of the ſame tongue, from which the other languages above named, and even the Arabic, ſeem to have emanated (C). The only wonder in all this would be, that the Gomerians ſhould be the only people that have preſerved their own in ſuch purity, whilſt the Jews, and all other nations, have ſuffered theirs to be corrupted and blended with thoſe of their neighbours, and eſpecially of their conquerors. But may not this be owing to the former having ſtill preſerved themſelves from foreign conqueſts and bondage, chuſing rather to leave their fertile abodes and retire into countries ſtronger by nature and leſs tempting to a conqueror, than to ſubmit

adverb, pronoun, or article it is affixed to, giving it ſometimes a harder, ſometimes a ſofter ſound, more for the ſake of melody than grammar. 4. It hath its aſpirations and gutturals, which are more or leſs denſe like thoſe of the Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, &c. 5. In verbs it retains the root in the third perſon ſingular, as Car, he loves; Cari, thou loveſt; Cara I love; Carwn, we love; Caruch, ye love; Carant, they love.

With reſpect to its genius, it is ſtrong, maſculine, very poetical, and figurative, and though, perhaps more thro' corruption than primitive orthography, it ſeems harſh in the pronunciation by reaſon of its vaſt number of conſonants, yet when put into verſe, and ſpoken with its genuine pronunciation, it is like the Hebrew, very ſoft, melodious, and muſical.

(C) This is indeed, what a learned antiquary has endeavoured to prove from a great number of etymologies, and confirmed alſo by hiſtorical facts (9). But we dare not be ſo ſanguine as he in ſo delicate a point, leſt we ſhould be thought to write rather the panegyric than the hiſtory of that antient nation and tongue.

Here, however, the reader may find the moſt rational account for that ſurprizing affinity which the learned have found between the Celtic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Perſian, High-Dutch, and ſome other European and Aſiatic languages, which had never till then been tolerably accounted for by any other author, nor indeed could be, without having recourſe to antient hiſtory; in which it ſeems at leaſt highly probable, that all theſe were tribes or colonies of the Gomerians, and uſed the ſame language, till in proceſs of time, being parted from their brethren and intermixed with Scythians and other nations, it ſplit, itſelf into that variety of dialects in which we find it, without loſing the greateſt part of their primitive words, which are ſtill the ſame in them, as may be ſeen by the vocabulary at the end of our author's work, and by the hiſtory itſelf.

(9) Pezron. Ant. ling. Celt. paſ. & p. 3.

ſubmit to their yoke? And as this at once inſpired them with an over-weening value of themſelves and natural hatred to other nations, might not this be an effectual means of preſerving them from ſuffering their original tongue to be corrupted by thoſe of their neighbours?

It were labour loſt to endeavour to find out what their antient poetry was, in which their Curetes and Druids recorded all the exploits of their heroes; and our only reaſon for mentioning it here is, to obſerve, that as theſe poets were their only hiſtorians, and their tongue abounded, like the Hebrew and other eaſtern ones, with bold allegories and figures, as we obſerved in the laſt note; this might probably enough adminiſter matter ſufficient for that variety of wonderful events, with which the fabulous and heroic times have been ſince ſtuffed, as we ſhall have further occaſion to ſhew when we come to ſpeak upon that head. As to their muſic, of which we have already hinted ſomething under a former head, they are ſuppoſed to have brought it from Crete, where having found an iron mine on mount Ida, they began to forge themſelves tools, then arms, and ſhields, and armour; hence ſprang not only the trades of ſmiths and armourers, but even the firſt notions of muſic are ſaid to have been taken from the ſound of their hammers, the clattering of their armour, and the beating of their ſhields, eſpecially when the Curetes were nurſing up young Jupiter, of which we have ſpoken already [n]. How far they improved theſe, and what other arts they cultivated, muſt be only gueſſed at from their manner of life; for ſince their warlike diſpoſition did neither hinder them from building cities and magnificent edifices, nor from affecting ſome grandeur in their equipages, dreſs, and houſhold furniture, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, all thoſe arts and manufactures that tended to it to have been likewiſe encouraged amongſt them. To theſe we may add agriculture and feeding of numerous herds, which they committed to the care of their ſlaves and inferior ſort of people. Whatever luxury they might be guilty of with reſpect to dreſs and equipage, we do not find, that they uſed any in their food. Pulſe of all ſorts was their common diet, eſpecially that which the Greeks called Elimos, which we take to be the ſame with Lim, which in the Celtic ſignifies millet, and is a very nouriſhing grain. Milk was alſo a conſiderable part of their diet; and as to

Poetry.

flesh

[n] See Newton's Chronol. p. 14.

fleſh, they eat very ſparingly of it, if we except that of ſwine, called in the Celtic Souckh, whence perhaps the Greek Ξυκα or Ξικα, and the work Sick, uſed by the country people in ſeveral parts of Europe to call their hogs.

CONCERNING, their antient traffick we have not much to ſay, only when Mercury the ſon of Jupiter had obtained the empire of the weſt, that is of Europe, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, he is ſaid to have poliſhed them very much, both by his laws and learning, and by the great improvements he made in trade and commerce (D), of which, after he was deified, he was worſhipped as the patron and protector, and had every where ſtatues reared to his honour, as Cæſar himſelf aſſures us †. Thus from a wandering, conquering, ravaging, and barbarous people, like the Scythians their younger brethren, he ſo poliſhed them by degrees, as to vie in moſt reſpects with all other nations in learning and politeneſs, as will further appear by what we have to ſay of that deity under the next ſection.

† Comment. l. vi. ch. xvi.

(D) Hence the name of Mercury ſeems to have been given him from the Celtic Merc, merchandiſe, and Ur, a man, as if he had been called by way of excellence the man, maſter, or founder of merchandiſing. That of Teutat, which he is ſuppoſed to have taken at his going or returning from Egypt, ſeems likewiſe to be of Celtic extraction, Teut Tat, ſignifying the father of the people, ſuch as he was upon this and many other accounts.

SECT. IV.

The chronology and hiſtory of the Gomerians or Celtes.

IT muſt be owned, that all that has been ſaid concerning the time of their migration from Aſia, as well as of their moſt famous exploits in that part of the world, is built upon mere conjecture, not to ſay fancy; and that it would be a mad attempt to ſettle it upon a better foot. We are as much in the dark about theſe as we are about the Scythians, nothing being more confuſed than the

the hiſtory of thoſe two nations. Sir Iſaac Newton [a] thinks that theſe two nations had already ſpread themſelves over leſſer Aſia and Europe, long before the year of the flood 1220, that is about the latter end of the Iſraelitiſh judges. But before that time they had ſignalized themſelves in Aſia, under the names of Sacks and Titans, and had a ſucceſſion of kings. The firſt of which was, according to the author whom we chuſe to follow, contemporary with, if not before, Terah, the father of Abraham, that is about the year of the flood 1070, according to the chronology of this hiſtory. The perſon we mean is the learned Pezron [b], who has taken greater pains, and made more conſiderable diſcoveries, concerning the Celtic nation, than any hiſtorian we know of. It were indeed to be wiſhed, he had built leſs upon conjectures, and yet we hope our readers will find, that they are not without ſome ſolid teſtimonies from antiquity, and that his hiſtory of the Celtes carries a greater ſhare of probability, than any that has been attempted, concerning this ancient and populous nation, under their various denominations, conqueſts, and ſettlements. We ſhall upon the cloſe of this hiſtory make ſome kind of apology for preferring his notion, that Uranus, for inſtance, and Saturn, as well as their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, were Celtic princes reigning in Aſia, about the times of Terah and Abraham, to that of Biſhop Cumberland, who ſuppoſes his Sanchoniatho's Chronus, or Saturn, to have been Ham the ſon of Noah, and ſo on; becauſe it will we hope fully appear by that time, how much more evidence his ſyſtem carries from ancient writers, than that of our learned prelate. Here the reader will find a probable hiſtory at leaſt of thoſe heroes, and of the Celtic and Titanic nations, diveſted as much as poſſible from the fable, and that there is at leaſt more reaſon to believe, that there really were ſuch men and nations, than to reject them as altogether fabulous.

But in order to open a way to their hiſtory, it will be neceſſary to mention what is previous to it, with reſpect to the migrations and exploits of the Gomerians in the ſeveral parts of Aſia, before their ſpreading into Europe. For though they are mentioned by antient geographers and hiſtorians under other names, ſuch as Titans, Sacks,

[a] Chronol. p. 10. [b] Ant. Nat. Celt. ch. viii. & ſeq.

Sacks, Parthians, Celtes, and the like, yet it is plain, they were really the ſame people and the deſcendants of Gomer, and that theſe names had been given them by other nations, as we have hinted heretofore, whilſt they not only preſerved ſtill that of their progenitor, but were even known by it to thoſe very authors, who mention them under their other names (A).

THUS

(A) This really holds true with reſpect to all except the name of Titans. with this difference, however, that they ſometimes confounded them with the Scythians, as has been obſerved more than once, which was doubtleſs owing to their affinity in blood, manners, language, and ſuch like, as well as to their regular progreſs, and ſpreading to the right and left of north Aſia and Europe, ſo that there is no other way to diſtinguiſh them but by thoſe countries through which each of them took its way towards Europe. Accordingly we find Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and others ſpeaking of them in thoſe reſpective provinces of Aſia under the name of Sacks, Celtes, Celto-Scythians, Curetes, Comarians, Chomarians, and Cymbrians. Thus Ptolemy tells us, that the Saccæ, who lived near the river Jaxartes, were of the Curetes and Comarians (1). Pliny likewiſe ſeems to mean the ſame thing, when, ſpeaking of them, he ſays (2), Beyond are the Scythians, whom the Perſians did in general call Sacks, from their next neighbouring nation, à proxima gente, &c. which nation could be no other than the Celtic, becauſe, as Pliny obſerves elſewhere, the Chomarians in Bactriana, who were a more civilized ſort than the Scythians, had a capital city called by their name Chomar (3), whereas the Scythians were known to live in the open fields at large, as we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel.

Thus then it is plain, that, bating their confounding them with the Scythians, they were not ignorant of their primitive name of Gomerians, though they uſed in the main the other appellatives by which they were better known to the world, which is what we obſerved in the firſt ſection, had been done by Herodotus in his account of the Scythians. But as to the name of Titans, as it was both leſs known to the antients, and conſequently with leſs probability applicable to the Celtic nation, our author has taken a different way to prove it, but which we own is not altogether ſo clear as could be wiſhed.

He firſt ſuppoſes, that the Gomerians, or, as they had been ſince opprobriouſly called, Sacks or Robbers, exchanged that odious name for the more pompous one of Titans, which, as we have ſhewn, is of Celtic extraction, upon their removing farther

(1) lib. vi. c. 13. (2) Nat. hiſt. l. vi. c. 17. (3) ubi ſup. l. xi.

THUS then from Phrygia, the place of their first settlement, we find them under the name of Comarians, fixed along the river Jaxartes, beyond the Caspian sea, quite up to the province of Bactria [c]; These Ptolemy expressly calls Sacks, Comarians, and Curetes [d]; his words are, the Saccæ, which inhabited along the Jaxartes, were the Comarians and Curetes. And as we find the Saccæ in the more fruitful plains of Armenia, Cappadocia, Gallogrecia, and all those provinces which lie along the Euxine

[c] Mela. lib. 1. c. 2. [d] Geogr. lib. vi. c. 13.

farther into upper Phrygia. Here it seems they built a city which they called Acmona, from Acmon the son of Maneus the founder of it (4). Acmon being by the Greeks reckoned the father of Uranus, who is therefore called Acmonides; our author supposes him to be the same with Sanchoniatho's Eliun or most high, because this first is there affirmed to be the father of Uranus; from whom he deduces his genealogy of the other Celtic princes.

These conjectures he endeavours to corroborate with that passage in Judith, where the Titans are mentioned as synonymous with the Giants (5) and from another in Isaiah (6), which the septuagint renders γιγαντες οι αρξαντες τῆς γης the Giants who subdued the earth, which he thinks can be applied to none so well as to the Titans or Celtes, but the misfortune is, that the Hebrew doth by no means support that version, any more than that version doth the universal rule of the Celtes over all other nations: so that the most that can be inferred from all this is, that as the fable of the Titans seems to have been founded upon some antient facts, and that these since deified heroes being said to have signalized themselves for their wonderful exploits, in these very regions of which the Gomerians had made themselves masters under the name of Sacks, since absorbed into that of Titans; it is much more probable, that they were princes of that nation, than that they were altogether fabulous, or that they were of any other nation than the Celtic, especially considering, that the greatest part of their names and surnames, which were still retained by the Greeks and Latins, are plainly of Celtic extraction, as we shall see when we come to their history. To this may be added the tradition of the Cretans concerning the Titans and Curetes being contemporary in that island, the sepulchre of Rhea, Saturn's sister and wife, being shewn their, and their boasting, that several of the gods were born there, all which have been preserved to us by Diodorus Siculus (7).

(4) Vid. Steph. de urbib. sub voc. acm. Ptolem. Geogr. lib. v. c. 2. & Numism. Puper. ap. Pezron. c. 8.
(5) Ch. xvi. 7. (6) Isai. xiv. 9. (7) lib. v.

Euxine ſea, we may hence frame a kind of route how they ſpread themſelves through all that part of Aſia, till their courſe was ſtopt, (not by the Bactrians, who ſeem rather to have been of Celtic extraction, and are accordingly called Chomarians by Ptolemy, who makes Chomar to have been their metropolis,) but by the Sogdians, who, being of Scythian race, had probably poſſeſſed themſelves of that province long before the Chomarians reached that of Bactria, and had by that time ſpread themſelves much farther northwards from Armenia, either for want of room or through diſcord. Some of them probably paſſed over the vaſt mountains which lie on the ſouth of the Margiana, and entered into the country of Median Arii, where having fixed themſelves by main force, and being as it were divided from, or exiled by, the reſt, they were called in ſcorn Parthians, which ſignifies in the Celtic, parted or divided from. This is affirmed by Juſtin, only with this difference, that he makes them of Scythian extraction, according to the vulgar error of the ancient Greek writers, who, as Strabo tells us [f], called all the nations towards the north of Aſia, Scythians and Celto-Scythians. This origin of the Parthians is likewiſe confirmed by ſeveral other authors [g], though it doth not appear to us, that the Perſians were deſcended from them †.

That the Saccæ poſſeſſed themſelves of at leaſt the beſt part of Armenia, is expreſly affirmed by Strabo [h], who adds, that they called that country by their name Saccacena (B). It likewiſe appears from the ſame author, that they paſſed over the mountains, bordering upon Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia, that part eſpecially

† Id. ibid. lib. ii. [e] lib. xli. c. 1. [f] Geogr. l. xi.
[g] Vid. Arrian. in Parthic. ap. Phoc. Steph. Byz. in voc. Parthy. Jornand. de Reb. Getic. cap. 6. apud Pezron. c. iv.
† Vid. ſup. vol. iv. ch. xi. ſect. i. & ſect. 11.11. [h] lib. xi.

(B) Or rather perhaps Saccaſtena, as we find it more properly ſpelt by another author (8); from the Celtic Stan, which ſignifies region, and is ſtill preſerved by the Perſians, as in Indoſtan, Chuſiſtan, &c. which perhaps the Celtes ſoftned afterwards into Tan, as in Aquitan the country of water, Britania the country of Brits(9).

(8) Iſidor. ſeu Charax. Parthen. Stathm. ap. Pezron. c. v.
(9) Id. ibid.

ly which is upon the coaſts of the Euxine ſea [i]. This expedition ſeems to have been made under the conduct of Acmon, the father of Uranus, and of his brother Doeas, where they gave their name, the former to the capital city called Acmonia, in which we are alſo told was a grove dedicated to him after he was deified, and the latter to the ſpacious Doean plains near the city of Themiſcyra along the river Thermodon (C). From the Euxine ſea their progreſs towards the Palus Mœotis is very obvious; and here we find their name given to the Cymbrian or Cimmerian Boſphorus, from which they needed but to croſs the Tanais to enter into their European territories.

We muſt now leave thoſe colonies extending themſelves towards Europe, and return into Phrygia, whither Acmon is ſuppoſed either to have returned from Cappadocia [l], or, which is more likely, where he continued after his anceſtors. For here we find the like monuments both of him and his brother, namely another city called Acmona, and ſaid by the ſame authors to have been founded by him; likewiſe another grove dedicated to him, and ſome ſpacious plains called Doeantes from his brother Doeas [m] (D). From which one may reaſonably infer, that he

[i] Strab. ubi ſupra. [k] Apollon. Argonaut. lib. ii. Steph. Byzant. ſub voce Acmon. [l] Pezron. ch. viii. [m] Byzant. ubi ſupra.

(C) That theſe two were brothers, our author (10) not only proves from the teſtimony of the authors above quoted, but adds, that Themiſcyra means no more than the city of Themis. Kir in the Hebrew and Ker in the Celtic ſignifying a city. As for Themis, whom the Greeks made goddeſs of Juſtice, he ſuppoſes her to have been the grand-daughter of Acmon, and a famous magician or propheteſs; and that Doeas Acmon's brother was of the ſame profeſſion; his name in the Celtic ſignifying a diviner, from Ddoe or Duoc, God.

(D) If any ſuch monuments were really in two different provinces of Aſia; the one in Phrygia, as the authors above quoted expreſly affirm, and the others in ſome other parts, for they do not name Cappadocia, it will only follow, that both had been under Acmon's government, and there will be no neceſſity to ſend him into the one to bring him back into the other, ſince his colonies could eaſily atchieve the conqueſt of the latter, and leave thoſe monuments in honour of their prince.

But

(10) Ibid.

he both reigned, and was afterwards worſhipped here likewiſe; and conſequently, that it were abſurd to ſuppoſe him a fabulous perſon, any more than his deſcendants Uranus, Saturn, and the reſt of the Titan princes. And as for the Celtes being deſcended from them, we find it expreſly affirmed by a very antient author [n], who was no friend to the Celtes or Gauls, and yet ſays, that the κελτοι were οψιγονοι Τιτανες the deſcendants or late poſterity of the Titans. If it be objected, that the Druids in Cæſar's time did boaſt themſelves to be deſcended from Dis or Pluto [o], it will appear, that he alſo was a Titan prince, who had the weſtern part of the empire, that is Europe, to his ſhare, whilſt Jupiter kept the eaſtern part to himſelf; ſo that both Cæſar and Callimachus agree in the main point, Pluto being the great grandſon of Acmon, the firſt prince of note of the Gomerian or Titanic race.

THIS prince was the ſon of Mon, Man, or Maneus, his name Acmon, or perhaps rather Ack-man, ſeems to imply as much. He is ſuppoſed by our author to have lived in the days of Terah the father of Abraham. So that, including Maneus in the liſt, we have a ſucceſſion

[n] Callimach. hymn. in Delum. verſ. 170. & ſeq. [o] Vid. Cæſ. Comment. lib. vi.

But what induces our author to the contrary opinion is, that the name of Sacks is from that time wholly abſorbed into that of Titans; from which he concludes, that that warlike prince, at his return into Phrygia, exchanged that reproachful name into the more glorious one of Titans, which either ſignifies ſons of the ſun, or of the earth, as we ſhewed elſewhere †; whilſt that of Sacks ſtuck only to thoſe who went and dwelt in the more northern provinces of Aſia. It is not eaſy to ſay, when or why they aſſumed the name of Titans; but if we ſuppoſe with our author that word to ſignify ſons of the earth, which anſwers to that of Aborigines, it will be more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to aim at it much earlier in Phrygia, becauſe it was the original ſettlement of their progenitors Gomer and his deſcendants, whilſt thoſe colonies, who were forced to leave that province and to go and ſettle by main force in other provinces already inhabited, muſt be contented to quit it for that of Sacks or Robbers, which the loſers gave to them.

† Vol. V. p. 386. Note B.

of six Titan princes, whose government, according to him, lasted about three hundred years [p]. And are as follows,

Man or Maneus	Saturn
Acmon	Jupiter
Uranus	Theutat

We have already mentioned how impossible it is to adjust the chronology of these princes, yet has our author, at the latter end of his 12th chapter, found means to give some light to it out of some antient writers; we shall give what he has there said in his own words.

I have taken no small pains to find out what antient authors have said on this head. I find, that Jupiter began to reign when Isaac had attained the one half of his age, or some years after Abraham's death, and this is what may be made out from antient historians, such as Evemerus, Ennius, Thallus, and some others, who all agreed, that Jupiter reigned in the time of Belus the first king of Assyria; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the Sybils, which expresly say, that Saturn with his brother Titan and Japhet began to reign with the 10th generation after the deluge. They were those whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in vertue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of Abraham. Saturn must therefore begin his reign many years before Abraham had been in the land of Canaan. Nay, his father Uranus must already have been very potent, both in Asia and also in Europe, in the time of Terah Abraham's father. All this seems plain to me upon examining those monuments of antiquity which are still extant. But the chronicle of Eusebius, which has been regulated from antient histories, and especially those which related to the island of Crete, leaves us no room to doubt of this matter. We are there informed, that about those times, Cres, one of the Curetes who took care of Jupiter's education, reigned in Crete, and that the island received its name from him. Eusebius by the words Κατα τϑς χρονϑς, about these times, points out the years between the 50th and 60th of Abraham's life. Now Jupiter, according

[p] Pezron. c. 15.

according to his calculation, muſt have begun his reign about the latter end of Terah's life. But I have many reaſons to believe, that Euſebius was miſtaken in making him of ſuch old ſtanding, and that this Titan prince ought not to be placed higher than the middle, that is the 98th year of Iſaac's life, and that he could not precede Moſes above 300 years.

THUS far Pezron; according to whoſe account it might be eaſy to conjecture the times when Jupiter's predeceſſors reigned, by tracing ſo many generations back; eſpecially becauſe we have the length of Jupiter's life recorded, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, to have been 120 years, which if it come ſhort of the number of his contemporary Iſaac, may be attributed to his living a quite different life from him.

WE have nothing recorded concerning Maneus, but that he is reported to have been the father of Acmon [q]. Maneus.

CONCERNING Acmon, if he be the ſame with the Eliun of Sanchoniatho, as this author makes him the father of Uranus, who was therefore called Acmonides, or the ſon of Acmon; we have nothing particular, except that he had a ſon named Epigeus Autochton, called afterwards Ouranus, and that being killed by a wild beaſt, whom he too eagerly encountered, he was afterwards deified and worſhipped by his deſcendants [r] (E). Acmon.

[q] Polyhiſt. ap. Byzant. ſub voce Acmon.

[r] Sanchoniath. lib. iii.

(E) If his deſcendants paid him thoſe divine honours preſently after his death, we have here, as Pezron obſerves, one of the antienteſt heathen deities in all antiquity. But we ſee no reaſon for departing from our former opinion, that the deifying of princes is of much later date †; thoſe groves which were conſecrated to him in Phrygia might be no other than monuments to his memory, not unlike perhaps to thoſe of the Scythian kings, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by, whilſt the idolatrous worſhip of them was not introduced till many ages after.

Theſe Titans of Sanchoniatho, whom the Greeks called πλεται or wanderers, ſuch as the Gomerians really were, are alſo ſuppoſed to have been of gigantic ſtature, like thoſe we have mentioned in the hiſtory of Canaan; the fable indeed reckons

† See before, Vol. ii. p. 287, Note E. Vol. iv. p. 261, Note W. & alib.

URANUS, according to the ſame ancient author, ſucceeded his father, and married his own ſiſter, Γη Ge, or the earth (F), by whom he had four ſons, the eldeſt of whom, called Itus or Chronus, aftewards Saturn, alſo ſucceeded him. Sanchoniatho obſerves, that he had two other names, and that that of Ouranus was not given him till afterwards; but tho' he knew not the reaſon of it, yet if we attend to the Celtic etymology, Ur or Our, a Man, and en Heaven, it will appear highly probable, that he was called Our-en, a man of heaven, from his being very much addicted to the ſtudy of aſtronomy and aſtrology. From this the Greeks might eaſily alſo call him Uranus or Ouranus, if not wholly derive that word from him. We paſs by many fabulous things, which have been invented of him by the Greeks and other writers, and ſhall only add, that his new conqueſts in Aſia and Europe ſeem rather to have been owing to his ambition than to his magic, to his policy than to his ſkill in aſtrological predictions. How long he reigned we are not told, but, after having inlarging his dominions, he had the misfortune to be bereaved of his kingdom and liberty, if not of his life, by his ambitious ſon and ſucceſſor Saturn, who, having intercepted him, put him into cloſe confinement,

reckons them as ſuch. The apocryphal book of Judith (11) mentions the Titans and giants as ſynonymous, as we hinted before; and the ſeptuagint have tranſlated the words the valley of Rephaim, or giants; the valley of Titans (12). The Greeks, which called them Γιγας and Γιγαντες, ſeem to have borrowed that word from the Celtic Gugg, which ſignifies proud, fierce, arrogant, ſuch as we may reaſonably ſuppoſe their monſtrous ſtature might incline them to be, and ſuch as we find thoſe to have been, of whom mention is made in holy writ. And as the Titans, kings, and prieſts, as well as people, were extremely given to ſuperſtition, divination, magic, and all ſuch like vile practices, an antient father had reaſon to upbraid the heathen with placing giants, tyrants, and magicians in the number of their kings, and afterwards of their gods (13).

(F) It is obſervable, that the Greeks who have tranſlated this name have alſo retained the antient one of Titea, which is derived from the Celtic Tit, which ſignifies the ſame thing. We ſhall find many more ſuch Greek names in the ſequel, which are palpably of Celtic extraction.

(11) Chap. xvi. 7. (12) 2 Sam. v. 18. (13) Euſeb. de pr. evang. l. ii. c. 5.

ment, where he either died with grief, or was diſpatched by the order of that unnatural ſon.

SATURN, ſirnamed afterwards Chronos or Cronos, is ſaid by the Sanchoniatho to have been the eldeſt ſon of Uranus [s], whilſt other authors affirm him to have been the youngeſt of all [t]; and that his eldeſt brother, who was called Titan, did for a long while conteſt the crown with him, till he was at length over-powered and forced to yield to him. Saturn is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt, who took upon him the regal dignity; for we are told [u], that all his predeceſſors, down to Uranus, had contented themſelves with the title of princes; and an ancient father tells us [w], upon the authority of Pherecydes, that he was the firſt that wore the diadem, whence he is ſuppoſed to have been ſirnamed Cronos, which in the Celtic ſignifies crowned (G). He likewiſe tells us in another place, that he much delighted in wearing a red cloak, or a ſhort coat, of the Galatic dye, from which perhaps came alſo the royal purple, ſo much worn by kings and perſons of the higheſt rank (H). Saturn.

SATURN, though he was no leſs politic and crafty [x] than prone to ambition, could not ſo well conceal his treaſonable deſigns, but that Uranus had ſome ſuſpicion of them, and to be before-hand with him diſpatched his daughter

[s] Ubi ſupra. [t] Heſiod. in Theogn. Apollon. lib. i. c. 1. & al. vid. Pezr. c. x. [u] Vid. Enn. ap. Lactant. lib. i. c. 13.
[w] Tertull. de Coron. c. 17. [x] Heſiod. ubi ſupra.

(G) That of Saturn, which ſome have abſurdly derived from the Hebrew שָׂטַן Satar, to hide, becauſe he went and concealed himſelf in Italy from his ſon Jupiter, is more naturally deduced from the Phrygian Satorn, or rather Sadorn, which ſignifies ſtrong and potent; for ſo he really was, till weakened by his ſon's unnatural rebellion, as the hiſtory will ſhew immediately. Sanchoniatho gives him alſo the name of Il or Ilos, which may be properly enough derived from the Hebrew word אֵל El, which ſignifies ſtrong and mighty, and is in that tongue one of the names of God.

(H) Saturn being ſuppoſed to have dwelt in Phrygia, part of which was afterwards called Galatia; Pezron obſerves, that this country being very famous for dying that colour, the Greek κοκκος, and Latin Coccus, may naturally be derived from the Celtic Coch, which ſignifies red (14).

(14) Chap. 10. & lexic. Cel. Latin. ſub. voc. Coccus.

Rhea to make away with him by ſome private means. But Saturn, who perhaps was apprized of it by his mother Titea, whoſe jealouſy had ſo far tranſported her (I) as to encourage him, if not to inſpire him with the firſt deſign of this unnatural rebellion, ſoon found a way not only to divert her from her enterpriſe, but to bring her over to his ſide. This cauſed an open rupture, in which Saturn, after a conteſt of ſeveral years proving the ſtronger of the two, impriſoned his father, as we have ſeen above, and made himſelf abſolute; after which it is ſuppoſed, that, not being contented with the title of prince, he aſſumed that of king. And indeed if it be true, that he had enlarged his dominions, not only in Aſia but in Europe as far as Spain, and gained alſo ſome provinces in Africa, a leſs title than this could not well ſuit his ambitious mind.

He had two notable counſellors beſides his mother, the one from his youth named Hermes Treſmegiſtus, a great philoſopher and conſummate politican; ſome add, that he was alſo a great conjurer [y]; the other was his ſiſter Rhea, whom he afterwards made his wife (K). Theſe three did ſo far prevail upon the princes and grandees of the court, and eſpecially with his other brothers, what with their addreſs and munificence (L), that they all came into his party

[y] Sanchoniat. ubi ſupra.

(I) This jealouſy and reſentment, Sanchoniatho tells us, was occaſioned not only by the number of other wives which Uranus took, but becauſe though ſhe had left him upon that account, yet he would come and lie with her by force. But what moſt of all enraged her was, that he endeavoured to deſtroy all the children he had by her, which, if it be true, did not a little extenuate her and her ſon's rebellion (15).

(K) This cuſtom of marrying ſiſters had nothing extraordinary in thoſe days; we have ſeen in a former volume, that it was common to the Egyptians, Perſians, and many other great and polite nations. The name of Rhea is likewiſe of Celtic extraction, and ſignifies a lady, as Rhey ſignifies a lord (16).

(L) Among others of his brethren we find one called Japhet or Japet, a name preſerved only among the deſcendants of Gomer. Sanchoniatho likewiſe names Atlas, but he is more likely to have been his nephew and the ſon of Japhet. It is very

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Pezron. ubi ſupra.

ty, ſo that it is no wonder, if his dominions and conqueſts did ſo vaſtly exceed thoſe of his predeceſſors, and himſelf proved ſo ſucceſsful both at home and abroad. But his happineſs was ſoured many different ways: he was extremely miſtruſtful of his children: he had himſelf dethroned his own father, and could not be without fear, leſt his crime ſhould be puniſhed in the ſame kind. This made him ſacrifice them to his jealous guilt, as ſome think, or, as others believe, to the ghoſt of his father. He was extremely given to ſuperſtition and divinations, and it is not improbable, that his diviners might increaſe his ſuſpicions, by foretelling, that he would be in danger of being dethroned by ſome of them, as he really was by Jupiter. He had ſtill another private enemy to ward againſt, namely his brother Titan, who, though forced to yield to him, at leaſt in appearance, might in time find means to try his fortune again. But perhaps his mind was ſo intent upon his children, that he wholly neglected him; and this gave him at length an opportunity of ſurprizing him and his wife Rhea, whom he immediately conveyed into ſome province of Aſia, and kept them in cloſe confinement, till his ſon Jupiter came with a conſiderable army of Cretans, and reſtored his captive parents to their liberty and kingdom (M).

WHAT we have obſerved concerning Saturn's jealous temper and cruelty to his children, muſt in all probability have been the cauſe, why his wife Rhea took ſuch pains to preſerve

ry probable. that Saturn, in recompence of their friendſhip to him, gave that part of his conqueſts in Mauritania to Atlas, and that the famous mountains of Africa received their name from him (17).

(M) This remarkable tranſaction has been preſerved to us by an antient father (18) upon the authority of Ennius, or rather of Evemerus, whoſe tranſlator he was; and as he produced it to prove againſt the heathen, that the gods they worſhipped had been meer men, he introduces it with this ſingular preface: Aperiamus ea quæ veris literis continentur, ne poetarum ineptias in accuſandis religionibus ſequi aut probare videamur. It ſhould ſeem by theſe words, that he had read the fables of the poets, as well as the more authentic teſtimonies of hiſtorians, and knew full well how to diſtinguiſh the one from the other, and to urge nothing but what was acknowledged for truth.

We

(17) Id ibid. (18) Lactant. Inſtit. lib. i. c. 14.

preſerve her youngeſt ſon Jupiter, by concealing her pregnancy from him, by being delivered of him in one place, and ſending him to be privately educated in another (N). This action therefore of Jupiter, pious and generous as it was, did rather increaſe than diſpel his jealouſy. His ſurprize to find himſelf over-reached by his wife, and to ſee his ſon, whom he did not dream of, not only grown into years, but of courage, and ſtrength ſufficient to overcome his enemies, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time deprive him with the ſame facility of his kingdom and life. Lactantius adds, upon the authority of Evemerus, that he went to

We may add, that many other fathers and apologiſts have appealed to the like hiſtorical facts concerning Saturn, Jupiter, &c. which they would hardly have ventured to do, if they had not been acknowledged as ſuch by thoſe againſt whom they wrote (19).

(N) Authors are not agreed about the place of Jupiter's birth. The Cretans did pretend, that he was born in that iſland on mount Ida, and Callimachus (20), who gives them the title of liars for having forged his tomb there alſo, becauſe ſuch a god as he could not die, yet, abſurdly enough, owns him to have been born, and affirms the place to have been mount Lycæus in Arcadia. The latter may be the more probable of the two. The hymniſt adds, that the place was ſince held ſo ſacred that no women dared to approach it. It was alſo called by way of excellence the ſacred top, and the Puerperium, or place of Rhea's lying in: As for the Cretans, they might be eaſily led into the belief of his being born among them, becauſe he had been conveyed and brought up there with the utmoſt privacy from his very infancy. However that be, it is agreed, that his education was committed to the care of the Curetes, and theſe being men of great power and credit among the people, it is no wonder, that they procured him ſo powerful an army to go to his father's reſcue. And it is not improbable, that they were the perſons that inſpired him with that pious deſign, which might probably cure the father of his unjuſt ſuſpicion, and entitle the ſon to the ſucceſſion of his kingdom.

The ſtory of Saturn's cruelty, in ſacrificing ſo many of his children to his jealouſy, may alſo have given birth to what the poets have related of his devouring of them, as Jupiter's depriving him at length of his kingdom, may have given occaſion to their accuſing him of caſtrating him.

(19) Vid. inter al. Tertul. Apol. cap. x. & alib. paſſ. Athenag. Theophil. Antioch. Min. Felix, Arnob. Auguſt. Jul. Firmic & al. (20) Hymn. in Jov. ab initio.

to conſult the oracle and his diviners, who bade him beware of his ſon Jupiter, who would be likely in time to dethrone him. Upon this warning he loſt no time to try to put it out of his power. He entered into Crete with an army, for his ſon was again retired thither after he had atchieved his deliverance; but he ſoon found, that the Cretans were all in his ſon's intereſt, and that he was more likely to be intrapped than obeyed by them. This obliged him to return into that part of Greece ſince called Peloponneſus, whither Jupiter, enraged at his cruel deſign againſt him, followed him with an army, and forced him to retire into Italy. Janus was then king of the Aborigines, who, we obſerved before, may either have been of Celtic extraction, or upon ſome other account friends to the Titans (O). However, that good old king gave him a kind reception, and, as ſome affirmed, admitted him into a kind of

(O) We have already taken notice, that the Umbrians are affirmed by antient hiſtorians both to have been the oldeſt people in Italy, and to have been the deſcendants of the Celtes †; and it is hardly to be ſuppoſed, that Saturn would have truſted himſelf, in his deſperate circumſtances, to any but a friendly nation; but whether theſe were the ſame with the Aborigines, or another colony incorporated with them in proceſs of time, we will not decide. The reception, which he met with from Janus, ſcarce leaves room to doubt of their being allied, either by blood or by ſome other tie.

Some critics have found fault with Julius Firmicus for having affirmed (21), that this fugitive prince was concealed by the Spartans in Italy. Pezron has taken ſome pains to prove, that they were really in Italy, before that time and incorporated with other nations of that province; and that the Sabines were deſcended from them, and they from the Celtes or Gomerians. But if this ſhould not ſeem altogether ſo plain, as it is impoſſible to grope into thoſe dark and remote ages with any tolerable ſatisfaction, the words of Firmicus in Italia a Spartis abſconditur, if there has no error crept into them, may be underſtood proleptically. The nation that received Saturn, whatever they were, might in time, if not by Jupiter himſelf, be drove out of Italy, and go and ſettle in Sparta, or upon ſome other account be thenceforth called Spartans. At leaſt the author above named has made it very probable, that they originally came from Italy; though it doth not appear, that they were ever known by that name there.

† Vol. V. p. 395. Note. (21) Lib de Error profan. relig.

of partnership with him in his kingdom [z]; so that the region where Saturn reigned, and which is adjoyning to the Tyber was since called Saturnia from him. How long he lived there, and what became of him, is impossible to guess, except that his tomb being shewed in Sicily [a] may induce one to suppose, that he went and ended his days there.

JUPITER, or, as he was rightly called, Jou (P), because he was the youngest of Saturn's children, did not, however, enjoy his kingdom peaceably. His uncle Titan, or perhaps one of his sons, having probably found means to strengthen his party whilst he was taken up against his father, raised a war against him, which continued full ten years, and was carried on with the utmost fury on both sides, both by sea and land, and did not end but with the total overthrow of Titan and his army.

THIS war seems to be the truest original of the fabulous war of the Giants or Titans against the gods, which the poets have so interlarded with their inventions, that it is scarcely possible to discover it through them (Q). This final

[z] Tertul. Apolog. ubi sup. [a] Philocor. ap. Clem. Alexan. Admonit. ad Gent.

(P) The irregular inflexion of his name into Jovis, &c. shews it plainly. It is therefore absurd to derive it, as Cicero doth upon the authority of Varro, from Juvans Pater, which the inflexion will not admit of; when the Celtic Jou, or as we pronounced it, Joo, which signifies young, is on all respects so much nearer to it; and Jupiter seems plainly to be the same with Jou-pater, which last was added to his former name of Jou, when he came to be worshipped as the greatest of the gods.

Accordingly we find, that the antient Latins did not write his name Jupiter, but Jaopiter, Joupiter, and Japiter. But the Celtic has still preserved his antient name of Jou, and call Thursday, or the Dies Jovis of the Romans, Diz-jou, and Di-jou, the day of Jove (22). We shall have occasion by-and-by to speak of some of his other names.

(Q) We have deferred till now to observe how much this system of history, for we dare not venture to give it a stronger name, doth clash with that of our learned Cumberland, who, as we have fully shewn in the beginning of this history *, makes his Sanchoniatho's Uranus to have been Noah, Cronus Ham,

(22) Vid. Pezron. ch. xii. * Vid. sup. Vol. I. p. 387. & seq

final overthrow was given them near the antient city of Tarteſa in Spain, a ſea-port town a little to the north of Cadis [b] (R), whither it ſeems he went in perſon with a great

[b] Tertul. Apolog. Scholiaſt. in Iliad. viii. ad verſ. 479. ap. Pezron. c. 11.

Ham, Mizor Mizraim, Zadic Melchizedeck, and ſo on; that our readers might ſee which of the two carries the greateſt probability. They are both built upon conjectures, and both ſupported by ſome collateral kind of proofs, and upon a ſuppoſition, that this fragment we have left is the relic of a fuller hiſtory, and that its author is not a fictitious, but a real, antient, and credible one. We ſhall not repeat what we have ſaid elſewhere on this laſt head †, much leſs do we deſign to draw a parallel between thoſe two ſyſtems or their learned authors. Thus much, however, we hope we may ſay without partiality, concerning that of our Celtic antiquary, that it not only gives a great light to the dark and fabulous times, but that it is corroborated by a much greater number of antient authors, heathens as well as chriſtians. But the latter, eſpecially the apologiſts, ſeem plainly enough to have been generally of the ſame mind with him, and have made no difficulty to urge this genealogy of heathen deities abovementioned againſt their ſtupid worſhipers.

How far all this is further corrobrated by numberleſs Celtic etymons, the greateſt part of which are both eaſy and natural and confirmed by hiſtorical facts, muſt be ſubmitted to the reader's judgment. Of this number we beg leave to remind him of what has been ſaid concerning the names of Uranus and Titea, Cronus or Saturn, and Rhea, Jou or Jupiter, Theutat, and others, beſides a greater number which we have omitted, but which may be ſeen in our author, and ſome few which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel; all which put together will, if not convince him, yet, at leaſt, juſtify our giving it a place in this hiſtory, as we have that of our learned biſhop in the former volume.

(R) This ſeems alſo confirmed by what Juſtin (23) adds, that the Curetes lived formerly in the foreſts about that city. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed after Voſſius, that it ought to be read Cinetes, becauſe the Curetes were a people of Crete. We have already ſhewn, that the latter were the prieſts or ſoothſayers of the Titans and Celtes, and accompanied them in their wars. What wonder then, that ſome of them who had followed Jupiter in this expedition, and delighted otherwiſe in a kind of aſcetic life, ſhould be induced to make thoſe foreſts their abode?

† Ibid. p. 402, not. B. & alib. (23) lib. xliv. c. 4.

great fleet and a puiſſant army, and having brought over ſome of their confederates to his ſide, and gained this ſignal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

JUPITER, after the example of his predeceſſors, married his own ſiſter Juno (S). But as he was ſeldom without ſome amorous intrigues with other women, by whom he had a numerous iſſue, he was forced to bear with many rubs and mortifications from his jealous and revengeful queen. On the other hand, he did not follow his pleaſures ſo cloſe, but he allowed himſelf proper ſeaſons for the adminiſtration of juſtice throughout the many provinces of his kingdom, in rooting out robbers and banditti who ſheltered themſelves in the foreſts of Theſſaly, Macedonia, and Illyria, where they committed the vileſt outrages. But

abode? But we ſhall have occaſion by-and-by to ſay ſomething further concerning them, which may convince one of the probability of there being men of that name and profeſſion in thoſe parts of Spain.

(S) This name is not unlikely to be of Celtic extraction, and to be derived from Ghuin, which ſignifies fair, white, and by way of excellence, beautiful; Such as Juno is ſaid to have been to a great degree. Hence perhaps it is, that the antient gloſſaries call her alſo Jolinta, a Jolly or fine woman.

Thus Jupiter had ſome other names among the Greeks which ſeem to flow from the ſame fountain, as Ζευς, from which they irregularly made their Διος δις δια, &c. in the oblique caſes. Now the Zeus, from which the Latins made Deus, ſeems more plainly derived from the Celtic Dhew, God, and the Dis and Dia from Di, bright. He was likewiſe ſurnamed Πειχος and Piccas, from the bird of that name, which Pliny tell us was then much uſed in auguries (24), which bird ſeems to be ſo called from his being continually pecking of walls and trees, and is known among us by the name of Woodpecker. Pliny indeed pretends, that he was called Picus from a king of Latium of that name; but it ſeems more probable, that both he and many other princes were, like Jupiter, ſo ſirnamed from the bird, from which they received their auguries; for the Celtic word peck or beak, ſignifies a bird's bill; and hence it is likely our verb to peck is delivered.

(24) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l. x. c. 18.

But as he had made Mount Olympus [c] (T), one of the moſt delightful parts of Theſſaly, his chief reſidence, he was under a kind of neceſſity to rid thoſe countries of ſuch vermin, that his ſubjects might have the freer acceſs to his court.

BEFORE his death he is affirmed by the laſt quoted father, as a known truth, to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern, or European, part of it to his uncle Dis or Pluto, ſirnamed alſo Ageſilaus (U), whilſt himſelf kept the Aſiatic, or eaſtern, part of it. We obſerved alſo before, that he gave ſome part of Africa to his nephew Atlas, but having afterwards either conceived jealouſy of him, or detected him in ſome criminal deſign againſt him, he is reported to have cauſed him to be put to death.

THIS

[c] Evemer. ap. Lactant. Inſtitut. lib. i. c. 10.

(T) Hence the laſt quoted father obſerves, that after his apotheoſis the place of his reſidence came to be called by his ſuperſtitious worſhippers heaven, or to be ſynonymous to it (25).

(U) This laſt name which ſignifies a leader of the people, or Ageſander, as it is found in other writers (26), and ſignifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into Europe, and perhaps as far as Spain, where we obſerved a little above, there had been both Titans and Curetes in the neighbourhood of the ancient Tarteſa. Here likewiſe he is ſuppoſed to have found out ſuch rich mines of gold and ſilver (27), by which he grew ſo rich, that he got the name of Pluto, in Greek Πλουτον, which ſignifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches upon his being deified; and this probably induced Strabo to believe, that the Tartara of the Greeks and Latins came from the above-named Tarteſa, a country ſituate in the utmoſt parts of Spain weſtward (28).

Hence likewiſe, Jupiter having the dominion of the eaſt or ſun-riſing, and Pluto of the weſt or ſun-ſetting, came alſo probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions. Perhaps, likewiſe, might the mythologiſts of thoſe fables think it very reaſonable to aſſign the government of riches, and of the infernal regions to the ſame deity; to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

(25) Pezron. c. xii. (26) Æſchyl. Callimach. Athen. Heſych. ap. Pezron. ibid. (27) Vid. Strab. Geograph. l. v. (28) Ibid. (29) Euſeb. ap. Pezron. cap. xii.

THIS Atlas (W) had a daughter named Maia, or Flowry, whoſe beauty Jupiter was not proof againſt, but he could not obtain her upon any other condition than that of marriage. From her he had a ſon named Theutat, ſince Mercury, of whom we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. This marriage failed not to enrage Juno, who was ever plotting ſomething againſt him. We cannot gueſs whether Atlas had been unfortunately drawn into ſome rebellion by the jealous queen, but Jupiter is by ſome accuſed to have degenerated into a kind of tyrant through the continual ſeditions which ſhe raiſed againſt him, which yet he did find means to diſcover in good time [e].

ON the other hand, the Cretan hiſtorians extolled his virtues up to the ſkies. Diodorus Siculus and Ennius, upon their authority, beſtow the greateſt encomiums on him for his ſtrength, valour, prudence, juſtice, for his encouraging learning and virtue, and puniſhing injuries, violence, and robberies, and for his many wholeſome laws and regulations for the public good [f]. He lived 120 years, of which having reigned 62 [g], this great, and ſince deified, hero, reſigned his breath like other men, and was buried by the Curetes in the iſle of Crete, and in the city of Gnoſſus, where his ſons erected a ſtately monument, which was ſhewn many ages after by the inhabitants. [h]. The ſame authors adds, that he divide dhis kingdom among his relations and friends. His ſon Cres or Cret (from whom that iſland of Crete is ſuppoſed to have had its name, Cret in Celtic ſignifying bold and daring, was then at the head of the Curetes, and performed the laſt devoirs to his father, after which he took the government of that iſland [i] (X). How

[d] Id. ibid. [e] Pezron. & auct. ab eo citat. [f] Diod. Sicul. lib. v. Enn. ubi ſupra. Callim. Hymn. in Jov. [g] Suid. ſub. voce Πιτας. vid. & Chron. Alexand. ap. Pezron. cap. xii. [h] Cicer. Evemer. ap. Lactant. lib. 1. c. 11. [i] Vid Pezro. ibid.

(W) He was alſo called by the Greeks Talamon, from the Celtic Tell-mon, or Man, on account of his high ſtature, and, as he was alſo a great aſtronomer, thence came all the fables which the poets have ſince made of him.

(X) This is at leaſt intimated by Lactantius's words out of Ennius, Curetes filii ſui (Jovis) eum curaverunt, for Cres was then a Curete, and probably the head of principal of that ſociety. Euſebeus ſeems alſo to confirm his having ſucceeded his father in the government of that iſle, when he makes him the

How the reſt of his kingdom was divided among the reſt of his ſucceſſors is not to be gueſſed at, only we find, that his ſon Theutat or Mercury, of whom we are going to ſpeak, had the weſtern part aſſigned to him, probably after the death of his uncle Dis or Pluto [k].

MERCURY is allowed by all antiquity to have been the ſon of Jupiter by Maia, as we have ſeen above. We have given already in a former note the etymon of thoſe two names †. The Greeks did likewiſe call him Ερμης Hermes, (Y) and the Latins Faunus (Z). He was famed for his learning and wiſdom, and eſpecially for his ſkill in auguries, magic, and philoſophy. He was active, courageous, and eloquent; and ſo prudent, that he always kept cloſe to his father's intereſt. For all theſe good qualities he became his chief favourite and counſellor, and was alſo by the fabulous writers affirmed to be the interpreter of the gods. An antient father tells us, that he went down into Egypt to penetrate further into their myſterious arts and ſciences, and that at his return he aſſumed the name of Theutat [l] (A). It was probably from the Egyptians that Mercury.

[k] Suid. ſub. voc. Πλατος. Chronic. Alexand. ubi ſup. † Vol. V. p. 413. Note. [l] Cyril. Alexand, lib. cont. Julian.

the firſt king of Crete (29); that is, as we underſtand him after Pezron, he was the firſt who reigned in that iſland, only whereas his father's kingdom is ſaid to have reached from Euphrates to Spain, beſides ſome parts of Afric, which he had given to Atlas, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

(Y) Which name comes probably from the Celtic Armes, which ſignifies divination. For Mercury ſeems to have outdone all his anceſtors in the knowledge and conſtant practice of that art, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

(Z) This is the only name for which no proper etymon can be found in the Celtic; nor can we gueſs upon what account it was given. But the chronicle above quoted calls him by both names of Faunus and Mercury; ſo that this Faunus muſt not be confounded with another of the name, who reigned many ages afterwards in Italy, eſpecially with Faunus the father of Latinus, in whoſe time Æneas came into that kingdom. Whereas our Mercury, according to this chronology of Titanic princes, muſt have lived at furtheſt about the time of Joſeph's being in Egypt (30).

(A) That father adds, that he took up that name in imitation of the antient Egyptian Mercury or Thout, who, as we

(29) Euſeb. ap. Pezron. cap. xiii (30) Idem, cap. xiv.

that he learned the art of melting, refining, caſting, and working of metals, which part he is ſaid to have firſt brought into Europe, whence it again dimanated itſelf into Aſia, as was ſhewn under another head.

He not only taught them the metallick trades, but how to make an advantagious traffick of them into other countries, for which he had the ſirname of Merk-ur or Mercury. This great improvement, which could not but endear him to his ſubjects, gave him an opportunity of poliſhing that rude and cruel nation, which till then ſeems to have made the trade of war and plunder their chief ſtudy and delight. He gave them a body of laws, encouraged the liberal arts and ſciences, and careſſed the foreigners who flocked into his dominions, eſpecially thoſe who brought any curious arts with them. Thus by his addreſs and powerful eloquence he did ſo civilize and improve his ſubjects, that his merit was ſtill dear to them in Cæſar's time, who tells us, that he was held in veneration above all other gods, and had ſtatues and altars reared to his honour in every town and village *.

Some attribute the invention of the olympic games to him, others to Hercules, but, if Pauſanius be right, they muſt have been much older, ſince he tells us, that Saturn and Jupiter had wreſtled together at them [m]. They may, however, be ſuppoſed to have made ſome conſiderable improvement to them, each according to his particular talent, and thereby eclipſed the memory of their firſt inventor. He reigned, according to the Alexandrian chronicle, 34 years;

* De Bell. Gal. lib. vi. c. 16. [m] lib. viii. qui eſt Arcad.

have ſeen in a former volume *, was worſhipped by the Egyptians for his great learning, wiſdom, and eloquence. So that by only altering the name by a letter or two, he made himſelf a more honourable one in the Celtic, Theu-tat, as we obſerved before, ſignifying the father of his people, ſuch as he really was, if what we read of him be true.

This is not a proper place to enquire how theſe Gods, or at leaſt their names, came to be adobted by other nations. Such a curious ſubject doth well deſerve to be treated of in a treatiſe by itſelf, and we hope if we have not quite, cleared that point thro' the former parts of this hiſtory, we have at leaſt furniſhed the world with ſome conſiderable materials towards ſuch an enquiry, which is all that could be expected from ſuch a deſign as this.

* Vol. ii. p. 6.

years; but whether or not his life ended with his reign, is not eaſy to ſay, Suidas [n] and the above-mentioned chronicle ſay, that his brothers, being grown jealous of his ſuperior power and merit, formed ſuch a conſpiracy againſt his life, that he found himſelf under aneceſſity of packing up all his treaſure and retiring into Egypt, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in peace. On the other hand, Livy acquaints us [o], that there was a large tomb near new Carthage, in the time of Scipio and Hannibal, which was called the tomb of Mercury Theutat; and this would incline one to believe, that he died in his own dominions. We are no leſs in the dark about the condition of his kingdom from his death to its conqueſt by the Romans, except that the unweildineſs of ſo vaſt an empire did probably cauſe it to ſplit itſelf into many petty kingdoms under ſome of his ſucceſſors. This was at leaſt the caſe in which the Roman conqueror found them, when he invaded the Celtic territories, as we have hinted before. As for the changes which it received after it became a part of the Roman empire, this is not a proper place to ſpeak of them; they will be the ſubject of another volume, in which the hiſtory of the European kingdoms will be reſumed.

THESE inteſtine diviſions having once weakened the ſtrength of this large empire, not only the maritime parts did eaſily become a prey to their warlike neighbours, but their frontier provinces likewiſe. Among the firſt Iberia or Spain was diſmembred from it by the Carthaginians, from whom it paſſed to the Romans together with the ſouthern provinces, ſince called Gallia Narbonenſis, and the provinces on the other ſide of the Alps. The Scythians it is likely, did alſo incroach upon them on the north ſide, and very probably ſeized upon that part of their territories, which was afterwards called Scythia in Europe, and drove them quite to the hither ſide of the Danube. For it ſeems moſt natural, that in their firſt migrations the ſame boundaries, which parted Europe from Aſia, did alſo part the Celtic and Scythian dominions. However that be, and whether through the conquering ſword of their neighbours *, or through their inteſtine wars, or want of elbow-room, or whatever other motive might occaſion it, ſure it is, that ſeveral pow-

[n] Sub. voc. εθνος. [o] Hiſt. lib. xxii. c. 44. * See Vol. iv. Hiſt. of the Medes, ſect. iv. parag. 17.

powerful colonies of theſe Celtes or Gauls returned into leſſer Aſia, where, finding almoſt everywhere ſome antient monuments of their progenitors, they ſettled themſelves in ſeveral parts of it by main force, and gave ſome of their new-gotten names to them; ſuch as that of Galatia, Parthia, and ſome others, without which it would be impoſſible to diſtinguiſh theſe latter excurſions and exploits from thoſe by which they had ſignalized themſelves before their migrations into Europe. The firſt of thoſe, as far as it can be diſentangled from the latter, will be beſt ſeen in ſome of the following hiſtories, either of thoſe nations whom they there conquered, or of thoſe by whom they were driven out of their conqueſts.

As for thoſe whom we have ſeen in Europe, we hope our readers are ſatisfied by this time, that if we have choſe to follow a new guide through thoſe dark and remote ages, he has at leaſt conducted us not only more agreeably, but with greater appearance of truth than any other we could have followed, and that the proofs he has taken the pains to extract out of all that we have left of antient records concerning that populous and warlike nation, joined to ſuch a vaſt number of Celtic etymologies, do at leaſt carry a much greater degree of probability than we could meet with any where elſe; and we may add, than we ourſelves could ever have attained, by all the antient monuments extant of that nation, without the help of the Celtic language. Theſe etymologies, which ſeem to ſtrike a light to every paſſage quoted from antient authors, and which we can aſſure our readers we did not take upon truſt, will, we hope, ſufficiently juſtify likewiſe our preferring our learned author's genealogy of the heathen gods to that of Sanchoniatho, which is at beſt but a confuſed medley of ſome dark and imperfect hints ſtolen out of the writings of Moſes, and jumbled with the hiſtory and fables of other nations in honour of his own (B).

We ſubmit, however, to our reader's judgment, whether this genealogy of the heathen deities be not more probable, and more agreeable to the teſtimony of antient authors, than that which our learned biſhop Cumberland has

(B) Though we cannot by any means give into the notion of many learned men, who have ſuppoſed his hiſtory to have been a forgery writ on purpoſe to invalidate the authority of Moſes, as

has endeavoured to give us out of his Phœnician hiſtorian. As for ourſelves, we wiſh we could meet with ſuch another guide to conduct us through the next, but more dark and intricate, hiſtory, that of the Scythians. But hence we muſt be contented to grope in the dark, as all have done before us, who have written of that antient and remote nation, and to make the beſt of thoſe few fragments which antiquity has left us concerning them.

as if he had ſtolen his account of the creation out of the Phœnician Records *, yet we cannot but think it manifeſt, that he had copied that ſacred hiſtorian, and that very bunglingly too, beſides blending and adjuſting his coſmogony and theology with the hiſtory and fables of his time.

What elſe can we think of his dark and univerſal Chaos? his vehement wind-engendering Mot or Motion (for that is the Hebrew meaning of the word), which produced the ſeeds of all things animate and inanimate? the ſun, moon, ſtars, and Sophoſemin or ſpeculators of the heavens? what means his Colpias, but the Almighty word, which ſpoke all things into being, his Bau or Baut, but the Tohu and Bohu of Moſes.

Whoever compares alſo the hiſtory he gives us of the ſecond and third line with what we read in Geneſis, and with what has been quoted in the laſt ſection out of antient authors, concerning Elion Chronos, &c. will eaſily ſee, that it is a meer confuſed mixture of ſacred and profane hiſtory, interlarded with fable, and that if Jerombaal, prieſt of Jahvoh, from whom Porphyry pretends he received his information, be the Gideon of the Jews, who was ſirnamed Jerubaal (31), and might have been miſtaken for a prieſt of Jahvoh, becauſe he is recorded to have ſet up an altar and an ephod to him (32); it is plain, that he made no other

* Vid. int. al. Dodwell's diſſertat. de Sanchoniath. (31) Judg. vi. 32. (32) Ibid. xxiv. & viii. 27.

SECT. V.

The Geography of Scythia.

HOW this prodigious tract of land came at firſt by the name of Scythia, is not eaſy to determine. We have but two tolerable conjectures to offer concerning it, beſides

beſides that monſtrous one which Herodotus gives us from the fabulous Greeks, and which we ſhall for that reaſon throw into the margin (A). The firſt is that which derives that name from the Greek σκυζεθαι, which expreſſes the fierceneſs of their countenance and natural temper; and the other, which derives it from the Teutonic Scheten or Schuten, to ſchool, at which art this nation is affirmed by Herodotus, Lucian, and others [a], to have been ſo ſingularly expert, that this name is ſuppoſed to have been emphatically given them on that account; ſo that according to this ſuppoſition the word Scythian did properly ſignify a great Schooter or Archer. We have, however, obſerved heretofore, that the Tartars and Muſcovites called themſelves Mogli, which we ſuppoſe only an abbreviation of Mogogly, the ſons of Magog. That of Scythian might be either given to them by other nations, or perhaps by the Celtes, whoſe language, as was before obſerved, did not originally differ much either from the Scythian or Teutonic.

THIS

[a] Vid. Gorop. Becan. Heylin. Pezron.

other uſe of thoſe Jewiſh memoirs than to put them in a phantaſtical Phœnician dreſs, ſuch as beſt ſuited the theology of the heathen world, and was moſt likely to challenge an antiquity and authority to the Phœnician records beyond all others, even beyond thoſe of the ſacred penmen, from whom he had his materials.

(A) That author tells, upon the credit of the pontic Greeks, that Hercules being got into Scythia then uninhabited, and the mares which drew his chariot having ſtraggled out of the way, whilſt he refreſhed himſelf with ſleep as he was in ſearch of them, he met with a monſter, half woman and half ſerpent, who promiſed to help him to them upon condition he would lie with her. The hero having performed the bargain, and ſtaid with her till ſhe was tired, ſhe aſked him at parting how he would have her diſpoſe of the three ſons ſhe had now got by him; whereupon he left her one of his bows and his belt, which had a golden cup hanging at the loweſt ſeam, and bid her, when the boys were come to age, to retain him with her that could draw his bow, and ſend the other two away. She followed his orders, and Scytha, who was the youngeſt and proved the ſtrongeſt of the three, became the firſt monarch of that country. And from him all the kings of Scythia bore that name, and wore a cup hanging at their belt (1).

(1) Herodot. lib. iii.

THIS vaſt teritory, which extended itſelf from the Iſter or Danube the boundary of the Celtes, that is from about the 25th to almoſt the 110th degree of eaſt longitude, was therefore divided into Scythia in Europe, and Scythia in Aſia, including, however, the two Sarmatias, or, as they are called by the Greeks, Sauromatias, now the Circaſſian Tartary, which did lie between and ſever the two Scythias from each other. Sauromatia was alſo diſtinguiſhed into European and Aſiatic, and was divided from the European Scythia by the river Don or Tanais, which falls into the Palus Mæotis, and from the Aſiatic by the Rha now Volga, which empties itſelf into the Caſpian ſea [b]. But the Sarmatians differed ſo little from the Scythians in their language, religion, and cuſtoms, if we may believe Herodotus [c], that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe them to have been originally a branch of them, if not their very deſcendants by the Amazons, with whom that author tells us they having intermarried, begot this Sarmatian offspring. But the former ſeems to us the moſt probable, when we conſider how eaſy, ſhort, and regular their migration into that country was from the place of their firſt ſetting out, and that we find in the very center between Armenia and Sarmatia a large province called Iberia, which is much more likely to be that which Joſephus tells us was peopled by Tubal, the brother of Gomer and Magog, than the Celtiberia of Spain. We ſhall not repeat here what we have ſo lately urged againſt this laſt opinion †.

UPON the whole then, we may ſafely venture to ſay, that the two Scythias were only parted by the two boundaries of Europe and Aſia, that is by the river Tanais, deſcending, as is ſuppoſed, from the Riphean mountains (B) into the Palus Mæotis. For beyond theſe mountains north-

[b] Ptolem. Mel. Strab. Cluver. & al.
[c] Herodot. l. iv.
† See before, p. 389. Note E.

(B) Some modern geographers (2), who prove plainly enough that theſe could not be thoſe of Siberia, which are at the diſtance of near ten degrees from the Tanais, are therefore of opinion that they were imaginary, and ſupplied by the fertile fancy of the ancients to furniſh a head to that river. The caſe is

(2) Well's Geogr. ch. ii. note r. & Bochart. ubi ſup. lib. iii. c. 10.

northward we find not that the Scythians advanced into any of thoſe remote regions, ſo that theſe were the proper confines of the Aſiatic Scythia on the weſt. The northern ones reached to the Hyperborean or Frozen ſea, called alſo by the antients, the Scythian ſea, the Cronian, Amalchian, or Almachian, the Dead ſea, and by ſome other names which expreſſed its extreme coldneſs and frozenneſs. On the eaſt they are ſuppoſed to have extended to the promontory of Tabis, and to have been bounded by the Caſſian mountains, which parted Scythia from the kingdom of Seres, now Cattai or northern China; and on the ſouth by the Eoum or Indian ſea, and by mount Caucaſus, and the Caſpian ſea [d].

As to the northern parts of Scythia, their extreme coldneſs made them uninhabitable by any but wolves, bears, and other ſuch-like northern wild-beaſts; and this is probably the reaſon why they ſeem to have been unknown to the antients beyond the 50th degree north. All that reached farther than theſe was called terra incognita, and their notion of their being ſurrounded by the Hyperborean, or northern, ocean, they ſeem rather to have had from conjecture than from experience. But the ſouthern regions, with which they were better acquainted, they divided into three parts; namely Scythia within, and Scythia without, or beyond, Imaus, and Sarmatia, which lay between the former and the European Scythia, which, as we obſerved before, was either a branch of the Scythian nation, or had been by ſome means ſo blended with it, that it differed in little or nothing from it except the name.

THE Aſiatic Scythia did therefore comprehend in general great Tartary and Ruſſia in Aſia, and in particular the Scythia

[d] Ptolem. ubi ſupra. Mela, lib. i. c. 2, 3, 4. Cellar. Cluver. Wells, & al.

is hardly wroth diſputing: and yet ſince we find that Riphath was Gomer's ſecond ſon (3), whoſe migration may have been probably through this region and along this river; it ſeems more reaſonable to think he might leave his name to thoſe mountains S. E. of Moſcow, from which the Don takes its ſource, as moſt other geographers have ſuppoſed he did, than to believe that thoſe antients, who could know nothing either of Riphath or his migrations, ſhould yet ſo luckily hit upon this fictitious name.

(3) Gen. x. 3.

Scythia beyond, or without, Imaus, contained the regions of Bogdoi, or Oſtiacoi, and Tanguti. That within, or on this ſide of Imaus had Turkeſtan and Mongal, the Uſbek, or Zagatai, Kalmuc and Nogaian Tartars, beſides Siberia, the land of the Samoiedes, and the Nova Zembla. Theſe three laſt being then uninhabited, as we ſuppoſe, were wholly unknown to the antients, and the former were peopled by the Bactrians, Sogdians, Gandari, Sacks, and Maſſagetes. As for Sarmatia, it contained Albania, Iberia, and Colchis, which make now the Circaſſian Tartary, and the province of Georgia.

OTHER ſeas, beſides the Frozen and Indian ocean, were the Caſpian (C), and the Euxine, or Black Sea, and the Palus Mæotis. Mountains of note were Taurus, Imaus, and Caucaſus: the firſt, beginning in the province of Aſia Minor called Pamphylia, runs eaſtward through Aſia, and divides it into two parts, the northern and ſouthern. The ſecond lies in Scythia or the greater Tartary: and the third is between the Caſpian and the Euxine ſea [e]. Its rivers, beſides thoſe we have occaſionally mentioned, namely the Rha or Volga, and Tanais or Don, are the Oby, Lena, Amur, and Helum; the latter of which is ſuppoſed to be the Quentung or Shengal; all theſe are in great Tartary. To theſe we may add the Jaxartes, now Jaick, and the Oxus; theſe empty themſelves into the Caſpian Sea: in this ſea there were likewiſe ſome iſlands not diſtinguiſhed by any particular names, but commonly called by that of the Scythian iſlands.

NATURAL rarities we cannot expect in this country, if we except what Herodotus tells us, that thoſe northern regions are altogether inviſible and impaſſable by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of feathers which fill the air and cover the ground, as he was informed by thoſe who inhabited the more ſouthern parts of, who, as he tells us in another place, did doubtleſs miſtake the large flakes of ſnow, which fall in abundance in thoſe cold and mountainous climates, for feathers. It were ſtill more abſurd to ſeek for

[e] Vid. ibid. vid. & Wells. ubi ſupra, c. xii. [f] lib. iv.

(C) Miſtaken by ſome antients for a gulph; but, as it has no viſible communication with the ocean, may be rather called a great lake, if ſea be thought too big a name for it *.

* See before, Vol. iv. ch. 10. ſect. i. parag. 10.

for artificial rarities here, among a people who were ſtrangers to every thing but the art of war and of feeding their cattle, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place.

2. SCYTHIA in Europe, whoſe confines we have already fixed eaſtward from the Tanais, reached towards the ſouth-weſt to the Po and the Alps, by which it was divided from the Celtes, or Celto-Gallia, and by the Rhine northward. It was bounded on the ſouth by the Iſter, or Danube, and the Euxine ſea. As to its northern limits, though it is not eaſy to gueſs at them, they have been ſuppoſed to ſtretch to the ſpring heads of the Boryſtenes or Nieper, and the Rha or Volga, and ſo to that of the Tanais [g] (D).

THE antients divided this country into Scythia Arimaſpæa, which lay eaſtward, joining to Scythia in Aſia, and Sarmatia Europeana on the weſt; theſe two were contiguous to each other, and ſtretched ſome length from north to ſouth, but what divided them aſunder is not eaſy to find out. In Scythia, properly ſo called, were the Arimaſpœi on the north, the Getæ or Dacians along the Danube on the ſouth, and the Neuri between thoſe two. So that it contained the European Ruſſia or Muſcovy, and the leſſer Crim Tartary eaſtward, and on the weſt Lithuania, Poland, part of Hungary, Tranſilvania, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Moldavia. Sarmatia is ſuppoſed to have reached northward to that part of Swedland called Feningia, now Finland, in which they placed the Oœnes, Panoti

[g] Vid. Mel. lib. ii. c. 1. Cluver. Cellar & al.

(D) This is upon the ſuppoſition, hinted before, that the firſt planters of the world did ſpread themſelves along the rivers for the ſake of paſturage and correſpondence; but it is plain, all theſe northern parts were ſo unknown to the antients, that all we can ſay concerning theſe boundaries is merely conjecture. It even appears by what we quoted a little above out of Herodotus, that they could not be inhabited very far north, ſince they were ſo afraid of, and ſo little acquainted with, ſnow.

Mela adds, that about the Riphean mountains, which are placed but between 52 and 55 degrees of north latitude, the ſnows fell in ſuch abundance, that thoſe parts were uninhabited and unpaſſable by any but wild beaſts (4).

(4) lib. ii. c. 1.

noti, and Hippopodes (E), this part they divided from northern Germany, now the weſt part of Sweden and Norway, by the Mare Sarmaticum or Scythicum, which they ſuppoſed ran up into the northern ocean, and divided Lapland into two parts, made the weſtern part of Sweden with Norway into an iſland, and Finland into another; ſuppoſing this alſo to be cut off from the continent by the Gulph of that name.

THIS Scythia had no other Sea than the Sarmatian mentioned before, now called the Baltic, with the Gulphs of Bothnia and Finland, and the white ſea joining to the northern ocean, all unknown to the antients, if we except the Euxine and Palus Mæotis, which bounded it on the South. Lakes of any conſideration we find not, except thoſe of Ladoga and Onega in Finland, which were therefore unknown to the antient Sarmatians. Their chief rivers were on the ſouth, the Donetz or little Tanais, Boryſtenes or Nieper, Bog, Tyras or Nieſter, and the Iſter or Danube, all which emptied themſelves into the Euxine, and on the north eaſt the great and little Dwina which empty themſelves, the firſt into the white ſea, and the other into the Gulph of Finland, and therefore not known to the antients; and the Viſtula on the weſt, which runs

(E) Theſe Oœnians, were ſo called for living moſtly upon the eggs of their ſea-foul, which they eat with oaten cakes. The Hippopodes were ſuppoſed to be ſo called from their having feet like horſes, or from their going barefoot and hardening their feet like horſes hoofs. The Panoti were ſo called from the largeneſs of their ears, which was ſuch that they could cover their whole body with them inſtead of other rayment (5). Some other monſtrous people and creatures are alſo mentioned by Herodotus: of the firſt ſort are the Arimaſpæans, ſo called from the Scythian Arima, one, and Spon, eye; not becauſe they had but one eye, as was abſurdly believed by ſome of the antients, but rather, as Bochart juſtly conjectures, becauſe they were ſuch excellent archers, at which exerciſe it is neceſſary to ſhut one eye, that the nick-name of one-eyed was given them upon that account. To theſe we may add the mountaineers, who are affirmed to have been bald from their infancy; and another ſort which had goats-feet, not unlike the fabulous ſatyrs, beſides ſome monſtrous animals, among which were reckoned the griffins, who digged up and guarded the golden oar or duſt (6), all which ſhews how little were known of theſe regions at that time.

(5) Vid. Mel. iii. c. 8. (6) Herodot. lib. iv.

runs into the Scythian ſea, and divided Sarmatia from Germany (F).

THE whole extent therefore of both Scythias, including the two Sarmatias, reached in longitude from the 20th to the 85th degree or even beyond, and from the Alps to the promontory of Tabis and ſtreight of Anian, and in latitude from Caucaſus to the artic circle above 28 degrees. Herodotus indeed tells us, that the Hyperboreans were not of Scythian race, but another kind of people, one ſort of which were Androphagi, or Men-eaters, fierce and cruel, and another, namely the Baldheads or Agrippeans, a wiſe and peaceable people, eſteemed ſacred by all their neighbours [h]; but he ſpeaks of all thoſe remote nations only by report, and with ſuch diffidence, that he rather confirms what he ſaid before, that thoſe regions were moſt likely unknown, if not uninhabited.

CITIES we find none in either Scythia, no not even a metropolis, though Herodotus mentions a branch of Scythians, called Royal Scythians, whom he places along the banks of Tanais, which river divides them, he ſays, from the Aſiatic Sarmatians [i]. Theſe, as ſhould ſeem from the ſequel of that author, were the only ones who had real kings among them, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection, but ſuch was their ways of living, that they never choſe to

[h] lib. iv. p. 356. & ſeq. Littlebur. Edit. vol. 2. vid. & Mel. lib. iii. c. 9. [i] Herod. ubi ſupra. p. 372.

(F) The ſame author (7) mentions ſeveral other rivers, of which he gives a curious deſcription, as well as of thoſe ſouthern ones which we have mentioned above; but we ſhall refer the reader to our author for thoſe particulars, as well as for the rivers we have omitted, becauſe they are either not taken notice of by our modern geographers, or at leaſt are not reckoned of ſuch great note and uſefulneſs.

We ſhall, however, take notice of what he ſays of the Boryſtenes, which he compares to the Nile in Egypt, and the next in greatneſs to the Danube. This noble river, ſays he, beſides the beauty and fertility which it gives to the adjoining lands, abounds with variety of excellent fiſh and pleaſant water, and doth breed a ſort of whale without ſpinous bones, which the Scythians uſed to ſalt for food. They called it Antachæus; he adds, that towards the mouth of it that river yields abundance of ſalt, which is inceſſantly made by the hand of nature.

(7) idem, ibid.

to dwell in cities or fortified places, but to range about as their convenience or ſafety required. So that we have not much further to add concerning their natural or artificial curioſities. Two things, however, are worth taking notice of under this head, the one was a large ſtone lying by the river Tyres, in which was to be ſeen the print of Hercules's foot, ſaid to have been two cubits long. The other was a brazen bowl of an extraordinary capacity, being ſix inches thick, and containing full ſix hundred amphoras or fifty hogſheads. The occaſion of caſting this monſtrous veſſel we ſhall have occaſion to mention in its proper place.

SECT. VI.

The antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, learning, arts, and trades of the antient Scythians.

government. ALL that can be met with concerning the antiquity and origin of this nation, hath been already mentioned in the firſt ſection of this chapter. How ſoon they began to ſettle themſelves into a regular government, is as impoſſible to gueſs, as of what kind it was. It appears, however, from what we have already hinted out of Herodotus, that one or two tribes at leaſt, that is the royal and free Scythians, were under a monarchical one, and that theſe two made a much greater figure than all the reſt. But whether the former was the eldeſt branch, whether it governed immediately over all the reſt, whether it appointed viceroys over the other provinces of that vaſt country, or whether every tribe had their own princes, as the Philiſtines, whether their ſucceſſion was hereditary or elective, whether deſpotic or ſubject to the laws, we are wholly in the dark. What ſeems moſt probable to us from the little remains we have left of their hiſtory is, that the royal dignity, which was confined to one tribe, might ſtill have a kind of authority over ſome of the reſt, whilſt thoſe who were more remote from the center had lords, laws, and cuſtoms of their own, eſpecially thoſe who inhabited the farther parts of it eaſtward and northward; and this may be the reaſon of that variety of names and characters, which we find in thoſe few ancient writings

we

we have left concerning them. Thus Herodotus tells us, that in proceſs of time, when the Scythians were like to be invaded by Darius, the king, finding himſelf unable to make head againſt the invader, invited all the Scythian princes, namely thoſe of the Taurians, Agathyrſians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlænians, Budians, and Sarmatians, to come to his aſſiſtance; all theſe ſeem to have been different branches of the ſame ſtock, and only degenerated from the royal one by diſtance of time and place. So that by this time they differed much in their manners and cuſtoms, as the ſame author there tells us †. The reſult of this ſummons was, that the three laſt named nations joined with the king of Scythia, but the others refuſed to aſſiſt him, under pretence that he was the firſt aggreſſor. Hence we conclude, that they had ſhaken off the yoke of the royal Scythians ſome conſiderable time before, though they might all have been originally under it. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly of theſe eight tribes or nations in another place; at preſent we confine ourelves to the two moſt conſiderable, the royal and free Scythians, as being the moſt conſiderable and the beſt known of all the reſt.

Laws. WHAT their laws were, we can only gueſs from the excellent character that is given to that nation by ancient hiſtorians. Such indeed ſeems to have been their juſtice, temperance, and contempt of riches and luxury, and ſo ſimple and primitive their way of living, that they could not ſtand in need of a great number of them. Juſtin [a] ſums up their character in words to this effect: The Scythians were a nation, which, though inured to labours, fierce in war, and of prodigious ſtrength, yet could ſo well maſter their affections, that they made no other uſe of their victories than to increaſe their fame. Theft among them was reckoned ſo great a crime and was ſo ſeverely puniſhed, that they could let their numerous flocks wander from place to place without danger of loſing them. Theſe they eſteemed their greateſt wealth, living upon their milk and cloathing themſelves with their ſkins. Inſtead of houſes, they uſed to convey their wives and children about in covered waggons, drawn either by horſes or oxen, and made capacious enough to carry all their other furniture for bedding and for the kitchen. Gold and ſilver were as much deſpiſed by them as they were eſteemed by

† lib. iv. [a] lib. ii. c. 2.

by other nations, ſo that they could not covet that which was of no uſe to them. Did the ſame moderation and diſintereſtedneſs reign among other nations, it would ſoon put an end to our deſtructive wars. What is ſtill more wonderful, theſe virtues, which the Greeks did in vain endeavour to attain by learning and philoſophy, were natural to them, and they reaped thoſe advantages from their ignorance of vice, which the others could not from their knowledge of virtue (A). A nation of this character and way of life could therefore want but few laws to ſecure their property, ſome others they had with relation to religion, cuſtoms, and polity, which forbad under pain of death, any alteration being made in either, which excluded their women from the benefit of marriage, and the men from aſſiſting at their royal feaſt, till they had killed an enemy (B). Some other of their laws we omit here

(A) This excellent character of the Scythians, how exaggerated ſoever it may ſeem in their praiſe, is nevertheleſs confirmed by ſeveral antient hiſtorians and poets; and if a late author (1) had but read the teſtimonies which the learned Bochart has brought to confirm it (2), he would not have ſo lightly accuſed Juſtin of flattering that noble nation at the expence of truth.

(B) With reſpect to the former, Herodotus tells us (3), that Anacharſis, a Scythian of no ſmall conſideration, having in his travels aſſiſted at a feſtival, which the Cizycians celebrated to the mother of the gods, made a vow that if he got ſafe back to Scythia he would introduce the ſame worſhip there. Accordingly after his return he retired privately into ſome woody part of that country, where he performed his vow; but he could not do it ſo ſecretly but a Scythian, who ſaw him at it, acquainted the king with it, who came immediately and ſhot him with an arrow upon the ſpot. And even one of their kings loſt his crown and life for barely attempting to introduce ſome of the Grecian rites and dreſs, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

With reſpect to the ſecond particular, the ſame author tells us, that it often happened, that ſome women, not having the good fortune to kill an enemy, were forced to pine away in a ſhameful celibacy (4). As to the men, he tells us, that every governor of a province, was obliged to make a yearly wine-feaſt to all thoſe who had killed one or more of their enemies, in which they were allowed to carouſe in cups made of the ſculls of the

(1) Annotat. in Juſtin. Delphin. l. ii. c. 2. Note 8. (2) Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 9. (3) lib. iv. (4) Id. ibid. vid. & Mela. lib. iii. c. 9. D. Sicul. Strab. & al.

here, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the courſe of this hiſtory; upon the whole, what appears of them ſeems wholly calculated to prevent luxury, fraud, and covetouſneſs, and to cheriſh that martial ſpirit, for which they are ſo juſtly famed in hiſtory.

It ought not to be objected here, that ſome of the Scythian tribes bear a quite different character, ſome of them being of ſuch fierce and cruel diſpoſition, as even to eat the fleſh of their enemies. Thoſe, as was hinted before, were, if under the ſame government, at ſuch great diſtance from the center of it, as to be out of the reach of its laws. Add to it, that as the inclemency of the air in thoſe remote regions might probably incline them to cruelty; ſo the diſtance and barrenneſs of their country might make them leſs heeded, and probably more incapable of being reſtrained by the common laws. However, it muſt be owned, with reſpect to the warlike temper even of the true Scythians, that it was not without a great mixture of cruelty, if the Greek hiſtorians have not wilfully miſrepreſented them, as we ſhall ſee by-and-by.

If me may gueſs by ſome few ſucceſſions we find mentioned in hiſtory, it ſeems, their crown was hereditary, and yet their kings not ſo deſpotic as not to be depoſed, or even put to death, for the violation of their laws. This is plain from the inſtance we hinted at in the laſt note, where Scyles having been found celebrating the Bacchanalia of the Greeks, his ſubjects revolted from him, and elected his brother Octomaſades, who ſoon after took off his head. In all other caſes their kings ſeem to have been in high eſteem with the people, as we may gueſs from the following circumſtance out of Herodotus.

When any of their monarchs fell ſick, they ſent immediately for three of their moſt famous prophets (C), who

the ſlain, and in proportion to the number of them; whilſt thoſe who had not as yet ſignalized themſelves like them, were forced to ſtand at a diſtance, beholding the feaſt and excluded from taſting of it.

(C) Theſe were only a kind of pretended conjurers, who conſulted certain omens, and divined, or made a ſhew of divining, by willow ſticks gathered up into bundles, which they looſened and ſpread upon the ground, and then taking and bundling them up again, uttering all the while ſome conjuring words. It was by this art that they pretended to dive into hidden cauſes and to prey into futurity. The Scythians ſeem to have been very much addicted

who commonly told him, that some Scythian whom they named had perjured himself by swearing by the royal throne, which it seems was their most solemn oath. The accused person was thereupon seized, and accused before the king of having brought this distemper upon him by his perjury. If he denied the fact, more prophets were sent for; if they confirmed the evidence, the man was immediately beheaded, and his goods were divided among the three first accusers. But if they acquitted him, a new supply of them was to be sent for; and if the majority of them did absolve him, then the first accusers were tied hand and feet, and set in a cart loaded with faggots and drawn by oxen. And after they had stopt the false prophets mouths, as they then called them, they set fire to the wood, which consumed the cart and men, and seldom failed burning the oxen to death. Our author adds, that the male-children of those whom the king condemned to death seldom escaped the same fate.

Another instance of their great respect for their monarchs is the pompous solemnity of their funerals, which was performed as follows: the embalmers received the body covered with wax, they opened and cleansed the belly, and having filled it with bruised cypress, incense, parsley, and anise-seeds, they sewed it up again, and placed the corpse on a chariot, and conveyed it from one tribe to another through all the provinces of his kingdom. Every province, where they received the funeral procession, was obliged to imitate the royal Scythians in their mournful ceremonies, which consisted in cutting off one part of their ear, shaving their heads, wounding themselves in their forehead, nose, and arm, and piercing their left hand with

addicted to this kind of superstition," by the great number of these sham diviners which they had amongst them. Nor was this trade confined to the men: the women had much the larger share of it; and as they did not pretend to prognosticate by means of those wands, or any other conjuring tricks, but rather by an immediate inspiration from some of their deities, they were held in the greatest veneration; and their oracles, which were consulted upon all emergencies, were received as the infallible answers or commands of the Gods, and obeyed with the same readiness †.

† Vid. Keysser. antiq. Septentr. Dissert. V.

with an arrow; and in this guise they accompanied the hearse to the next province, till it came at length to that of the Gerrians, which was the remotest in the kingdom, and was situate along that part of the Borysthenes where it begins to be navigable. Here the corpse was deposited into a large square hole made in the earth, upon a bed incompassed round with spears, which they covered with timber: and spread a canopy over the whole monument. In the vacant places of it they placed one of his concubines, a cook, a groom, a waiter, a messenger, some horses, all strangled, and a number of necessary utensils, and among others some golden cups. This being done, they threw the earth upon it, endeavouring to raise the mound as high as they could. As soon as the year was expired, they chose fifty young men of the king's officers, who were always to be Scythians, those monarchs having the power of chusing whom they pleased to their service, and never being attended by slaves. These young men, with an equal number of horses, were strangled, their bowels were taken out, and their bellies stuffed with straw. The bodies of the young men were set astride upon the horses, and fastened to them by an iron stake. The horses thus mounted were set upon semicircular boards supported by four pieces of timber, and placed at a convenient distance from each other round the monument, the horses having a loose rein fastened to another post set up for that purpose [b].

Religion. The Scythians worshipped a plurality of gods and goddesses, but that which they reckoned their principal deity was Vesta, whom they called Tabiti. The two next were Jupiter, whom they called Papeus, and Apia, or the earth, which they esteemed his wife. Jupiter, it seems, they challenged as their progenitor, and Vesta for their queen, as appears by the answer which one of their kings sent to Darius, when he came to subdue them to his

Deities, empire *; besides these they worshipped Apollo, the celestial Venus, and Neptune, under the names Œtosyrus, Artimpasa, and Thamimasades. But their favourite god seems to have been that of war, to whom alone they de-

Mars, dicated temples, altars, and images. How his temples were built, which Herodotus speaks of, he doth not tell

[b] Herodot. l. iv.

* Id. ibid. See before, p. 20. Note L.

us, neither is it eaſy for us to gueſs. It doth not even appear from any other antient authors, or from any other monuments, that ever they built any properly ſo called. Groves indeed, and very ſumptuous ones too, they were famous for erecting to this deity. In theſe they affected to have one or more oaks of a monſtrous ſize, which were accounted ſo ſacred, that it was ſacrilege, and was puniſhed with the ſevereſt death, to lop ſo much as a branch or ſprig, or even to wound the bark. Theſe they never failed to ſprinkle plentifully with the blood of their victims, inſomuch, that the rind of ſome of the oldeſt of them was covered, or even incruſtate, with it †. We are therefore inclined to believe, that Herodotus, who learned theſe things by word of mouth, and had never ſeen them himſelf, might, for want of a good interpreter, miſtake them for temples, and ſuppoſe them to be built like thoſe of other nations.

How ſpacious theſe groves muſt have been, may be ſeen in the laſt quoted antiquarian, or be gueſſed at by the vaſt extent of the altars, which, Herodotus tells us, they erected in them to that favourite deity, one of which at leaſt they were obliged to have in every precinct. It was to be made of ſmall wood tied up into bundles, and to cover three ſtades of land in length and breath, though it was not proportionable in its height. The top of it, which was quadrangular, had three ſides perpendicular, and the fourth had a gradual declivity to render the top of it eaſy of acceſs. One hundred and fifty loads of faggots were to be brought yearly to each altar, to ſupply thoſe which had been putrified by the inclemency of the winter. On the top of each of theſe heaps was erected an old iron ſcymetar, which ſtood there as the image, or rather emblem, of the deity. To him, beſides all other cattle, in common with their other gods, and in much greater number, they ſacrificed horſes, which were a martial creature; and, what was ſtill more ſhocking, every hundredth man they took priſoner from their enemies. This laſt bloody offering was made by pouring a libation of wine upon the captive's head, after which they cut his throat, and received his blood into a bowl, with which, aſcending to the top of the altar, they went and waſhed the deity's ſword. As to this victim, they only cut off his right

Altars.

Human ſacrifices.

† Vid. Keyſler. antiq. Septentr. Diſſert. 3. & alib. paſſ.

arm cloſe to the ſhoulder, and throwing it up into the air they left it expoſed in the place where it fell, and the reſt of the body in that where it was killed.

As to their other victims, which they ſacrificed either to Mars or to any other deity, they obſerved the ſame rites every where without variation; they brought the beaſt and tied its four feet together with a ſlip-knot, and he who officiated as prieſt came behind, and at once looſed the cord and knocked the victim down. Whilſt it was falling, he called upon the deity to whom it was offered, and then ſtrangled it with a cord which he twiſted with a ſtick; and as ſoon as it was dead he ſet about flaying and dreſſing it, without any previous libation or ceremony. The fleſh was put into pots, and whenever theſe were not ready at hand into the paunch of the creature, mixing with it a proportionable quantity of water; and if wood could not be had, they burnt the bones inſtead of it. When the fleſh was ſufficiently boiled, the prieſt made an offering of part of the meat and inteſtines to the deity by throwing it before its altar, and the reſt was, we may ſuppoſe, beſtowed to feaſt the prieſt and votaries. Thus in caſes of neceſſity, as when they went out to war and the like, they made the victim furniſh them with all things neceſſary for the ſacrifice. Of all the beaſts the horſe was eſteemed the nobleſt, and conſequently the moſt acceptable victim. As for ſwine, they deteſted it, not only as unfit to eat, but even to be ſuffered to live among them. They took care alſo to offer to their gods the firſt-fruits of their cattle, ground, and of the ſpoil they took in war. Some conſiderable part of the latter they were wont to ſend to the Delphic Apollo: it was uſually conveyed thither by a number of their moſt honourable virgins, and under a ſufficient eſcort. But the length and difficulty of the way, and the dangers, and other obſtacles of the journey, our author tells us †, obliged them to diſcontinue it. This is all that we find remarkable concerning their religion.

But before we come to ſpeak of their manners, cuſtoms, and ſuch other particulars, it will be neceſſary to caution our readers once for all, that as we recieve a great part of our intelligence from Herodotus, Homer, and other Greek authors, who cannot be ſuppoſed to have been well affected to the Scythians, by whom their country

† Herodot. lib. iv.

try had been ſo often invaded, plundered, ravaged, and ſometimes almoſt deſtroyed; we muſt not give too implicit a credit to many things which they relate, very much to the diſhonour of that ancient and warlike nation. Some of them we ſhall have occaſion to confute in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and others are of ſo horrid a nature as to exceed our belief, eſpecially when we compare them with the character which Juſtin gives of them, and as it has been learnedly vindicated by Bochart, as we have lately ſhewn; this caution once premiſed, we hope our readers will the better judge of what we are now going to give out of thoſe authors concerning the cuſtoms of this nation, which are not to be found in any of them, without ſome mixture of barbarity.

Contracts. THUS we are told, that their alliances and contracts were ratified with the following ceremonies: they poured ſome wine into an earthen veſſel, into which the contracting parties were to mingle ſome of their own blood, which they drew by a ſlight inciſion made in ſome part of their body. They then dipped into the mixture the prints of ſome warlike weapons, ſuch as a ſcymetar, arrow, dart, javelin, or battle-ax. The parties then uttered ſome dire imprecations on the firſt breaker of the covenant, and having took each of them a draught of the liquor, they deſired ſome of the moſt conſiderable among the by-ſtanders to pledge them, and to be witneſſes of the contract, which being uſually complied with by them, the bargain was reckoned ſo ſacred, that they thought no puniſhment ſevere enough either in this life or in the next for the breaker of it.

Valour. THEIR warlike temper and exploits were ſufficiently known to the antients; ſcarce is there any nation to be met with in hiſtory ſo famous for conquering where-ever they carried their arms, even as auxiliaries, and themſelves remaining ſtill unconquered. Their frugal and ſimple manner of life may indeed be ſuppoſed to have been a great preſervative againſt ſuch invaſions, as other more opulent and luxurious nations were expoſed to. But 'tis plain, this was not always the caſe, ſince we find they were once invaded by the king of Perſia at the head of a moſt puiſſant army, from the power of which nothing but their valour and policy could have delivered them: but of this in its proper place, as well as of their conqueſt of greater Aſia, which could not be wreſted out of their hands but by the blackeſt treachery. But upon the whole, ſuch was their

ſtrength and courage whenever they entered into an offenſive or defenſive war, that, as Thucydides himſelf tells us, no nation, either in Europe or Aſia, could equal them either for ſtrength, valour, or conduct; nor indeed any thing reſiſt their power, provided they were but unanimous among themſelves [b].

SUCH care they took to cultivate this martial genius among them, that even their women were inured to it betimes, inſomuch, that they could not be admitted into matrimony till they had killed at leaſt one enemy with their own hands [c], as we have hinted already. As for their youth, they were not without ſome conſiderable encouragements to inſpire them with martial valour, or indeed rather ferocity, if Herodotus doth not bely them: for he tells us, that they were wont to drink the blood of the firſt priſoner they took, and to preſent the heads of all the men they killed in fight to their monarch; theſe were either returned or regiſtered, and intitled the perſon to ſeveral privileges, ſuch as being preſent at ſome public feaſts, ſharing the ſpoil of their enemies, and ſuch like; to which no man was to pretend till he had killed at leaſt one enemy. As therefore the worth and merit of a man did riſe in proportion to the number of heads he had knocked off, they uſed to take the ſkins of the ſlain, to ſtretch, dry, and tan them, and then hang them at their horſes bridles, where they ſerved both for trophies and napkins to the owner; he being always moſt eſteemed who wore the greateſt number of them. Their pride, or rather barbarity, if we may believe our author, went ſo far with ſome of them, that they took off and dreſſed the whole ſkins of the ſlain, and covered both their quivers and horſes, and ſometimes decked their own bodies with them *.

HAD they only exerciſed this kind of ſavage pride againſt thoſe who came to invade them, it might indeed admit of ſome mitigation, as it would have been done not only in defence of their country and in determent to all invaders of it; but as they might naturally enough think ſuch men deſerved no better fate, who attempted the conqueſt of a country, which had nothing to tempt or ſatisfy

[b] lib. ii. ſect. 97. [c] Vid. Herodot. ubi. ſupra. Plat. de leg. ib. vii. Hippocrat. N Damaſcen. Juſtin. & al. * Herodot. ubi ſupr.

fy the avarice or ambition of the conqueror (D). But it doth not appear from our author, that they gave much better quarters to thoſe whoſe territories they did invade. And it would have been cruel and impolitic in them to have condemned their young women to celibacy, till they were able to produce ſome ſuch trophies of their martial proweſs, if they were not to be gained in any but a defenſive war, which their poverty joined to their known valour will not permit us to ſuppoſe to have been frequent enough for that end. It is then more likely from what we quoted above out of Thucydides, that as they are affirmed to have lived moſtly upon plunder, inſtead of going out of their vaſt territories, they made mutual incurſions one tribe againſt another, which they again retaliated upon the firſt opportunity, without forgetting, however, their affinity ſo far, as not to joyn their forces againſt a common enemy or invader, whenever neceſſity required it.

How populous the Scythians were is not agreed. If it be allowed, that they made ſuch frequent and bloody inroads one upon another, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that it muſt have thinned them exceedingly. On the other hand, if we conſider their plain and laborious way of living, their climate, conſtant exerciſe, hardineſs, and other ſuchlike advantageous circumſtances, which rendered them luſty and ſtrong, prolific and long-lived, one can hardly conceive, they could be other than a populous nation: for we are told, that very few died of ſickneſs, but all in general lived to a good old age, inſomuch, that many of them being weary of the world before death took them out

(D) This was the argument which, Juſtin tells us (5), they made uſe of to diſſuade the king of Egypt from attempting a war againſt them, for, ſaid they to his heralds, it were madneſs for the opulent Egyptians to invade ſo poor a nation as ours, where they could get nothing but death and wounds: whereas the Scythians would fall upon them with utmoſt fierceneſs at the ſight of ſo rich plunder as victory would intitle them to. Such a meſſage they ſent afterwards to Darius when he had entered Scythia, that as they had neither cities, houſes, fields, vineyards, nor indeed any other valuable treaſures in their country, except their families, and the ſepulchres of their anceſtors, for which, however, they were always known to fight with uncommon bravery; the invader ran a much greater riſk than they (6).

(5) lib. ii. c. 2. (6) Vid. & Herodot. l. iv.

out of it; it was uſual with ſuch to haſten their exit by throwing themſelves from ſome eminence into the ſea or into ſome river [d]. Herodotus, however, who ſeems in doubt whether they were indeed ſo populous as ſome, or ſo thin as other, reports repreſent them, gives us an authentic inſtance and monument in favour of the former, which is as follows: they had it ſeems a cuſtom, not uncommon to other nations *, at their firſt taking of the field to muſter their fighting men, and to make every man caſt an arrow, or, according to our author, the head or point of one, into a proper receptacle, which at their return from the expedition was again taken up. By this they could eaſily compute not only the number of their men, but alſo that of their ſlain, or of thoſe who either ran away, or abſented themſelves from the war. It was at ſome ſuch muſter as this that one of their kings, whom Herodotus named Ariantes [e], being preſent, and obſerving theſe heads of arrows to amount to an immenſe bulk and weight, as he had indeed a prodigious army under him, ordered them to be melted and caſt, or made into that large capacious veſſel we have lately ſpoken of and which, our author tells us, was ſtill extant in his time, and though full ſix inches thick, yet was large enough to hold 600 amphoras, that is, about 50 hogſheads, and remained ſtill a monument of this prodigious army. There is indeed no making of an exact eſtimate from this ſtory, ſuppoſing it literally true: but might not this unwieldy veſſel have been at firſt deſigned only to keep the arrows which every ſoldier threw in, and the other part of the ſtory have been foiſted in proceſs of time. However, ſuppoſing the fact as related, and that it muſt have been a prodigious army that could furniſh metal enough for ſuch a monſtrous veſſel, yet might it not neceſſarily follow, that the Scythian nation was more populous than its neighbours, conſidering the vaſt extent of it. But what ſeems to be a ſtronger argument for it is, the colonies which they were continually ſending out, chiefly towards the ſouthern parts of the world, of which we ſhall have further occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel.

As they cultivated no art nor ſciences except that of war, nor ſcarcely any trade or commerce except paſturage, the reader muſt expect us to be very barren on theſe two heads

[d] Mela, lib. iii. c. 5. Herodot. & al.
[e] lib. iv.
* See before, p. 17.

heads. Thucydides in the place above quoted ſeems indeed to commend their induſtry and ſagacity in procuring all things neceſſary for life, in ſuch a manner, as would incline one to believe them to have been great encouragers of induſtry and manufacture: and another Greek author ſpeaks much of the trade and commerce which they carried on with all the ſea-coaſts of the Helleſpont *. But as to the latter, we are much inclined to believe, that, like ſome of his predeceſſors, he has miſtook them for the Celtes, who, as we have obſerved in a former ſection, were become great merchants both by ſea and land under their king Mercury. For as for the Scythians, their way of living was altogether incompatible with it, as will appear by-and-by. They do not ſo much as ſeem to have known any thing of writing, till they brought it with them from Aſia, after their twenty-eight years invaſion of it: neither do we find any footſteps of their having had ſuch poetic hiſtorians as were the Curetes among the Celtes, or the Bards and Druids among the Gauls. Herodotus, who has wrote ſo much concerning them, doth not ſo much as hint his haveing received his intelligence from any of their records, but barely from tradition; and that is one reaſon why we omit many fabulous things he has ſaid of them from the common report of their neighbours; ſince it is hardly to be expected, they either could, or would, give a true character of a nation, with whom they had no commerce except in a hoſtile way.

THEIR language is ſtill more unknown to us, whatever diſcoverics ſome modern antiquarians may fancy to have made about it. The vaſt extent of their territories, together with their intermingling with other nations, could not but cauſe it to ſplit itſelf into a vaſt number of dialects, from which moſt probably have ſprung the Muſcovitiſh, Slavonick, Poliſh, Daniſh, Swediſh, Saxon, and many others; between which, one can but barely diſcover affinity enough to make us believe them ſprung from the ſame mother. This we may, however, venture to affirm, as more than a probable conjecture from a viſible vein of the Celtic ſtill preſerved, as we have ſeen to this day among us, and which runs through all thoſe various languages; that they did not antiently differ much more from it, than the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. Neither is it ſo much Language.

to

* Dictys Cret. de bell. Troj. l. ii. c. 8.

to be wondered at, that they ſhould have branched out into ſuch a vaſt variety, as that they ſhould ſtill preſerve ſo much of their priſtine affinity as we find they do. We have in a former ſection endeavoured to account for the great number of words and phraſes that are found not only in thoſe northern languages, but alſo in the Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Perſic, which ſhew them to have been ſo many dialects of the old Celtic; if thoſe few relics of the Scythians, which we have left in the names of their kings, tribes, and diſtricts, do not ſo plainly appear to be of Celtic extraction, we muſt remember, they have paſt through ſo many different hands, and have ſo often changed their dreſs, eſpecially among the Greeks, that they may be eaſily ſuppoſed to have quite loſt their antient form. We may add, that ſome of them are perfectly Greek, or tranſlated from the Scythian into that language (F).

Manufactures.

THEIR chief manufactures ſeem to have conſiſted moſtly in building their waggons for their families and baggage, which being covered with the ſkins of beaſts, they muſt have had ſome notion of tanning them, as well as thoſe with which they covered their own bodies. We may likewiſe reaſonably ſuppoſe, that they fabricated their own weapons, which were ſcymetars, javelins, axes, but eſpecially bows and arrows, at which they are ſaid to have been ſo expert, that their very children were trained to ſhoot at a mark even as they rode on horſeback; inſomuch, that it became a common proverb, that the Scythians were as dextrous at their bow, as the Greeks were at their lyre. Hence Cyaxares, king of Media, is reported to have ſent his ſon to be brought up under them to learn the uſe of the bow. They were no leſs expert horſemen [f] (G), inſomuch, that we find them called ἱπποτοξόται by Herodotus

[f] Herodot. lib. i.

(F) Of this kind is the name of the Oœnes, a Scythian tribe, ſo called in Herodotus from their living upon the eggs of wild fowl, and comes from the Greek ωον. The Nomades were ſo called from νομὴ paſture. Of the ſame extraction, were the Hyppopodes, Androphagi, and ſeveral others, which we need not point out to the reader.

(G) This the learned Bochart obſerves the words of the prophet (7) to allude to, where ſpeaking of the army of Magog or Scythia,

(7) Ezek. xxxviii. 3.

rodotus and Lucian. and their very women are affirmed to have been ſo well inured to riding and ſhooting, that they did not come one jot behind the men [g]. The antients obſerve, that they had neither mules nor aſſes; and the reaſon they give is, that the country was too cold for thoſe creatures. Experience has ſince ſhewn the contrary, at leaſt with reſpect to the latter; but the true reaſon ſeems to be, that their horſes, which they bred in great quantities, could anſwer all the purpoſes of the other two, and at the ſame time be more ſwift and expeditious than they, whenever occaſion required it.

As for agriculture, it doth not appear that they had any. Herodotus indeed tells us of one province of them, whoſe inhabitants called themſelves Olbiopolitans, and the Greeks Boryſthenians, as they lived on the north ſide of that river; and theſe he likewiſe called huſbandmen, becauſe they ſowed grain, not for food, but for ſale [h]. But the reſt of the Scythians wholly neglected it, chuſing rather to roam where they found the beſt paſture for their cattle, and contenting themſelves with the ſpontaneous product of the earth without being at the trouble of manuring it. And this is in all likelihood the cauſe why we read of ſo many deſarts, vaſt foreſts, and large uninhabited tracts of land between tribe and tribe, in the writings of antient hiſtorians and geopraphers. What they did with the wool of their flocks we read not, but by their cloathing themſelves with the ſkins of wild or tame beaſts [i], as we are told they did, one may conclude, they did not manufacture it. And as thoſe ſkins were of their own dreſſing, they wanted ſtill leſs the help of foreign manufactures. Smiths they muſt have had, both for their various arms, making their waggons, and other neceſſary tools; and as to their arrows, darts, javelins, and ſuch like weapons, *if* their heads were made of copper, as it is probable they were, if the ſtory we have

[g] Id. lib. iv. Lucian. in Toxar. & Hermot. Mela, lib. i. c. 21. iii. iv. Bochart. ubi ſupra, & al. [h] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Juſtin, lib. ii. c. 2. Mela & al. [i] Id. ibid.

thia, he calls their horſe סוסים פרשים לבושי מיכלול. Suſſim uparaſhim lebuſhe Miklol, horſes and horſemen, cloathed with perfection, or completely diſciplined and armed, or, as Kimki renders it, expert in all kind of weapons, and our Engliſh verſion cloathed with all kind of armour; for ſuch it appears the Scythian horſe were.

have related above of the large copper veſſel that was made of them be literally true, there was ſtill leſs art required in making them, ſince they might eaſily caſt them in a mould. Their bows might alſo be made of the ſame metal like thoſe of other antient nations, though it is not improbable, they might alſo have ſome ſmiths to forge iron and ſteel weapons, beſides thoſe they might take from their enemies. It is indeed hardly to be ſuppoſed, they could make their waggons without the help of ſuch artiſts, though upon the whole it doth appear, that they wanted as few trades as any nation, and uſed none they could poſſibly do without:

THEIR chief riches and food conſiſting in their numerous herds, they entruſted the care of them to ſhepherds, who were a lower rank of Scythians below the martial men, and had ſlaves and captives under them. They uſed to move from paſture to paſture, with the perſons and families which were unfit to go to the wars. Theſe did chiefly live upon honey and milk, eſpecially that of their mares, from which creature, if Herodotus was rightly informed, they had a ſtrange way of forcing plenty of it by blowing wind into their privities. What proviſions the warlike ſort made, when they were abſent from their flocks, we cannot gueſs, and it is likely when they came into an enemies country, they took care to ſeize upon all the cattle they could meet with.

Shepherds and martial-men.

FROM an inſtance or two we read of their kings, it ſeems as if they allowed of polygamy, and were not over ſtrict in their marriages. Some we find took wives from other nations, and one of them we read of, who married his own father's widow, but whether the ſame liberty was allowed to private men we cannot affirm. The reaſon the Scythians gave for abhorring the bacchanalian feaſts of the Greeks, namely, that it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that a god ſhould drive men into all the violent tranſports of madneſs, ſeems to ſhew, that drunkenneſs was not common among them. And indeed we do not find, that they were much given to feaſting. One wine-feaſt they had, however, once a year in every diſtrict, for thoſe who, as we hinted before, had ſignalized themſelves by killing one or more of their enemies. Another we read of, which was uſed at funerals, and with which we ſhall cloſe this article, ſince we have no more to ſay concerning their other cuſtoms.

Polygamy.

Feaſting.

WE

WE have already ſpoken of the funeral obſequies which they paid to their monarchs. When any other perſon died, his neareſt relations cauſed his embalmed body to be carried in a chariot from houſe to houſe among his friends and acquaintance, who received and feaſted them in their turn, ſetting part of the ſame things before the deceaſed, which they did to their gueſts. This was continued forty days, after which the perſon was buried, and his attendants went and purified themſelves, not by any ablution, but by the ſmoke of ſome hemp-ſeed peculiar to the country, which, being thrown upon ſome burning ſtones, emitted a much more agreeable perfume than the frankincenſe uſed in Greece, and ſo tranſported the company as to ſet them a howling aloud. This ſerved inſtead of waſhing, which the Scythians, our author tells us, never practiſed. Not even the women, who uſed, inſtead of it, to anoint their bodies and face with a paſte, which they made with cypreſs, cedar, and frankincenſe, ground upon a rough ſtone, and ſoaked in water, which paſte, being taken off the next day, rendered their ſkins clean, ſhining, and ſweet [i].

Funeral obſequies.

How their women preſerved their beauty.

THERE remains, that we ſhould ſay a word or two of thoſe other petty kingdoms of Scythia, and of ſome particularities, wherein they differed from the royal Scythians. For whether they were all really deſcended from the ſame ſtock, as we ſuppoſed it in the beginning, or whether they did ſpring from ſome other of Magog's brethren, yet ſince they inhabited ſo conſiderable a part of Scythia, and made ſuch figure in the hiſtory of their wars in conjunction with the royal tribes, we cannot well omit at leaſt thoſe of the greateſt note.

THE Samaritans, we have already hinted, are affirmed by Herodotus, to have been the offspring of the Scythians (H) and Amazons. Theſe warlike women, or, as their

Sarmatians.

Scythians

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(H) Some authors, however, from a paſſage in Pliny (8), where he tells us, that they were reported to be deſcended from the Medes; and another out of Juſtin, who tells us, that the language of the Parthians was a mixture of Scythic and Mediſh (9), have ſuppoſed, that the Sarmatians, who moſt reſemble the Parthians, were the offspring of the Medes; and that the name of Sarmatian was only a corruption of the Chaldee שראר גורי Sheer

(8) lib. vi. c. 7. (9) lib. xli

Scythian name Aior Patta imports, Man-ſlayers, in their flight from the Grecians having landed near the precipices of the Palus Meotis belonging to the free Scythians, and having been perſuaded to be married to them, did in their turn prevail upon them to leave that part of Scythia, where they pretended they could not conveniently live with them, and to paſs into the province of Sarmatia on the other ſide of the Tanais. Hence our author ſays, the Sarmatian women retained ſtill the Amazonian temper and way of life, being more warlike than the reſt of the Scythian females, and the language of the country became a corrupt Scythian, becauſe the Amazons never could perfectly learn that language, but taught it their offspring, corrupt as themſelves ſpake it. Here it chiefly was, that virgins were unqualified for matrimony till they had diſpatched an enemy in the field [k].

Taurians. THE Taurians had this inhuman cuſtom, that they ſacrificed to a virgin all that were ſhipwrecked, and all the Grecians which they caught upon their coaſts. This bloody offering was performed by knocking the perſon on the head with a club, after many dire imprecations, and flinging his carcaſs down the hill on which their temple was built, or, as others told our author, by burying the body, and reſerving only the head to be ſtuck on a pole. Theſe Taurians pretended, that the virgin Demon whom they thus worſhipped was Iphigenia Agamenon's daughter. They lived chiefly by war and rapine, and were very cruel

[k] Id. ibid. Mela, ubi ſupra.

Sheer Madai (10), a reſidue or ſprout of the Medes. We can affirm nothing certain about it, but yet we think Herodotus may be more relied upon than the other two, who ſpoke at a much greater diſtance of time and place than he. However, if what they ſay be true, it proves what we obſerved before, that the deſcendants of Gomer and his brothers did make their migrations as it were in columns, and only ſeparated by degrees from each other.

As to the Parthians, though their name in the Scythic and Celtic ſignifies ſeparated, it ſeems probable, that they were rather Gomerians or Celtes driven out by their own countrymen, who having forced themſelves into a country of the Medes, were by them called Parthians, or baniſhed (11).

(10) Vid. Mela, lib. iii. c. 4. & alib. Bochart. lib. iii. c. 14. (11) Vid. Pezron. Ant. Nat. ch. iv.

el to thoſe that fell into their hands. The Agathyrſians are ſaid to have had their women in common, in order to link the men more ſtrictly together, and to prevent jealouſies and other ill effects of matrimony. The Neurian province being infeſted with dangerous ſerpents, they were at length forced to leave it for that of the Budians. They obſerved the cuſtoms of Scythia in moſt particulars, only pretended to greater ſkill in magic than they, and were reported to be transformed into wolves for a few days, after which they reſumed their own ſhape [l]. Agathyrſians. Neurians.

THE worſt of all were the Androphagi or Men-eaters, who obſerved neither law nor juſtice, and had nothing in common with the reſt, but their dreſs and breeding of cattle. The Melanchœnians were ſo called for affecting to go always in black: they followed the Scythian cuſtoms, except that they fed upon human fleſh, which the free Scythians did not, nor indeed any other tribes, at leaſt as common food, but only on ſome particular occaſions, ſuch as we ſhall have occaſion to mention by-and-by. The Budians were a populous nation famed for blue eyes and red hair: in this province above all the reſt did they build them a city, and called it Gelonus, whoſe houſes and high walls were of timber, and each ſide of the walls was three hundred ſtades in length: it had temples and chapels dedicated to the Grecian gods; and here they celebrated the Bacchanalia triennially. The people of the province differed from that of the city, in that the former applied themſelves to the keeping of cattle, and theſe to till their land, plant gardens, and live upon the product of them and of their corn-fields; in a word, theſe Gelonians had ſo much better minds than the Budians, that they ſeemed, and in our author's opinion really were, another people. This province yielded otters, beavers, and other ſuch animals: their ſkins ſewed together were uſed for garments, and the teſticles againſt hyſteric diſeaſes. The Oœnes, Panoti, Arimaſpæi in Scythia Europeana we have ſpoken of in a former note, and have nothing more to add to it here, except that they did more reſemble the royal Scythians than any others, in moſt particulars, eſpecially in their warlike genius, and ſimplicity of living. Budians or Androphagi. Gelonians.

THE laſt two nations or tribes of Scythians worth our notice were the Scythian Nomades, inhabiting, as we have

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid.

Scythian Nomadess

have ſeen upon the north-weſt of the Caſpian ſea, and the Maſſagetes on the eaſt. As for the Amazons, as they are accounted ſomewhat fabulous, we ſhall ſpeak of them in a ſeperate note (I.) The Nomades differed ſo little from

(I) Concerning theſe ſo famed and ſo much queſtioned female warriors, it were endleſs to trouble ourſelves with all that has been written on either ſide; thoſe ſeem to come neareſt the truth, who neither altogether reject what has been ſaid of them by the antients, nor altogether credit all the wonders that are recorded of them. If we compare the warlike genius of the Scythian women in general, and more particularly that of the Sarmatians, in whoſe neighbourhood lived theſe Amazons if they were not originally of the ſame blood, with the occaſion which gave birth to this ſtrange kind of government, namely, the treacherous murder of their huſbands, and their being in danger of becoming a prey to their murderers and in a ſtrange country; If, I ſay, we conſider all theſe circumſtances, there will be nothing ſo improbable in the brave and maſculine method they took to ſave themſelves from ſlavery and to revenge the ſlaughter of their huſbands. We may add, that the Scythian as well as Celtic women were anciently held in great authority and veneration, for their ſkill in divination above the men, inſomuch, that the latter are even upbraided by antient authors (12) for ſuffering them to aſſiſt at and ſteer their councils as they pleaſed, and to have even preſided in all courts of judicature and other aſſemblies; in which their judgment was generally reckoned deciſive, becauſe they were ſuppoſed to be divinely inſpired (13). Being therefore thus inured to council, execution, and warlike exploits, exaſperated by the treacherous butchery of their huſbands, and become, as it were, deſperate at the proſpect of their impending ſlavery; we need not wonder, that they ſo ſoon fell upon the moſt effectual means of making a noble defence, and like ſo many heriones, having choſen one or two of the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt among them to lead them to an offenſive war againſt their enemies, they carried it on with ſuch courage and conſtancy, and with ſuch ſuprizing ſucceſs. And if their warlike temper, their government, cuſtoms, valour, conduct, and atchievements, have been exaggerated beyond credibility, it is no more than hath been done with reſpect to other nations, governments, kingdoms, and conquerors, whom it were nevertheleſs abſurd to treat as fabulous upon that account. It is certainly more equitable to make the ſame allowance

(12) Vid. Tacit. de Mor. German. cap. viii. & alib. Polyæn. in Stratagem. l. vii. Plutarch. lib de virt Mulier. Cæſ. Comment. l. i. c. 50. Strab. Geograph. lib. vii. (13) Vid. Keyſler. antiq Septentr. diſſert. 5.

from the royal Scythians, except in this appellative, that we ſhall need ſay no more about them, than that they did, like them, follow a wandering life, living no longer in one lowance in both caſes, than to ſuppoſe, that ſo many hiſtorians, who have written of either of them, were guilty of wilful forgery, or too great credulity (14).

The occaſion of this new female government was as follows: Two noble Scythian youths, whom our author calls Hylinos and Scolopitus (15), having been forced to yield to a contrary faction, about the time of the firſt irruptions of the Scythians into Aſia, and in the reign of Seſoſtris king of Egypt, retired into part of Cappadocia with their wives and families. They brought with them alſo a very conſiderable number of warlike youths, by whoſe aſſiſtance they got poſſeſſion of the region of Thermoſciria, on the river Thermodon, from which they uſed to make frequent incurſions into the neighbouring countries for ſeveral years, till they were at length all treacherouſly murdered by thoſe nations. Their wives were no ſooner apprized of it, than, partly through fear of ſlavery and partly through deſire of revenge, they put themſelves under the conduct of ſome of their greateſt heroines, and prepared for a bloody war againſt the murderers. That nothing might obſtruct their fury, they renounced all future marriages with mankind, calling it an unworthy kind of ſlavery, and deſtroyed the reſidue of their huſbands who had eſcaped the ſlaughter, that ſo, being all upon the ſame foot, they might purſue their deſigns with equal ardour and courage. The conſequence was, that they fell upon the conquerors with ſuch bravery and ſucceſs, that they totally overthrew them, greatly enlarged their own dominions, and made their neighbours ſue to them for peace. One of their conditions was, that they ſhould yearly have a month's intercourſe with each other, in order to keep up the breed, after which they brought up all their girls in their own way, cutting off their right breaſts, that they might be no obſtruction to their ſhooting, whence they came to be called Amazons; and as for the boys that were born to them, they either killed them, according to our author, or ſent them back to their fathers, according to Herodotus (16).

Theſe ſurprizing exploits were atchieved under the government and conduct of two famous queens, Lampedo or Lampeto, and Martheſia or Marpheſia, who boaſted themſelves to be the daughters

(14) Vid. S. W. Rawl. hiſt. lib. iv. c. 2. ſect. xv, (15) Juſtin. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4.

one place than they found plenty of paſture for their cattle; after which they removed to freſh grounds, and when called to the wars, left their families and flocks with their ſhepherds till their return [p].

THE

[p] Mela, lib. iii. c. 6.

daughters of Mars; and having carried their conqueſts into Aſia and built ſome cities there, this laſt, who had been left there with an army to ſecure their conqueſt, whilſt the former returned home loaden with ſpoils, was afterwards ſurprized, and cut off with the reſt of her female warriors by ſome bands of barbarians.

She was ſucceeded by her daughter Ortara or Orthya, whoſe valour, added to her living in perpetual virginity, did not a little raiſe the glory of the Amazonian name. To this ſucceeded Antiopha, whoſe ſiſters, Hypolite and Menalippe, are reported to have challenged Hercules and Theſeus, and to have been with great difficulty overcome by thoſe two heroes. 4. Penthefilea was another famous Amazonian queen, who is ſaid to have come at the head of an army of her viragoes to the aſſiſtance of Priamus king of Troy. 'Tis added, that ſhe was the inventreſs of the battle-ax, and was at length killed by Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles. Some other particulars related of thoſe heroines ſmell ſo much of the fable, that we ſhall dwell no longer upon them (16).

The bloody re encounter between Thomyris, another of their warlike queens, and Cyrus king of Perſia has been taken notice of in another chapter †; and the amorous one between Alexander the Great and the famous queen Thaleſtris ſhall be ſpoken of in its proper place. It is under this laſt that the Amazonian race and kingdom is ſaid to have received its final period.

We muſt not omit ſome other memorable occurrences concerning a colony of theſe female worthies, which happened in the reign of ſome of the foregoing queens; it is not eaſy to gueſs which; and which are mentioned by another author (17) in his hiſtory of the Scythians.

The Grecians, who had obtained a ſignal victory over the Amazons, near the river Thermodon, were carrying off the reſidue that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, in three ſhips, into their own country. While they were at ſea, the Amazons conſpired againſt them, and killed all the men they had on board with them; but being altogether unacquainted with navigation, even with the uſe of the rudder, ſails, and oars, they were driven by

(16) Vid. Juſt. ubi ſupra & Pauſan. in Attic. c. ii. † See before, p. 67. (17) Herodot. l. iv.

THE Maſſagetes did likewiſe imitate the free Scythians in their habit, manner of living, arms, and warlike genius; but they uſed, beſides bows and arrows, for which thoſe were ſo famed, javelins and ſcymetars. Braſs ſerved them inſtead of ſteel for making their offenſive weapons, and as to their defenſive ones, they added ſome ornaments made of gold, eſpecially in their helmets, belts, and armour. Their horſes were likewiſe fenced with a breaſt-plate of braſs, whilſt their bridles, and other furniture, were adorned with gold; for ſilver and iron were not uſed by them, becauſe their country did not produce them. Though every man was obliged to marry a wife, yet they held them all in common: ſo that when a man met with a woman to his liking, he took her into his charriot or waggon, and lay with her without any further ceremony, than the hanging up his quiver at the head of it. This cuſtom, Herodotus

by the wind and tide, to the precipices of the Palus Meotis, in the territories of the free Scythians. Here they got aſhore, and marching up into the country, they ſeized upon the firſt ſet of horſes they could come at, and began to plunder the inhabitants. The Scythians, unacquainted with their language, ſex, and dreſs, could not tell what to make of theſe invaders: they took them at firſt to be youths, but after a ſkirmiſh or two, in which ſome of them were taken priſoners, had convinced them of the contrary; they reſolved not to kill them, but to ſend a party of youths to watch their motions, with orders, that if they were attacked by them, they ſhould flee from them; and as ſoon as they ceaſed their purſuit, encamp at the neareſt diſtance they could, reſolved if poſſible to have ſome children by theſe brave women. Theſe obſerving, that the Scythian youths did not come with any hoſtile deſign, ſuffered them to continue in their neighbouring ſtation, whilſt they, having nothing but their horſes and arms, lived in their old manner by hunting and plunder. It was their cuſtom to withdraw themſelves from the reſt about noon, either ſingle or by couples, to comply with the neceſſities of nature, which when the Scythian youths obſerved, they did ſo likewiſe: by this means one of theſe walking alone met with a ſingle Amazon, and though they could not ſpeak to each other, yet ſhe found a way to let him underſtand, that if he would meet her there on the next day, accompanied with another Scythian, ſhe would likewiſe bring a companion with her. The upſhot was, that both the camps were preſently joined into one, and every Scythian took to wife the Amazon, whom chance threw in his way. The women had no ſooner got a ſmattering of the Scythian language, than they were given to

tells us, was unjuſtly attributed to all the Scythians by the Greeks, whereas it was peculiar to the Maſſagetes only [q]. A more inhuman cuſtom than this the ſame author tells us they had, that when a man had once attained to old age, which was not ſo much limited by law as inferred from concurring ſymptoms; all his relations met and ſacrificed him, together with a number of cattle of ſeveral kinds, and having boiled the fleſh all together, they ſat down to it as to a feaſt. This kind of death was accounted by them the moſt happy, as that of dying by ſickneſs was reckoned unfortunate, becauſe theſe laſt were to be buried, inſtead of coming to the honour of being ſacrificed to their gods, and feaſted upon by their neareſt relations and intimate friends. The ſun was the only deity they worſhipped, and to him they ſacrificed horſes, which being reckoned

Some barbarous cuſtoms

[q] Herodot. lib. i. ad finem.

underſtand by their new huſbands, that they had their parents and poſſeſſions in that neighbourhood, to whom they had a deſire to return, inviting the women to follow them thither. But theſe replied, that as they had ever been uſed to draw the bow, dart a javelin, mount a horſe, and all ſuch warlike exerciſes, to which they ſuppoſed the Scythian women altogether unaccuſtomed; they could not bear the thoughts of going to live among them, and exchange their warlike way of living for their indolent one. They therefore exhorted them, if they retained ſtill the ſame conjugal affection for them, to go and receive their ſeveral portions of wealth from their parents, and to return to them, which they readily complied with. At their return, their wives acquainted them farther, that, ſince they had deprived them of their parents, and committed ſeveral depredations in that country, they thought it much ſafer to go and fix their habitation on the other ſide of the Tanais. This was likewiſe agreed to, and having croſſed that river, after three days march eaſtward of that river, and three more northward from the lake Meotis, they arrived and ſettled in the country of Sarmatia, where they continued ſtill in our author's time. Hence it is, that the Sarmatian women are by far the greateſt warriors of all the Scythians; and hence proceeds the corruption of their language; for the Amazons not having been able to learn, and conſequently to teach their children, the true Scythic, the Sarmatian became a mixture of that and of the Amazonic. Thus came the fame of thoſe female warriors to ſpread itſelf into Europe and Aſia; as for thoſe of America, they ſhall be ſpoken of in their proper place.

koned the nobleſt and ſwifteſt of all creatures, they thought moſt proper to be offered to the nobleſt and ſwifteſt of all the gods. They neither ſowed nor planted, but contented themſelves with the milk and fleſh of their cattle, and with fiſh, of which the Iaxartes did yield them a very great plenty [r]. In a word, the two forementioned cuſtoms excepted, they were eſteemed the nobleſt of all the Scythians [s], being equal to the royal tribe in valor and proweſs, and exceeding them in opulence. Their worth

[r] Mela, Cluver. & al. [s] Vid. Strab, l. xi. paſſ. Diod. Sicul. Mela, Cluver. & al.

SECT. VII.

The hiſtory of the Scythian kings.

Scythian chronology not to be attained.

WHAT has been obſerved in ſome of the foregoing ſections, concerning the barrenneſs of Scythian records, and of other hiſtorians concerning that nation, will eaſily convince our readers, that it would be a vain attempt to give any light to the chronology of it, or even to a regular hiſtory of their kings, whoſe names and exploits lie occaſionally ſcattered in Herodotus, and other more recent hiſtorians, without any order of time, or any indice, whereby one may give the leaſt gueſs into it, at leaſt till their invaſion of Aſia, and engaging in wars with ſome of the Aſiatic monarchs. Till then, it is probable, they confined their conqueſts to Europe, and made their incurſions only againſt their neighbours, which though perhaps originally deſcended from the ſame ſtock, yet, like a great many other nations, ſuch as the Ammonites and Moabites, Edomites and Iſraelites, and many more, had either quite obliterated, or were become regardleſs of, their former affinity. And this ſeems to have been moſt probably their caſe, becauſe they cultivated no arts, but that of war and plunder, without troubling themſelves about recording their acts and genealogies. The Celtes indeed had their Curetes; and other European nations their Bards and Druids, who celebrated their exploits in verſe, as we have ſhewn in a former ſection; but we do not find any footſteps of the Scythians having had any ſuch perſons among them; ſo that tradition, ſuch as it

could be got, ſeems to have been the only fountain from which our antient hiſtorians have drawn all their intelligence concerning that nation, and which they have been forced to convey to us in as confuſed and irregular a manner as they had received it.

THE following is a liſt of Scythian kings, as we find them mentioned by Herodotus, Juſtin, Diodorus, Strabo, and Mela; but without any note of time either about the beginning, length, or end of their reigns. Neither can we affirm, that they ſucceeded one another in the order we have ſet them down, or even whether they all reigned over the ſame nations, or ſome of them over one or more tribes, and others over other tribes. However, we ſhall to the liſt of their names ſubjoin ſuch particular facts as we have recorded of any of them, and with which we ſhall be forced to cloſe this hiſtory.

Kings of Scythia:

1 Scythes.
2 Napis.
3 Phithra.
4 Sagillus or Protothyas.
5 Madyes.
6 Thomyris.
7 Jancyrus.
8 Indatyrſus,
9 Targitaus.
10 Calaxais.
11 Scholypethes
or perhaps rather
Scythopetes.
12 Panaxagoras.
13 Tanais.
14 Saulius.
15 Spargapiſes.
16 Aripethes.
17 Scyles.
18 Octamaſades.
19 Ariantes.
20 Atheas.
21 Lambinus.

Scythes. SCYTHES is that fabulous ſon of Hercules, begotten on a monſter, of whom we have ſpoken in a former note, and from whom the Scythian nation was affirmed by the fabulous Greeks to have taken their name, if not to be deſcended [a]. This hiſtory ſeems to have been invented by the Greeks, for no other end than to ſully the origin of the noble and warlike Scythians, to whom they were no doubt vaſtly inferior in power, courage, virtue, and other accompliſhments, as the reader will eaſily ſee by comparing the hiſtory of theſe, with what we ſhall relate, in a ſubſequent

[a] Herodot. l. iv.

ſequent chapter, of the more obſcure and barbarous beginnings of the Grecian nation.

SAGILLUS is ſaid to have ſent his ſon Panaſagoras, who is perhaps the ſame with Protothyas, the father of Madyes, with an army of horſe, to the aſſiſtance of Orithya, queen of the Amazons, againſt Theſeus king of Athens. To perſuade him to it, ſhe let him know, that the Amazons were of Scythian race, that it was mere neceſſity that had obliged them to diſpatch their ſurviving huſbands, and to erect themſelves into a female monarchy, and to engage in this war. In a word, ſhe uſed all the arguments that could induce the Scythian king to her aſſiſtance: his ſon came accordingly with a large army of horſe, but preſently after his arrival, upon ſome diſguſt which that prince took at thoſe brave heroines, he left them to the mercy of their enemies, who ſoon after gained the victory over them [b]. Sagillus.

MADYES, of whom we have ſpoken in a former chapter *, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the Indathyrſus of Strabo, though different from that of Herodotus, was the ſon of Protothyas, and a warlike prince. Under his conduct it was, that the Scythians, having drove the Cymmerians, or northern Celtes, out of Europe, and purſued them into Aſia, invaded the country of the Medes, and held the greater part of upper Aſia in ſubjection twenty-eight years. The occaſion of their quarrel with the Cymmerians, and of this Aſiatic irruption, is indeed no where to be found; but may, however, be eaſily gueſſed at. Scythia, we obſerved, was more fruitful of men than of food and ſuſtenance; it was hemmed on the north by intolerable froſts and ſnows: where ſhould they then diſcharge their over-ſwelling multitudes, but towards the more inviting regions of the ſouth, where the inhabitants, being probably as much accuſtomed to an eaſy and delicate life, as thoſe were to a hardy and warlike one, were moſt likely to yield to them if not their country, yet at leaſt a free paſſage through it, and aſſiſt them with all neceſſaries of life, that they might be the ſooner rid of them? Hence it is, that they ſo ſwiftly paſſed into Aſia, and led their victorious army even into Egypt. But here we are told, they were prevailed upon by their king Pſammiticus, either by preſents or entreaties, to proceed no farther. They Madyes.

[b] Juſtin. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 4. * Vol. iv. ch. 10. ſect. iv. par. 17.

made likewise some incursions into the land of the Philistines; and it was in this expedition that they took the city of Bethsheam from the half tribe of Manasseh on this side of Jordan, and called it by their name the city of the Scythians or Scythopolis, as we have hinted in the history of the Medes *. In their return through Syria some of their stragglers plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon, and for their sacrilege were punished with hemorrhoides, or, as others say, with that kind of it, which is only common to the other sex; which did also cleave to their posterity as a brand of infamy.

They might probably have held their dominion in Asia much longer than they did, had not their indolence and exactions on the one hand, and the treachery of Cyaxares king of the Medes on the other, put an end to it, in the manner we have related in that history. What became of the rest that survived the slaughter we can only guess at; many of them might submit themselves to the Medes, and continue there; but a much greater number went, as is supposed, and served Nebuchadnezzar, part of whose army is said to have consisted of all the families of the north; but the greatest part, according to Herodotus, marched towards Scythia [c], where they met with an unexpected reception from their servants and slaves. This story is somewhat differently reported, as well as that of their Asiatic expedition, and the time they spent in it: Justin, who calls this their third expedition, says, it lasted but eight years [d], during which their wives, having given them over for lost, on account of the great distance between them, had married their servants and slaves; to whom, as we have observed, their masters used upon all such excursions to commit the care of their families and cattle. As soon therefore as the Scythians were entered into the confines of their own territories, this upstart race of slaves sent to forbid their masters to approach nearer at their peril.

But Herodotus, who speaks of this expedition as their first into Asia, and affirms it to have lasted twenty-eight years, adds [e], that their wives, unused to be so long idle, had taken their servants and slaves to their beds, from whom this new generation was sprung, which obstructed their masters return into Scythia, after they had suffered themselves

* Ib. [c] Herodot. lib. i. [d] lib. ii. c. 5. [e] lib. ii. iv.

themſelves to be driven out of their Aſiatic conqueſts by the Medes. This laſt is the more probable of the two in many reſpects, and agrees better with thoſe other authors, who affirm, as was obſerved before, that the Scythians held the dominion of Aſia twenty-eight years. However that be, this ſlaviſh offspring, having timely notice of their maſters returning home, had ſo well fortified and intrenched themſelves againſt them, that they would in all probability have kept them out, had not ſome of the wiſer Scythians bethought themſelves of a ſtratagem, which quite diſcomfited that rebellious rout.

THEY had already had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with equal ſucceſs on both ſides, when one of the Scythian lords told the reſt, that it was a ſhameful thing for them to fight with their ſlaves, as with their equals, that if they deſigned to force them into ſubmiſſion, they muſt fall upon them, not with warlike weapons, but with whips and ſcourges, ſuch as they were formerly wont to chaſtiſe them with. This advice was followed with ſurprizing ſucceſs, and the ſlaviſh rebels were taken with ſuch a pannic at this new and unexpected kind of war, that they laid down their arms and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. As many of them as could be caught were put to the moſt cruel deaths, whilſt their miſtreſſes, conſcious of their guilt, ſought to avoid their huſbands reſentment, by hanging, or ſome other ſpeedy death (K). After this ſignal victory over

(K) It is plain by theſe Scythians leaving their wives, ſervants, and baggage behind, that they deſigned to return again from Aſia; for it is ſcarce probable, that their deſign was to conquer ſome ſpacious country there, and then to come back to fetch them thither. And therefore we conclude, as we obſerved above, that they only went to aſſiſt thoſe new colonies, which they were obliged to diſcharge from time to time for want of room, to make a good ſettlement there, after which they deſigned to return to their own homes, as uſual.

However that be, this adventure ſeems plainly to contradict a ſtory which Herodotus tells of the Scythians, that they uſed to put out the eyes of their ſlaves: for it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that this ſlaviſh army that oppoſed their return, was wholly a new offspring, unleſs we can believe that their wives took their blind ſlaves into their beds almoſt as ſoon as their huſbands backs were turned from them.

As for the war itſelf between the maſters and ſlaves, it is ſo far from being a fiction, or ſo much as doubted of in thoſe parts, even at this day, that we are told, that the Novogradians, whoſe

over their rebellious ſlaves, the Scythians, according to Juſtin, enjoyed a long and unmoleſted peace till the days of Jancyrus, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. We muſt, however, except the invaſion which happened under the next reign we are going to mention.

Tomyris. THOMYRIS, Tomyris, or Tamyris, was that heroine whom, we are told, * Cyrus the great did, or at leaſt pretended to, court in marriage, and was ſending an embaſſy to treat about it. But ſhe, ſuppoſing that her kingdom, rather than her perſon, was the object of his wiſhes, ſent expreſs orders to the embaſſadors not to proceed further. Cyrus, provoked either at her refuſal, or at her ſuſpecting his artifice, advanced with his army againſt the Maſſagates, who were then under her dominion. What the iſſue of this expedition was, and what credit may be given to the ſtory of his tragical end, and the revenge which that exaſperated princeſs took of him, we have already ſeen in another chapter †, and ſhall not repeat it.

Jancyrus. JANCYRUS, a magnanimous and haughty prince, is famed for the noble anſwer which he ſent to Darius king of Perſia, when he ſent to demand of him the uſual preſents of earth and water in token of ſubjection, and for the total defeat which he gave to that aſſuming monarch's army; and as ſuch ſeems to be the ſame with Herodotus's Indathyrſus, [f] or to have been his immediate ſucceſſor. The occaſion of this war with the Perſians is variouſly related

* Herodot. lib. i. ad fin. † See before, p. 67. [f] l. iv

whoſe city ſtands in the Sarmatian Scythia, did cauſe a coin, which they call a Dingoe Novogradſkoi, to be ſtampt in memory of it, which had a man on horſeback, ſhaking a whip aloft in his hand, and which has been current ever ſince throughout all Ruſſia †

It is probable likewiſe that it was from this breach of conjugal faith in the Scythian wives, that the cuſtom has been ſince eſtabliſhed among the Muſcovite women of preſenting their future ſpouſe, even in the time of their courtſhip with, a Pudkey, or whip, wrought with their own hands, in token both of a greater ſubjection and fidelity than their Scythian anceſtries, or moſt probably to put them in mind of their fault, and of their own duty, whenever they chance to forget it.

† Vid. Fletch. Ruſſ. Commonwealth, c. iv. ap. Rawl. l. ii. c. 28. ſect. iv.

by Juſtin [g], and the laſt quoted author: the former tells us, that the Scythian monarch had exaſperated Darius by refuſing to give him his daughter in marriage; and the latter introduces ſome Scythian princes, accuſing him with being the firſt aggreſſor and having invaded the Perſian territories, whilſt Darius himſelf pretended only to revenge the ravages which the Scythians had committed in Aſia 120 years before, when they held it in ſubjection 28 years. There is therefore no other way of reconciling theſe accounts and the two different names of the Scythian monarch; but by ſuppoſing the Jancyrus of Juſtin to have been the father of Indathyrſus, and that, finding that the refuſal of his daughter had provoked the Perſian king to a war, he reſolved to be before-hand with him, and to ſend his ſon Indathyrſus to invade his territories; and that dying ſoon after he intailed that war upon his ſon, from which he afterwards reaped ſo much glory. Herodotus might not think fit to tranſmit a circumſtance ſo much to the honour of the barbarous Scythians, as that of the great Darius's ſeeking to contract an affinity with one of their monarchs. And it is perhaps for the ſame reaſon, that he makes the Perſian army to have been rather haraſſed and ſtarved out of Scythia, than repulſed by the known bravery of that prince and nation. As for Darius, if he really received ſuch an affront from the king of Scythia as the refuſal of his daughter, it was too diſhonourable a pretence to ground this invaſion upon; and a more glorious motive muſt be ſought out, though at ſo great a diſtance of time, to cover the true and real one.

HOWEVER that be, Indathyrſus, having received the proud challenge from the Perſian king implied in the demand of earth and water, which we have elſewhere ſhewn to ſignify not a ſupply of proviſions for his army, but an acknowledgment of ſubjection †, ſent him this haughty reply; that, as he acknowledged no lord but his progenitor Jupiter and Veſta queen of the Scythians, he would ſhortly ſend him a more ſuitable preſent, and ſuch a one as might perhaps make him repent him of his arrogance. This preſent accordingly was diſpatched to him ſoon after: it was a bird, a mouſe, a frog, and five arrows, without any farther explication; theſe arrows might perhaps allude to the number of Scythian tribes which were joined with his own, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. Theſe and the

[g] l. ii. c. 5. † See before, p. 105.

the living creatures Darius immediately interpreted in his own favour, and to have been ſent in token of ſubmiſſion. But Gobrias, who knew the Scythians perhaps better than his maſter, and compared the meſſage and the preſent together, gave quite another ſenſe to the latter, namely, that the Perſians muſt not hope to avoid the effects of the Scythian valour, unleſs they could either fly like birds, plunge like frogs, or bury themſelves in the earth like mice: Whether or no this was the real meaning of the preſent, the preparations which he made againſt him ſufficiently ſhew, that it was deſigned to ſignify an open defiance to the Perſian army (L).

ACCORDINGLY, the king of Scythia ſummoned all the princes of the other tribes to come to his aſſiſtance, againſt the common enemy and invader of their country. Theſe were the kings of the Gelonians, Budians, and Sarmatians; the Agathyrſians, Neurians, Androphages, Melanchlæni-ans, and Taurians. Theſe, being aſſembled in council and having debated the occaſion of the war, were divided in their opinions; and the three firſt were the only ones who eſteemed it a common cauſe, and reſolved to join Indathyrſus in defence of it. As for the other five, they ſent him word, that as he had been the firſt and only aggreſſor, by invading the Perſian territories without their participation, ſo they did not think themſelves at all concerned in the retaliation which Darius was preparing againſt him. That they would therefore ſit quiet at home, till ſome hoſtilities had convinced them, that the Perſians deſigns were equally levelled at them, in which caſe they would

(L) We have given this ſtory ſomewhat in a different order than we find it in Herodotus, who tells us, that theſe reciprocal meſſages were not ſent till the Scythians had drawn the Perſian army into the furtheſt parts of their country, and, as it were, intrapped them in the wild countries of the Melanchlænians, Androphages, and Neurians. Had this been the caſe, there had been no great bravery in their ſending ſuch a haughty anſwer to an enemy ſo haraſſed and entangled as Darius then was; neither will thoſe circumſtances he then found himſelf in, permit us to ſuppoſe that a proper time for his arrogant challenge to the Scythians, We think it therefore more probable, as it is indeed more conſonant to the known cuſtoms of other kingdoms, that theſe meſſages were interchanged at the beginning of the war, or before he invaded the Scythian territories.

would ſoon convince them, that it was not their deſign to ſtand idle and ſuffer their own territories to be invaded.

INDATHYRSUS was ſo exaſperated at this unexpected meſſage, that he reſolved at the ſame time that he made the beſt defence he could with his royal and free Scythians and his three allied princes, to be revenged on the other five treacherous nations, by drawing, if poſſible, the enemy into their country. To this end he reſolved to fight no battle in the open field, but gradually to withdraw his army from the frontiers, and to fill up all the wells and ſprings, and to deſtroy all the graſs and proviſion as they went. He divided his army into two columns, the one, under the command of Taxacis, was to act in conjunction with the Gelonians and Budians; the other, which was by far the greater, was commanded by the king himſelf; whilſt the Sarmatians were ordered to advance to the territories of king Scopaſis, that, in caſe the Perſians ſhould come by that way, they might retire by the lake Meotis to the river Tanais; and upon their retiring haraſs them as much as they could. Taxacis was ordered to keep ſtill a day's march before the Perſians, and to tire them with frequent ſkirmiſhes, in order to draw them into the territories of ſome of theſe five nations that had refuſed to join with them: and if that did not ſucceed, they were left at liberty either to return into their own country, or to attempt any other means their diſcretion ſhould ſuggeſt to them.

THESE orders being thus fixed, they ſent away their wives and children towards the northern parts, together with all the baggage and cattle they could ſpare; after which Indathyrſus commanded the beſt of his horſe to march towards the enemy, whilſt the reſt followed them by private ways. This detatchment, finding the Perſian army advanced about three days march from the Iſter, deſtroyed all the product of the ground and fled away. This cauſed the Perſians to purſue after them as faſt as the others retired ſtill further back, till they had drawn them through Sarmatia into the territories of the Budians, where they burnt and laid waſte all that came in their way. They continued their purſuit till they came to a great deſart of about ſeven days march; and here Darius, not thinking it proper to proceed further, ſet himſelf about building ſome ſpacious cities at equal diſtances from each other. Theſe, however, he left unfiniſhed to go in purſuit of the flying Scythians, who by degrees drew him through the

territories

territories of the Melanchlœnians, Androphages, and Neurians, who had cowardly left them to the mercy of the Perſians, and who failed not to lay all waſte as they went through, that the Perſian army might find nothing there to ſubſiſt on. The remainder of this expedition we have already given in a former ſection*: the reſult of which was, that the Perſian monarch was forced to retire with the loſs of the greateſt part of his numerous army (M), glad to eſcape with his own life, at the expence of his glory. How mueh dearer ſtill this invaſion would have coſt the Perſians, had the Ionians, whom Darius had left to guard the bridge which he had laid over the Iſter, kept their promiſe to the Scythians, and left them to deſtroy it, may be eaſily gueſſed; but they only deceived them with a promiſe that they would demoliſh it, and made a ſhew as if they were going about it in good earneſt, by taking off ſo much of it on the Scythian ſide as an arrow might reach, to prevent the Scythians paſſing and demoliſhing it, which, however, they ſoon rejoined again, when the flying Perſians appeared; by which means Darius once more eſcaped the fury of the purſuing Scythians, who failed not ever after to load the Ionians with the worſt of epithets for their treachery and cowardice. As ſoon as they found, that Darius was gone beyond their reach, they reſolved to be revenged of him ſome other way, and to make themſelves amends for the ravage they had been forced to make in their own country. Thrace, ſo lately conquered by the Perſian king, became

* See before, p. 105. & ſeq.

(M) If Herodotus's account of this tranſaction may be credited, Darius was not ſo much repulſed by the arms of the Scythians, as affronted at an unaccountable inſtance of contempt which they occaſionally ſhewed to him, juſt as the two armies were going to engage: he tells us, they were both drawn in order of battle. When a hare accidentally ſtarting in the interval between them, the Sythians immediately quited their ranks with loud outcries, and in the utmoſt confuſion purſued after it. One would expect, that the Perſians would have took the opportunity of falling upon them whilſt they were in this hurly-burly; but, it ſeems, Darius judged quite otherwiſe of an enemy that ſhewed ſo little regard for his gallant army, as to turn their backs to it to run after a hare; ſo that he thought it high time to take Gobrias's advice, and to ſecure his retreat as ſoon as he could, which he accordingly did that very night.

became the unhappy victim of their fury: they laid it all waste as far as the Hellespont, and repassing the Ister returned into Scythia, loaden with the immense spoils of that province.

Saulius. SAULIUS, This was he of whom we took notice before, for killing Anacharsis, a prince of the blood, for having ventured to introduce the nocturnal rites of the mother of the gods into Scythia, which he had seen used among the Grecians. For though Anacharsis had chosen a private place, covered with a great wood, to perform this new worship in, yet he was discovered in the midst of it by a Scythian, who went immediately to acquaint the king with it. Saulius hasted to the place, and found him playing on a tymbal before the images he had hung upon the trees, and shot him dead upon the spot. Our author gives us here the names of three of Saulius's predecessors, in a lineal descent, viz. Spargapythes, Cyrus, and Gnarus, and of one of his successors, viz. Indathyrsus [i].

Aripithes. ARIPITHES had a numerous issue, but particularly one son named Scythes, not by a Scythian, but by an Istrian woman, who therefore brought him up in all the Grecian customs and learning. Aripithes being afterwards killed by the treachery of the king of the Agathyrsians, his son found means to possess himself of his father's kingdom.

Scythes. SCYTHES, though now king of Scythia, and married to one of his father's wives who was also a Scythian, yet preferred the Grecian customs, in which he had been brought up by his mother, to those of his own country. To indulge himself in them, and avoid giving offence to his subjects, he bethought himself of the following stratagem; he led his Scythians to the metropolis of the Borysthenians, which is reported to be a colony of the Milesians, and leaving his army before the place, he entered alone into it, and, causing the gates to be shut, and centinels to be placed at each of them, put off his Scythian dress, cloathed himself after the Grecian manner, and walked about the city without guards or attendance. Thus he continued a whole month, conforming to the Grecian worship, customs, and dress, after which he resumed his Scythian habit, and departed, Not content with often repeating the same practice, he built a palace in that city, and married a native of it. He was going to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus, and had prepared all things

[i] Id. ibid. [k] Id ibid.

things for the ceremony, when the outward court of his ſumptuous palace, which he had adorned with marble ſtatues repreſenting Sphynxes and griffins, was demoliſhed by thunder. This did not, however, deter him from accompliſhing his initiation; but whilſt he was in the midſt of it, a Boryſthenian went and acquainted the Scythians with it in words to this effect: you upbraid us with celebrating our Bacchanals, becauſe when poſſeſſed with the god we loſe, you ſay, the uſe of our reaſon; come now and behold your king celebrating thoſe rites with a divine fury, and be yourſelves eye-witneſſes, how that god has taken poſſeſſion of him. Some of the principal Scythians were immediately introduced into the city, and with grief and indignation beheld their prince, from one of the towers, performing the Bacchanalian rites with a numerous choir.

Octamaſades. At their return they acquainted the army with what they had ſeen, which did ſo enrage the Scythians, that as ſoon as he was got home they revolted from him, and choſe his brother Octamaſades in his room. Scythes being informed of the occaſion of this revolt fled into Thrace, and as ſoon as his brother had notice of it, he purſued him with a numerous army as far as the banks of the Iſter, where he found Sitalces, king of Thrace, advancing to meet him. But as both armies were preparing to fight, Octomaſades received a meſſage from the Thracian king to this effect; why ſhould we try the fortune of war, thou art my ſiſter's ſon and haſt my brother with thee, deliver him up to me and I will ſend Scythes to thee, ſo ſhall we avoid the hazard of a defeat. Octomaſades agreed to the propoſal, and ſurrendered his uncle to Sitalces, who immediately decamped with his army, and the new king of Scythia having received his brother from him, cauſed his head to be immediately taken of [l].

Ariantes. Ariantes was that prince of whom we have lately ſpoken upon another occaſion; and who being deſirous to know the number of his fighting-men, ordered them all to appear at a ſet time, and to throw every one the tip of an arrow into a common heap, which amounted to ſuch a bulk, that he cauſed it to be caſt into a large capacious bowl, as a monument of the thing, and dedicated it to Exampæus [m].

The

[l] Id. ibid. [m] Id. ibid.

THE laſt king we ſhall mention in this hiſtory (N), and under whom the Scythians are ſaid to have received a conſiderable overthrow [n], was Atheas, or, as he is called by others, Matheas and Machæas. This prince, being

[n] Juſtin, l. ix. c. 2.

(N) We have omitted ſeveral of their kings, concerning whom we either meet with nothing except their names, or ſomething too fabulous and ridiculous to deſerve a place in this work, or at beſt ſo vague and uncertain, eſpecially in point of time, that it is impoſſible to fix it to any epocha.

Of this nature is that ſtory we are going to give out of Herodotus, not ſo much for its incredible ſingularity, as becauſe, fabulous as it is, it muſt have been founded upon ſome facts, which give no ſmall countenance to ſome conjectures we have ventured to advance in this hiſtory, it being not of Greek, but Scythian, extraction. It is as follows:

He tells us of a part of Scythia, whoſe inhabitants he nevertheleſs doth indiſcriminately call Scythians, who, though they owned themſelves to be of ſuch recenter date than the reſt, yet pretended to have been 1000 years before Darius's expedition. The account they give of themſelves is, that their country was at firſt peopled by Targitaus, the ſon of Jupiter, by a daughter of the river Boryſthenes; that this prince had three ſons, viz. Lipoxais, Apoxais, and Colaxais, in whoſe reign, a plow, with a yoke, an ax, and a bowl, all of gold, fell from heaven into their country; that the two elder brothers drew near the place, and one after another tried to take them up, and found them burning-hot, but the youngeſt coming, preſently after, found them cool enough to take and carry them off, whereupon the other two yielded their ſhare of the kingdom to him. They add, that the Auchatian Scythians were deſcended from the eldeſt, the Catiarians from Apoxais, and the race of their kings, whom they called Paralates, from the youngeſt brother. All theſe gave themſelves the general name of Scholotes, which, our author tells us, was alſo the ſirname of their kings, but were called Scythians by all the Greeks. The miraculous golden utenſils, we are told, were preſerved with utmoſt care, and that their kings did aſſiſt at the annual ſacrifices which were offered to them with great magnificence.

Colaxais, who had likewiſe three ſons, perceiving the vaſt extent of his territories, divided them between them, allowing, however, the biggeſt ſhare to that portion into which the miraculous golden veſſels were fallen. According to this tradition

there

being engaged in a war with the Iſtrians, a people of Myſia on the ſouth banks of the mouth of the river Iſter, ſent to Philip king of Macedon to deſire his aſſiſtance, and upon his complying promiſed to make him his heir to the crown of Scythia. But the Iſtrians having, at the news of this powerful ſuccour, delivered him of his fears by their ſudden departure, he ſent another meſſage to Philip, in which he told him flatly, that he had neither ſent for his aſſiſtance, nor promiſed him his crown; that the Scythians neither wanted the help of the Macedonians, nor their king an heir, whilſt he had a ſon alive. Philip, who was then beſieging Byzantium, ſent to deſire him at leaſt

there muſt have ſtarted at leaſt three new kingdoms or principalities, and by what our author adds immediately after, of the vaſt quantities of feathers or ſnow, with which the adjoyning regions towards the north are covered; we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, theſe three tribes to have ſprung from a colony of the ancient Scythians, and to have been forced to ſeek for a new habitation in thoſe more inclement regions, eſpecially conſidering, that they pretend to be of much recenter original than any others, meaning doubtleſs than any other Scythians, though older by 1000 years than the time of Darius. As for the pretended divine extraction of their founder and the miraculous fall of the golden utenſils, they only imitated their own and other nations in it, there being nothing more common in thoſe early days, than theſe pretences of ſomething ſupernatural accompanying the foundations of moſt kingdoms, and the divine original of their firſt founders. Hence we would further obſerve, that it is moſt likely, that the kings of Scythia, which we have given in the above liſt, did not all belong to the royal Scythians, but that ſome of them reigned over other tribes or branches which time and neceſſity had divided for them, eſpecially as they were ever warring and elbowing one another out of the moſt pleaſant parts of the country.

With reſpect to this pretended daughter of the Boryſthenes, it will not be amiſs here to obſerve once for all, that it was a common cuſtom in thoſe early and ignorant times for the firſt planters of kingdoms or colonies to give their names, not only to their new territories and capital cities, but alſo to the conſiderable rivers. Hence therefore it is more than probable, that their poſterity, who every where affected to boaſt of ſomething miraculous in their origin, choſe rather to derive it from the river itſelf, than from their real parent who gave name to it. We ſhall meet in the hiſtory of the fabulous and heroic times with inſtances more than enough of theſe ſons and daughters of rivers to juſtify the truth and ſhow the neceſſity of this previous obſervation,

leaſt to remit him ſome money to defray part of the expences of the ſiege, eſpecially conſidering, that he had paid nothing either towards the ſubſiſtance of, or by way of reward to, the auxiliaries which he had ſent to him.

ATHEAS had no way to elude ſo reaſonable a demand, but by excuſing himſelf upon the inclemency of their climate, and barrenneſs of their ſoil, which he ſaid was ſo far from contributing to their inrichment, that it ſcarcely afforded them ſufficient ſuſtenance. Philip, vexed at heart to ſee himſelf thus baffled, reſolved to retaliate trick for trick, and whilſt he was raiſing the ſiege in order to enter into a war with them, he ſent the Scythians word, that he had vowed to erect a ſtatue to Hercules at the mouth of the Iſter, which he deſired liberty to come and ſet up there, as he was a known friend to the Scythians. Atheas, who ſmelt his deſign, ſent him word, that if he had a mind to perform his vow, he need but ſend the ſtatue, and he would take upon himſelf the care both of the erecting of it, and of its remaining ſafe there; but that he would by no means ſuffer him to bring his army into his territories: he added, that if he perſiſted in ſpight of him, to come and ſet up ſuch a ſtatue, they would ſoon melt and caſt it into arrows againſt him. Philip not minding his threatening refuſal, and both monarchs being highly exaſperated againſt each other, a bloody battle enſued, in which our author tells us, the Scythians, though ſuperior in ſtrength and courage, were overcome by the craftineſs of the Macedonian king; twenty-thouſand women and children were carried off priſoners, beſides a vaſt quantity of cattle, and twenty-thouſand of their fineſt mares, which they ſent into Macedonia for breeding. As for gold and ſilver they found none among them, and this, our author obſerves, was the firſt proof which the Scythians gave of their poverty in that reſpect.

HOWEVER, this overthrow is not ſo univerſally agreed among antient authors as the war is, neither doth it conſiſt well with what our author has in another place: where he introduces Mithridates haranguing his army, part of which conſiſted of Scythians, and complimenting their known valour with the relation of the two kings, Darius and Philip, who, having but dared to invade their territories, had been put to a ſhameful flight [o]. But be that as it will,

[o] l. xxxvii. c. 7.

'tis plain their overthrow was not so considerable as to hinder them from signalizing themselves upon many occasions, both against the Macedonians and Romans, and against several other nations; and during a considerable time, as the sequel of this work will sufficiently shew.

LAMBINUS is supposed, upon what account doth not clearly appear, to have been the last king of Scythia [p].

[p] Vid. Hyl. lib. iii. p. 172.

CHAP. XIII.

The History of the antient Phrygians, Trojans, Lycians, Lydians, &c.

SECT. I.

A brief account of Asia Proper.

AS the several small kingdoms, which we are to treat of in this place, were antiently comprehended under the name of Asia Minor, we shall premise a general description of that country, for the better understanding of the particular accounts which we shall have occasion to join, as we come to treat of the several regions contained therein.

Asia Proper. THE different and various acceptations of the word Asia, even in its strictest sense, has created a great deal of confusion among writers, and often led the unwary readers into considerable mistakes. To obviate these inconveniences, the incomparable bishop Usher [a] advises those who are to give any

[a] In his geographical and historical disposition touching Asia properly so called.

Carambis
op. e prom
Cytor
op. e
Amastris
Zag
Hu
Ischopolis
Cerasus
Harmonasa
Trapezus
Asibu
PAPHLAGONIA
PONTUS
CAPPADOCIA
Parthenius Flu.
Tolist
Cocalia
Satala
idiopolis
olim
tynium
44
43

EUROPAE PARS

ASIA MINOR

PONTUS EUXINUS

AEGAEUM MARE

MEDITERRANEI MARIS PARS

MARE SYRUM

SYRIÆ PARS

Carambis op. et prom.
Cimolis
Armene
Cytorum op. et M.
Abonutichos
Sinope
Cyaneæ Petræ s. Ins. et Os.
Thymias
Promnas
Tios s. Tium
Heraclea
Amastris
Zagira
Plegra
Helua
Heneti
Amisus
Eupatoria
Polemonium
Chrysopolis
Chalcedon
Astacus
Olyzo
Libissa
Calpas Fl.
Nicomedia
Cius s. Prusa
Adriam
Apamea Myrlea
Cyzicus
Appollonia
Parium
Lampsacus
Perinthus
Abydus
Arisbe
Dardanum
Ilium
Simois F.
Scamander Flu.
Alexandria Troas
Antandrus
Assos
Sigrium prom.
Ajax
Scepsis
Adramyttium
Perperena
Caicus Flu.
Pitana
Elæa
Cane
Grynium
Myrina
Hermus Flu.
Magnesia ad Sipylum
Tmolus M. et op.
Tripolis
Hierocæsarea
Thyatira
Mostenus
Hypæpa
Sardes
Philadelphia
Metropolis
Caystrius Flu.
Tralles
Nysa
Meander Flu.
Antiochia ad Mæandrum
Trapezopolis
Ephesus
Magnesia
Pryene
Myus
Orthosia
Bubon
Aphrodisias
Œnoanda
Cibyra
Cadmus M.
Termessus
Balbura
Bangasa
Alabanda
Amizon
Stratonice
Miletus
Heraclea
Didyma
Ladè I.
Lasos
Bargylia
Caryanda
Mylasa
Pedasa
Tendeba
Alinda
Hydissus
Halicarnassus
Myndus
Telmissus
Calbis Flu.
Thera
Pinara
Pysicus
Caminus
Cnidus
Triopii prom.
Syrnus
Telos
Loryma
Talysis
Rhodus
Camirus
Lindus
Chalcea
Astypalæa
Casus
Carpathus
Megiste
Dolichiste
Chelidoniæ Insulæ
Dædalæ Promontorium
Dædalæ Opp.
Calydna
Cauno
Myra
Andri
Phaselis
Olympus
Limyra
Xanthus Flu.
Lycus Flu.
Patara
Xanthus
Telmessus
Pinara
Calydna
Cragus M.
Olympus M.
Blucium
Ancyra Galatiæ
Germa
Vindia
Tectosages
Tavium
Pessinus
Dindymus M.
Gordium
Synnada
Docimeum
Aspona
Parnasus
Archelais
Magaba Mons
Tiocmi
Halys Flu.
Sangarius Flu.
Sangarius sive Gallus Flu.
Cotyæum
Dadastana
Gordiucombe et Iuliopolis
Azani
Olympeni
Dorylæum
Midæum
Synaus
Nacolia
Ancyra Phrygiæ
Cotyæum
Eucarpia
Acmonia
Eumenia
Tiberiopolis
Celæna
Laodicea comb usta
Apamea Cibotos
Colossæ
Laodicea
Neapolis
Amblada
Pappa
Isaura
Derbe
Lystra
Cadyna
Tyana
Castabala
Iconium
Nora castellum
Nazianzum
Dacora
Sasima
Nissa
Garsauria
Diocæsarea
Cæsarea olim Mazaca
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Artaxata
Arabissus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Cocusos
Cybistra
Pylæ
Taurus M.
Taurus Mons
Mopsucrene
Mopsuestia
Selucia
Sagalassus
Antiochia
Apamea
Olbasa
Flaviopolis
Termessus
Pisidia
Oroanda
Petnelissus
Sandalium
Milyas
Cremna
Perga
Magydates M.
Rhodia
Pamphylia
Aspendus
Attalia
Side
Coracesium
Sygra
Selinus Flu.
Melas Flu.
Hamaria
Ancyra
Celenderis
Alexi Campi
Isauria
Lycaonia
Cilicia Aspera
Trachia sive Seleucia
Cydnus Flu.
Sarus Flu.
Pyramus Flu.
Adana
Flavias
Anazarbus
Cæsarea
Epiphania
Erana
Nicopolis
Alexandria
Pylæ Syriæ
Eleutheropolis
Cilices.
Pindenissus
Amanus Mons
Portæ Amanicæ
Issus
Mare Pamphylium
Cyprus
Arsinoe
Lapethus
Aphrodisium
Soli
Carpasia
Citium
Salamis
Paphos nova
Paphos vetus
Curium
Amathus
Malium
Curias prom.
Acamas Promont.
Crommyon promont.
Antiochia
Seleucia
Pieria
Pontus Polemoniacus
Pontus Galaticus
Cappadocia
Paphlagonia
Bithynia
Mariandyni
Heraclea
Flaviopolis
Pantherius Flu.
Tolistobogii
Neoclaudianopolis
Pompeiopolis
Olgassis Mons
Halys Flu.
Iris Fl.
Themiscyra
Cotyorum
Pharnacia
Ischiopolis
Cerasus
Harmena
Trapezus
Asiba
Phanaræa
Cocalia
Satala
Thermodon Flu.
Neocæsarea
Lycus Flu.
Amasia
Eupatoria Magnopolis
Comona pontica
Sebastopolis
Zela
Nicopolis
Cabira, Diopolis Sebaste
Iris Flu.
Ariarathira
Sebastia
Sargarausena Præfectura
Herpa
Archelais
Garsauria
Cappadocia
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Arabissus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Euphrates Flu.
Lemnus
Imbros
Thasus
Samothrace
Chersonesus Hellespontus
Myrlea Minor
Granicus Flu.
Ida M.
Tenedos
Sigrium prom.
Lectum prom.
Chryse
Scyros
Malea prom.
Minnas
Arginusæ
Phocæa
Smyrna
Clazomenæ
Myonnesus
Lebedos
Colophon
Notium
Icaria
Samus
Nycale prom.
Pathmus
Minyæ
Scopia
Hieros
Amorgus
Calymne
Astypalæa
Carpathus
Icarus
Pharus
Cauno
Myra
Andri
Phaselis
Olympus
Limyra
Xanthus Flu.
Lycus Flu.
Patara
Xanthus
Telmessus
Pinara
Calydna
Cragus M.
Olympus M.
Blucium
Ancyra Galatiæ
Germa
Vindia
Tectosages
Tavium
Pessinus
Dindymus M.
Gordium
Synnada
Docimeum
Aspona
Parnasus
Archelais
Magaba Mons
Tiocmi
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Sangarius Flu.
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Cotyæum
Dadastana
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Azani
Olympeni
Dorylæum
Midæum
Synaus
Nacolia
Ancyra Phrygiæ
Cotyæum
Eucarpia
Acmonia
Eumenia
Tiberiopolis
Celæna
Laodicea comb usta
Apamea Cibotos
Colossæ
Laodicea
Neapolis
Amblada
Pappa
Isaura
Derbe
Lystra
Cadyna
Tyana
Castabala
Iconium
Nora castellum
Nazianzum
Dacora
Sasima
Nissa
Garsauria
Diocæsarea
Cæsarea olim Mazaca
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Artaxata
Arabissus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Cocusos
Cybistra
Pylæ
Taurus M.
Taurus Mons
Mopsucrene
Mopsuestia
Selucia
Sagalassus
Antiochia
Apamea
Olbasa
Flaviopolis
Termessus
Pisidia
Oroanda
Petnelissus
Sandalium
Milyas
Cremna
Perga
Magydates M.
Rhodia
Pamphylia
Aspendus
Attalia
Side
Coracesium
Sygra
Selinus Flu.
Melas Flu.
Hamaria
Ancyra
Celenderis
Alexi Campi
Isauria
Lycaonia
Cilicia Aspera
Trachia sive Seleucia
Cydnus Flu.
Sarus Flu.
Pyramus Flu.
Adana
Flavias
Anazarbus
Cæsarea
Epiphania
Erana
Nicopolis
Alexandria
Pylæ Syriæ
Eleutheropolis
Cilices.
Pindenissus
Amanus Mons
Portæ Amanicæ
Issus
Mare Pamphylium
Cyprus
Arsinoe
Lapethus
Aphrodisium
Soli
Carpasia
Citium
Salamis
Paphos nova
Paphos vetus
Curium
Amathus
Malium
Curias prom.
Acamas Promont.
Crommyon promont.
Antiochia
Seleucia
Pieria
Pontus Polemoniacus
Pontus Galaticus
Cappadocia
Paphlagonia
Bithynia
Mariandyni
Heraclea
Flaviopolis
Pantherius Flu.
Tolistobogii
Neoclaudianopolis
Pompeiopolis
Olgassis Mons
Halys Flu.
Iris Fl.
Themiscyra
Cotyorum
Pharnacia
Ischiopolis
Cerasus
Harmena
Trapezus
Asiba
Phanaræa
Cocalia
Satala
Thermodon Flu.
Neocæsarea
Lycus Flu.
Amasia
Eupatoria Magnopolis
Comona pontica
Sebastopolis
Zela
Nicopolis
Cabira, Diopolis Sebaste
Iris Flu.
Ariarathira
Sebastia
Sargarausena Præfectura
Herpa
Archelais
Garsauria
Cappadocia
Argeus Mons
Antitaurus Mons
Arabissus
Melas Flu.
Melitene
Euphrates Flu.
Lemnus
Imbros
Thasus
Samothrace
Chersonesus Hellespontus
Myrlea Minor
Granicus Flu.
Ida M.
Tenedos
Sigrium prom.
Lectum prom.
Chryse
Scyros
Malea prom.
Minnas
Arginusæ
Phocæa
Smyrna
Clazomenæ
Myonnesus
Lebedos
Colophon
Notium
Icaria
Samus
Nycale prom.
Pathmus
Minyæ
Scopia
Hieros
Amorgus
Calymne
Astypalæa
Carpathus
Icarus
Pharus

S. W. Sculpt.

any account of Aſia to begin with explaining the various acceptations of the word, without which it is impoſſible to underſtand the ancient hiſtorians or geographers, He looks upon this as one of the moſt difficult points in hiſtory, there being a ſeeming contradiction between the ſacred and profane writers, as to the provinces comprehended under the name of Aſia, which cannot be reconciled without a very careful diſtinction of times and places. In reading the ancient hiſtorians or geographers we frequently meet with the following terms, viz. The Greater and Leſſer Aſia, Aſia Proper or Aſia properly ſo called, the Lydian Aſia, the Proconſular Aſia, the Aſiatic Dioceſs. That vaſt continent, which was known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Aſia, was divided by the antient geographers firſt into the Greater and Leſſer Aſia. The leſſer, commonly termed Aſia Minor, comprehended a great many provinces, but that which included Phrygia, Myſia, Caria, and Lydia, was named Aſia Proper or Aſia properly ſo called, as is plain from Tully [b]. Where it is to be obſerved, that Tully, in enumerating the regions contained in Aſia Proper, makes no mention of Æolis or Ionia, though undoubtedly parts of Aſia Proper, becauſe they were comprehended partly in Lydia, and partly in Myſia. Beſide, the inland country commonly known by that name, contained alſo the adjoining countries both of Ionia, lying on the ſea-ſide between the rivers Hermus and Mæander, and of Æolis, extending from Hermus to the river Caicus according to Ptolemy [c], or according to Strabo [d] to the promontory Lectum, the antient boundary between Troas and the ſea-coaſt of the Greater Myſia (A). The remaining parts

[b] Cic. in Orat. pro Flacco. [c] lib. v. cap. 2, [d] lib. xii.

(A) That Myſia reached to the mouth of the river Caicus is acknowledged, not only by Ptolemy (1), but alſo by Strabo (2); and yet, becauſe it was poſſeſſed in his time by the Æolians, he tells us, that Æolis, properly ſo called, extended from Hermus to Lectum (3). In like manner Pliny (4) makes the promontory Lectum the boundary betwixt Æolis and Troas; though elſewhere, following other authors, he places Aſſos in Troas (5). But Hellanicus (6), Strabo, and Stephanus (7) make it a city of Æolis near the Helleſpont.

(1) lib. v. c. 2. (2) lib. xii. (3) lib. xiii. (4) lib. v. c. 30. (5) Id. lib. ii. c. 96. & l. xxxvi. c. 17. (6) Strab. l. xiii. (7) Id. l. xv.

of Æolis and Ionia are by Pliny [e], Strabo [f], Hellanicus [g], and Scylax [h], placed in Mysia; nay Mysia itself, after the Æolians possessed themselves of it, was commonly called Æolis [i]; which Stephanus not being aware of makes Assos of Æolis a different city from Assos of Mysia near Antandrus. From what we have said it is plain, that Asia Proper comprehended Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Æolis, and Ionia. This tract was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by Bithynia and Pontus, extending from Galatia to Propontis, on the east by Galatia, Pamphilia, and Lycia, on the south by part of Lycia and the Rhodian sea, on the west by the Hellespont, by the Ægean, Icarian, and Myrtoan seas. It lies between the thirty-fifth and forty-first degree of north latitude, and extends in longitude from fifty-five to sixty-two degrees.

As Asia Proper is but a part of Asia Minor, so the Lydian Asia is only a part of Asia Proper *(B)*. Asia in this acceptation comprehends Lydia, Æolis, and Ionia, according to the description we have already given of it, and is that Asia whereof mention is made in the Acts and St.

[e] lib. v. cap. 30. [f] lib. xv. [g] Id. lib. xiii. [h] Scylax. in Periplo. [i] Pomp. Mela, lib. i. cap. 18. Plin. lib. v. c. 30.

(B) That in antient times Lydia was called Meonia and the Lydians Meonians, is manifest from Herodotus (8), Diodorus Siculus (9), Dionysius Afer (10) Strabo (11), Pliny (12), Stephanus, and others; and that Meonia was called Asia is no less plain from Callinus, who flourished before Archilocus (13), from Demetrius Scepsius, cotemporary with Crates and Aristarchus the Grammarian (14), from Euripides (15), Suidas (16), the great etymologist, &c. Nay, that Lydia was formerly called Asia, is expressly affirmed by the antient scholiast of Apollonius Rhodius (17). From whence Lydia borrowed the name of Asia is altogether uncertain; some deriving it from a city of Lydia, seated on mount Tmolus, others from one Asius king of Lydia, who according to the Lydians communicated his name to the whole continent (18). But be that as it will, it is certain, that Lydia has a better claim to the name of Asia, than any other part of that continent.

(8) Herodot. l. vii. (9) Diodor. Sicul l. iv. (10) Dionys. in Periegesi. (11) Strab. l. xiii. (12) Plin. l. v. c. 29. (13) Strab. l. xiv. (14) Id. l. xii. (15) In Bacch. (15) In Ασίᾳ (17) Scholiast. Apollon. Argonaut. l. ii. (18) Herod. l. iv.

St. John's revelation. In the former we read the following account of St. Paul's journey [k]. *When they had gone throughout* Phrygia *and the region of* Galatia, *and were forbidden of the holy Ghoſt to preach the word in* Aſia; *after they were come to* Myſia *they aſſayed to go into* Bithynia; *but the ſpirit ſuffered them not. And they paſſing by* Myſia *came down by* Troas. Where it is to be obſerved, that the Greater Phrygia, through which they paſſed into Galatia, Myſia Olympena bordering upon Bithynia, and Helleſpont where Troas was ſituate, though provinces of Aſia properly ſo called, are yet in expreſs terms diſtinguiſhed from the Proper Aſia of the Romans; as is likewiſe Caria, by what we read elſewhere in the ſame book [l]. As theſe cities and countries did not belong to the Lydian Aſia, ſo what remains of Aſia Proper, together with the ſeven churches mentioned in the Revelations, were properly Lydia, or the Lydian Aſia. In the firſt place Pergamus is placed by Xenophon [m] in Lydia, and alſo by Ariſtotle [n]. The ſame Ariſtotle [o] tells us, that Smyrna was at firſt poſſeſſed by the Lydians, and Scylax Corvandenſis reckons it among the cities of Lydia, as alſo Epheſus, wherein he agrees with Herodotus [p]. Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira, are reckoned by Ptolemy among the cities of Lydia, as is Laodicea by Stephanus [q] (C).

The Proconſular Aſia.

THE Proconſular Aſia (ſo called becauſe it was governed by a proconſul) according to the diſtribution of the provinces of the empire made by Auguſtus, comprehended the following countries, viz. Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Myſia, Phrygia, and the proconſular Helleſpont. And this is Ptolemy's Aſia Proper [r]. By the ſame emperor Pontus and Bithynia were made a Prætorian province [s]; and Aſia

[k] Acts xvi. [l] Acts xx. 16, 17. [m] Xenoph. de exped. Cyr. lib. 7. [n] lib. de Poetica, p. 97. [o] Ariſtot. lib. de Poetica apud. Plutarch. in lib. de vita & poeſi Homeri. [p] Herodot. lib. 1. [q] Steph. de urb. [r] Ptolem. l. v. c. 2. [s] Strab. l. xvii.

(C) Laodicea is placed by Ptolemy in Caria, by others in Phrygia, and by ſome in Lydia, the confines of thoſe countries having been ſo often altered, that it was not poſſible, as Strabo witneſſes (19), to aſcertain their exact boundaries; and hence it is, that the ſame city is oftentimes placed by one of the antient geographers in Phrygia, by another in Lydia, and by a third in Caria.

(19) Strab. l. xiii.

conſular, containing all that part of Aſia which lay on this ſide of the river Halys and mount Taurus. In the time of Conſtantine the Great the Proconſular Aſia was much abridged, and a diſtinction brought in between the Proconſular Aſia and the Aſiatic dioceſs; the one being governed by the proconſul of Aſia, and the other by the Vicarius or Lieutenant of Aſia (D). The Proconſular Aſia, according to the deſcription which Eunapius gives us of it [t], ſeems to have been much the ſame with the Lydian Aſia abovementioned. In the reign of Theodoſius the Elder, who ſucceeded Valens, the conſular Helleſpont was taken from the Vicarius of Aſia, and added to the Proconſular Aſia; but under Arcadius the Proconſular Aſia was abridged of all the inland part of Lydia. And this is the reaſon, why Palladius [u] makes a diſtinction between the biſhops of Lydia and thoſe of Aſia. However, the ſouthern part of Lydia, lying between the Mæander and Cayſter, and the maritime provinces from Epheſus to Aſſos and the promontory Lectum were left to the Proconſular Aſia [w].

The Aſiatic dioceſs.

THE Aſiatic dioceſs (E) is ſometimes taken in a more ſtrict ſenſe, as diſtinct from the Proconſular Aſia and the provinces under the juriſdiction of the proconſul, and ſometimes in a more extenſive ſenſe, as comprehending alſo the Proconſular Aſia. According to this acceptation all Aſia in the reign of Theodoſius the Younger conſiſted of eleven provinces;

[t] Eunap. in vita Maximi. [u] Pallad. in vita Chryſoſt. [w] Hierocl. notitia imp. in Append. Geograph. ſacra. p. 27. Photius de ordine Metropolitar, p. 43. & in tomo i. juris Græco Romani, p. 90. Subſcript. Concil. Chalced. Act. vi. Concil. Conſtantinop. vi. Act. xviii. &c.

(D) We find in the Imperial Conſtitutions two reſcripts of the emperor Valens, the one dated the 27th of January 365, (that is, towards the latter end of the firſt year of his reign), and directed to Clearchus, Vicarius Aſiæ; the other dated the 6th of the October following, and directed to Auxonius, Vicarius Dioeceſeos Aſianæ (20). This diſtinction was brought in by Conſtantine, and continued under the chriſtian emperors that ſucceeded him.

(E) The word dioceſs, in the dialect of the times we are here ſpeaking of, imports a tract of country comprehending ſeveral provinces under the juriſdiction of one chief ruler.

(20) Cod. Theodoſ. lib. v. tit. 11. Ne colon. inſcio dom.

provinces, three whereof were under the juriſdiction of the proconſul of Aſia, viz. the Proconſular Proper, which he governed by himſelf, the conſular Helleſpont, and that of Rhodes, with the other iſlands called Cyclades, which were firſt made a province by Veſpaſian, and placed under a preſident [x]; eight were under the vicarius or lieutenant of Aſia, viz. Lydia, Caria, Phrygia Salutaris, Phrygia Pacatiana, Pamphilia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and Piſidia; theſe eight made up what was properly called the Aſiatic dioceſs [y] (F). Theſe are the terms we moſt commonly meet with in reading the antient hiſtorians and geographers, for the explanation of which we are chiefly indebted to the learned biſhop Uſher, who thought it well worth his while to examine the various acceptations of Aſia Proper in a particular treatiſe [z].

The name of Aſia.

As to the common name of Aſia there is a great variety of opinions among the learned, ſome deriving it from Aſia the daughter of Oceanus and Thetis, wife of Iapetus, and by him mother to Prometheus; others from Aſius ſon of Atys king of Lydia, from whom that kingdom firſt, and in length of time the whole continent, was named Aſia. Bochart [a] is of opinion, that it took its name from the Phœnician word Aſia ſignifying the middle, becauſe Aſia Minor, which, ſays he, communicated its name to Aſia the Greater, lies, as it were, in the middle between Europe and Afric. This opinion he endeavours to ſupport with the authority of Pliny and Pomponius Mela [b], But as all that can be ſaid on this head is grounded on bare conjectures, it is ſcarce worth our while to dwell on enquiries of this nature.

THIS

[x] Sextus Rufus, in Breviario. [y] Alciat. Parerg. l. v. c. 13. [z] Uſher in his geographical and hiſtorical diſquiſition of Aſia, properly ſo called, &c. [a] Phaleg. l. iv. c. 36. [b] Plin. in Preſat. lib. iii. & Pomp. Mela, de Aſia, l. i. c. 2.

(F) In the Notitia Imperii, which was compiled in the reign of Theodoſius the younger, the Aſiatic dioceſs is ſaid to conſiſt of ten provinces only, the firſt and chief province of all, viz. Aſia itſelf, being, we know not how, omitted (21). On the other hand, Iſidorus Merçator reckons twelve provinces belonging to this dioceſs, and among them Galatia, which was without all doubt a province of the dioceſs of Pontus (22).

(21) Notit. utriuſque Imperii. (22) Vid. Salmaſii Euchariſtic. de Eccleſ. ſub urbicar. p. 347.

Climate and fertility.

THIS country is juſtly counted among the fineſt and moſt fruitful of the earth, and mightily extolled by antient writers, chiefly by the Romans who were well acquainted with it, for the fertility of the ſoil, temper of the climate, nature of the ſeaſons, excellence and variety of its productions and fruits; in all which reſpects it was preferred by Tully [c] to all the countries of the then known world. The common epithet, whereby, the Latin poets diſtinguiſh this from other regions, is that of rich, alluding not only to the richneſs of the ſoil, but alſo to the wealth and opulence of the inhabitants, which we may eaſily judge of from the immenſe ſums that ſome of the Roman governors are ſaid to have extorted from them, namely Marc Antony, who, as we are told by Plutarch [d], ſqueezed from the inhabitants of Aſia Minor in the ſpace of one year the ſum of twenty thouſand talents.

Its preſent diviſion.

THIS country is at preſent divided into four parts, viz. Natolia, properly ſo called, the weſtern part: Caramania the ſouthern part; Aladulia the eaſtern; and Amaſia the northmoſt part. By the Turks the whole country, called by them Nadalu, is divided into five parts under the government of five Beglerbegs, who reſide at Cotyæum, Tocat, Trabezond, Maroſch, and Iconium. Theſe are ſubdivided into leſſer governments, denominated from the city or town where the governor reſides. But it is now time to proceed to the particular hiſtories of the various kingdoms, antiently comprehended under the common name of Aſia Minor.

[c] Cic. pro Q. Ligario. [d] Plutarch. in Lucull. &. Antonio.

The Hiſtory of the Phrygians.

SECT. II.

The Deſcription of Phrygia.

AS we can ſcarce offer any thing touching Phrygia, but what we have either at ſecond hand, or from mutilated pieces of antiquity, we ſhall not dwell long on ſo dark and perplexed a ſubject, nor pretend to ſupply the defect of better authorities with ſuch precarious conjectures as

as every writer may, and the moſt ordinary uſually do, vent on ſuch occaſions (G).

WHENCE the ſmall country before us borrowed the name of Phrygia is not determined. Some derive it from the river Phryx (now Sarabat), which divides Phrygia from Caria and empties itſelf into the Hermus [e], others from Phrygia the daughter of Aſopus and Europa. The Greek writers tell us [f], that the country took its name from the inhabitants, and theſe from the town of Brygium in Macedonia, from whence they firſt paſſed into Aſia and gave the name of Phrygia or Brigia to the country which they ſettled in; but we ſhall have occaſion to examine this opinion hereafter. Bochart is of opinion [g], that this tract was called Phrygia from a Greek verb, ſignifying to burn or dry, which according to him is a tranſlation of its Hebrew name, derived from a verb of the ſame ſignification (H).

No

[e] Plin. lib. v. c. 29. [f] Meſſal. Corvin. de progen. Aug.
[g] Phaleg. lib. iii. c. 8. [g] Strab. l. xii. & l. xiv.

(G) The names of the authors that have wrote the Phrygian hiſtory are Democritus, Hermeſianactes, Timolaus, Aretazes, and Cornelius Alexander (23); but as their works have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark, as to ſome of the moſt material points of that hiſtory.

(H) The Greek word φρυγία ſeems to be derived from the verb φρύγειν, to burn or parch; and hence that place on mount OE ta where Hercules was burnt took the name of φρυγία, ἀπὸ τῶ ἐκεῖ πεφρυχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα. Now as that part of Phrygia which was waſhed by the rivers Cayſter and Mæander was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Καταικαυμένη, as Strabo and Diodorus witneſs (24), it is not improbable, but that the name of Phrygia, which was at firſt peculiar to one part, might in length of time become common to the whole country. How this part came to be called Καταικαυμένη, burnt, is variouſly reported. Diodorus (25) ſpeaks of a fiery monſter called Ægis, which appearing there conſumed all that tract; but was afterwards killed by Pallas. Others recur to the fable of Typhon (26), who, ſay they, was in that place thunder-ſtruck by Jupiter. But without having recourſe to fables, it will be no hard matter to account for this denomination, if we but conſider, that this part of Phrygia we are ſpeaking of is deſcribed both by Diodorus and Strabo (27)

(23) Plutarch. de fluviis & Laert. in Democrito. (24) Strab. l. xiii. & Diod. Sicul. l. iii. (25) Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. p. 142. (26) Strab. l. xiii.

Its diviſions. No leſs various are the opinions of authors as to the exact boundaries of this country, which gave riſe to the proverb related by Strabo [g], viz. that the Phrygians and Myſians had diſtinct boundaries, but that it was ſcarce poſſible to aſcertain them. The ſame writer adds [h], that the Trojans, Myſians, and Lydians, are by the poets all blended under the common name of Phrygians, which Claudian [i] extends to the Piſidians, Bithynians, and Ionians. Again, Pliny places Aſcania in Phrygia, which together with Dardania is reckoned by Strabo [l] among the provinces of Myſia. Phrygia Proper, according to Ptolemy whom we chuſe to follow, was bounded on the north by Pontus and Bithynia, on the weſt by Myſia, Troas, the Ægean ſea, Lydia, Meonia, and Caria; on the ſouth by Lycia; on the eaſt by Pamphylia and Galatia. It lies between the 37th and 41ſt degree of north latitude, extending in longitude from 56 to 62 degrees. The inhabitants of this country mentioned by Ptolemy are the Lycaones and Anthemiſenii towards Lycia, the Moceadelis or Moceadine, the Cyddeſes or Cydiſſes towards Bithynia, and between theſe the Peltini or Speltini, the Moxiani, Phylacenſes, and Hierapolitæ. To theſe we may add the Berecyntes and Cerbeſis mentioned by Strabo [m].

PHRYGIA is commonly divided into the Greater, and Leſſer Phrygia called alſo Troas. But this diviſion did not take place till Troas was ſubdued by the Phrygians; and hence it is no more conſidered by ſome Roman writers as a part of Phrygia, than Bithynia, Cappadocia, or any

[g] Strab. l. xii & l. xiv. [h] Stra. ubi ſupra. [i] Claud. l. ii. in Eutrop. [k] Plin. lib. v. [l] Strab. ubi ſupra. [m] Strab. l. xii.

(27) as a dry ſoil, impregnated with ſulphur, bitumen, and other combuſtible ſubſtances, which in all likelihood gave riſe to this appellation. We are not ignorant, that the tract we are ſpeaking of is by ſome of the antients reckoned a province of Myſia, by others of Mæonia; but Heſychius (28), Diodorus (29), and moſt of the other hiſtorians and geographers place it in Phrygia. Bochart is of opinion (30), that by Gomer in ſcripture is meant Phrygia, and that the Greek word Phrygia is a tranſlation of the Hebrew גמרן Gomer, which he derives from the verb. גמר Gamar, importing, among other ſignifications, to burn or conſume, in which ſignification he ſhews it to have been frequently uſed both by the Chaldeans and Syrians.

(27) ubi ſupra. (28) Heſych. l. 12. (29) Diodor. ubi ſupra. (30) Phaleg. l. iii. c. 8.

any other of the adjacent provinces. In after-ages, that is, in the reign of Constantine the Great, the Greater Phrygia was divided into two districts or governments, the one called Phrygia Pacatiana from Pacatianus, who under Constantine bore the great office of the Præfectus Prætorio of the east; the other Phrygia Salutaris, from some miraculous cures supposed to have been performed there by the archangel Michael.

Its soil and climate.

This country, and indeed all Asia Minor, as lying in the fifth and sixth northern climates, was in ancient times greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grains, being for the most part a plain country, covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. It was in some parts productive of bitumen and other combustible substances. It was well stocked with cattle, having large plains and pasture-grounds. The air was anciently deemed most pure and wholesome, though it is now in some parts thought extremely gross, great part of the country lying uncultivated, a thing too common in such regions as groan under the Mohammedan yoke. In short, whatever desirable things, nature has frugally bestowed here and there on other countries, were found in this, while well manured, as in their original seminary.

The cities of note in Phrygia Major were, 1. Apamea or Apamia, a famous mart and the metropolis of all Phrygia, till the above-mentioned division of Constantine took place. It was seated at the confluence of the Marsya and Mæander. Pliny [n] places it at the foot of the hill Signia, surrounded by the rivers Marsya, Obrima, and Orga, which empty themselves into the Mæander; wherein he seems to confound the situation of the antient Celæne with that of the new city called Apamea. Celæne indeed stood at the foot of the hill on which the Marsya has its spring; but Antiochus Soter, son to Antiochus Seleucus, who built Apamea of Syria, carried the inhabitants to the new city which he built about ten miles from thence, where the Marsya and Meander begin to flow in one channel; this city he named Apamea from his mother Apame wife to Seleucus Nicanor [o]. As there are many other cities bearing the same name, this for distinction sake is commonly called Apamea Cibotos; but as to the original of this

[n] Plin. l. v. c. 29. [o] Strab. l. xii. Liv. ib. xxxviii. Marcianus, lib. vi.

this appellation there is a great diſcrepancy among authors (I).

LAODICEA, now Eſkihiſſar, ſeated on the banks of the river Lycus, not far from Apamea. It was firſt called Dioſpolis, afterwards Rheas, and at laſt Diocæſarea and Laodicea. We are told by Stephanus, that Jupiter appearing to Antiochus the ſon of Stratonice in his ſleep commanded him to build a city, which he did accordingly, calling it Dioſpolis from Jupiter, and Laodicea from his wife Laodice. It was afterwards greatly increaſed by Hiero, by Zeno the Rhetorician, and his ſon Polemon [p], who, being honoured by Cæſar Auguſtus with the title of king, might perhaps out of complaiſance to that prince add his name to that of Jupiter, calling the city Diocæſarea, the city of Jupiter and Cæſar. However, the name of Laodicea, which Strabo derives from the river Lycus [q], prevailed. This city was famous for its wool, which was univerſally preferred on account of its ſoftneſs, as the ſame author witneſſes [r], even to that of Miletus ſo much cried up by the antients, and beſides was of a very extraordinary blackneſs. With this the inhabitants carried on a very conſiderable trade, and were accounted the moſt wealthy people of all Aſia

[p] Strab. lib. xii. [q] Id. ibid. [r] Ibid.

(I) As the word Κιβωτὸς ſignifies Ark or Coffer, ſome have ſuppoſed, that it was ſo called, becauſe the ark reſted on the hill from which the river Marſya ſprings. But theſe writers confound the ſituation of Celæne with that of Apamea; the former, which never bore the name of Cibotos, was ſituate at the foot of the hill Signia, but Apamea Cibotos at ten miles diſtance. As thoſe who traded from Italy and Greece to Aſia Minor uſed to convey their wares to this city, as a place of general reſort (30). Salmaſius thinks, it was called Cibotos from its being, as it were, the common treaſury of thoſe countries (31). It is worth obſerving, that there are no fewer than ſeven cities bearing the ſame name, viz. Apamea of Bithynia, Apamea of Media, Apamea on the Tigris, Apamea on the Euphrates, one in Perſia, one in Syria, and one in Phrygia; and all ſituate between two rivers, which made Bochart (32) conclude, that they were ſo called from the Hebrew verb ſignifying to ſurround, whereof the import is plainly expreſſed in Jonas (33) אפפונו מים aphaphuni majim.

(30) lib. xvii. (31) Salmaſ. Plinianæ Exercitation. c. xl. p. 380. (32) Phaleg. l. ii. c. 11. (33) c. ii. v. 6.

Aſia Minor. Ptolemy makes Laodicea and Diocæſarea two different cities, wherein he is certainly miſtaken. At Laodicea was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the apocalypſe, but at preſent not ſo much as the ruins of it are any where to be ſeen, that prophetical treat being fully accompliſhed; *I know thy works, that thou art neither cold nor hot——becauſe thou art luke-warm——I will ſpue thee out of my mouth*[s] (K).

HIERAPOLIS famous for its mineral waters, which, according to Strabo's account [t], when expoſed to the air petrified in the ſpace of a year, and yet were endued with ſuch a virtue as to render the fields they watered exceeding fruitful, and prove a preſent remedy againſt innumerable diſtempers to ſuch as uſed them [u]. Near this city was to be ſeen an opening on the edge of a hill of an extraordinary depth, always overſpread with a thick fog, and exhaling ſuch a peſtilent ſtream, that no living creature could come within the reach of it without being immediately ſtifled. Strabo and Pliny [w] except theGalli or eunuchs of Cybele; Ammianus and Dio Nicæus all eunuchs [x] (L).

GGR-

[s] Revel. c. iv. ver. 15, 16. [t] lib. xiii. [u] Strab. ubi ſupra. Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3. Ulpianus lege prima, ſect. xiii. [w] lib. iv. [x] Ammian. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. Dio. Nicæ. in vita Trajan. p. 252, ed. H. Steph. 1592.

(K) Terrari in his dictionary tells us, that Laodicea is ſtill called Laudichia, and by the Turks Nove Lefche, that it is one of the archbiſhopricks of Aſia Minor, &c. But he is either miſtaken, or the town was not quite demoliſhed in his time; at preſent it lies in ruins, and is only the habitation of wild beaſts. Several travellers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, have taken the village Laotik near Angoura for Laodicea. At Eſkihiſſar, as it is now called, there are ſtill to be ſeen four theatres of white marble, as intire as if they had been but lately built; near one of them is an inſcription in honour of the emperor Titus, which the reader will find in Spons's account of the ſeven churches (34).

(L) Strabo, an eye witneſs (35), ſays, that in his time this Plutonium or opening was incloſed with baliſters taking up about half an acre of ground in compaſs, that the peſtilent ſteam kept within that incloſure, ſo that one might approach the baliſter without the leaſt danger; but whoever advanced one ſtep further was immediately ſtifled. What Strabo affirms is vouched by Ammian-

us,

(34) Spon. lib. iii. (35) lib. xiii.

GORDIUM, the seat of Gordius king of Phrygia, and famous for the Gordian knot which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. This town was situated on the borders of Phrygia towards Cappadocia, and not between the two Phrygias, where Justin places it[y]. Not long after the death of Gordius it was reduced to a poor beggarly village, as Strabo calls it, and continued in this despicable condition till the triumvirate of Augustus, when it was again made a city and called Juliopolis by one Cleo, a famous robber native of that place (M).

COLOSSE, now Chonos, on the south side of Mæander, to the people whereof St. Paul wrote that epistle which is part of our canon.

SIPYLUS, the residence of Tantalus, and therefore called also Tantalis. Some place this city in Meonia, supposing Tantalus to have reigned there. 'Tis observable, that four cities, viz. Sipylus, Archæopolis, Colpe, and Lebade, were successively built on the same spot and destroyed by earthquakes.

SYNNADA, Synada, or Synnade, noted for its marble quarries. This city was by Constantine the Great declared the metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris, after his division of Phrygia into Pacatiana and Salutaris took place (N). Besides

[y] lib. xi. c. 7.

as, Dio Nicæus, both eye-witnesses, Apuleius, and many others (36). The city of Hierapolis is now called Bamboakkale, and some foot-steps of what it once was are to be seen in the many heaps of ruins and fine pillars in the fields where it stood; insomuch, that Dr. Smith after viewing them could not help thinking this city to have been inferior to none.

(M) This Cleo having with a band of robbers possessed himself of a strong hold on mount Olympus called Collydium, by frequent excursions from thence prevented the officers of Labienus prefect of Asia from gathering the annual tributes, on which consideration he was by Marc Antony rewarded with large territories. But in the Actiac war revolting from Antony he sided with Augustus, who added great part of Morena to what Antony had bestowed on him, created him priest of Jupiter Abrettenus worshipped by the Mysians, and high priest of Bellona adored in Commana of Pontus, a dignity no ways inferior to that of kings (37).

(N) In the fifth general council held at Constantinople, Severus subscribes as bishop of Synnada the metropolis of Phrygia

(36) ubi supra & Apuleius de Mundo. (37) Strab. lib. xii.

ſides theſe and ſeveral other cities of leſs note mentioned by the antients, there were in latter times ſome of no ſmall account, ſuch as Saqua, the habitation of Etrogul father of Ottoman the firſt king of the Turks, Charachiſar, by the Greeks called Melampyrgus, or the Black-tower, Cillexuga, Einegiol, &c. taken by the ſaid Ottoman from the chriſtian princes at the firſt riſe of the Ottoman empire.

THE rivers of this country which we ſhall take notice of, are the Mæander, now Madre and Mindre, a river ſo celebrated by the antients for its windings and turnings, that all obliquities are from thence called Meanders. It riſes on the hill Celæne, the ſame as Aulocrene mentioned by Pliny [z], at the foot of which ſtood antiently a famous city of the ſame name. Pliny [a] and Strabo [b] derive it from a lake on the top of the ſaid hill. It paſſes through Phrygia, divides Caria from Lydia, and after 600 windings [c], by which it ſeems to flow back to its fountain-head, empties itſelf into the Archipelago between Priene and Miletus (O).

[z] l. xxxviii. [a] ubi ſupra. [b] Strab. l. xii. [c] Dio Pruſæus, lib. i.

gia Salutaris (38); and yet Socrates, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory (39), and Nicephorus, blindly following him, place this city in Phrygia Pacatiana (40). And here we may obſerve by the way, that in the fourth general council held at chalcedon, Aberius ſubſcribes as biſhop of Hierapolis in Phrygia Salutaris (41), which ſome have looked upon as a miſtake crept into the acts of that council, not reflecting, that beſides the more known city of Hierapolis in Phrygia Pacatiana, there was another of leſs note in Phrygia Salutaris. They are both mentioned by Pliny (42), and the one ſaid to be under the juriſdiction of Laodicea, the other under that of Pergamus.

(O) The Cayſter, now Minderſcare, bears ſuch a reſemblance to the Mæander, that many of our modern travellers, and among them the incomparable Pietro della valle, du Loir, and Manconis, have miſtaken the one for the other (42). The Turks call the

(38) Concil. v. Collat. viii. (39) lib. vii. cap 3. (40) Nicephor. Calliſt. hiſtor. lib. xiv. c. 11. (41) Concil. Chalced. Act. xvi. (42) lib. v.. 29, & 30.

THE river Marſya, ſo named from Marſyas, a celebrated muſician, who challenging Apollo, was by him overcome, and flead his for preſumption. Moſt of the antients tell us, that this river hath its ſpring near that of the Mæander; but Maximus Tyrius [d], who was upon the ſpot, derives them both from the ſame ſource, and ſo does Strabo [e]. It ruſhes down from a conſiderable height between rugged rocks and precipices with great noiſe, on which account it was called by Herodotus [f] Cataracta. It has not only the ſame ſpring with the Mæander, but flows in the ſame channel through the town of Celæne, ſtanding at the foot of the river on which it riſes. In leaving the town the main ſtream divides itſelf into two branches, and forms theſe two rivers, the one the moſt winding river in the world, the other without ſo much as one turning during its whole courſe, and therefore flowing with an incredible rapidity. Near Apamea, that is after a courſe of ten miles only, the Marſyas is again received within the banks of the Mæander which it left at Celæne; ſo that in reality theſe two rivers are but two branches of the ſame original ſtream. Q. Curtius gives us a noble deſcription of it [g], and adds, that while it flows within the walls of Celæne it is named Marſyas, which name, on its leaving that city, it changes for that of Lycus; but, with this author's leave, Maſyas and Lycus are quite different rivers; the Lycus ſprings from mount Olympus and diſcharges itſelf into the Mæander not far from Laodicea, which was therefore called Laodicea on the Lycus; this is a quite different courſe from that of the Marſyas, which we have already deſcribed [h] (P).

SANGA-

[d] Serm. xxxviii. [e] lib. xii. [f] lib. vii. [g] lib. iii.
[h] Vid. Salmas. Plinian Exercitat. cap. xxxviii. p. 582.

the Cayſter Coutchouk mindre and Minderſcare, that is, the little Mæander, or the black Mæander; and the Mæander itſelf Boujouc-Mindre, the great Mæander. Some have obſerved, that it forms in its courſe the following Greek characters, ξ, ζ, ς, ω, &c. ſome pretend, that Dædalus formed his labyrinth on this plan, Seneca (43) calls it poetarum omnium exercitatio & ludus; but Ovid's deſcription of it (44) is, in our opinion, an inimitable piece, and far preferable to any other.

(P) The poets feign, that Marſyas having challenged Apollo, who flead him for his pride and arrogance, his death was ſo

(43) Epiſt. 105. (44) Metamorph. l. viii.

SANGARIUS, Sangaris, or Sangurus, is numbered by Pliny among the rivers of note [i]; it ſprings from the hill Dindymus, waſhes Phrygia and Bithynia, and empties itſelf into the Black-ſea. Phryx, which divides Phrygia from Caria, and diſembogues itſelf into the Hermus, now Sarabat. Hermus, much celebrated by the poets for its gold ſands, takes its rits riſe near Dorylaum, and falls into the Archipelago near Smyrna. Myſias, Orgos, Obrima, &c.

[i] Plin. lib. 1.

ſo bemoaned by the nymphs and ſatyrs, that from their tears ſprung a river called after him Marſyas. This Marſyas is ſaid to have been the ſon of Olympus, and one of the moſt ingenious men of his age. He was the inventor of the pipe called Syrinx, and the firſt that brought in the playing on two pipes at a time. He was born, put to death, and buried near the ſpring of the river that bears his name. Pliny (45) gravely writes, that in his time was ſtill to be ſeen the plane-tree on which this unhappy muſician ended his days. Others ſay with the ſame appearance of truth, that it was a pine-tree. Maximus Tyrius (46) informs us, that the rivers Mæander and Marſyas were both worſhipped by the inhabitants of Celæne; and adds, that the victims and offerings, though thrown into the common ſtream, never failed being carried by the waters, at their parting, into the channel of that river, for which the pious votaries had deſigned them. The river Lycus, which Q. Curtius, and with him Mr. Spon, miſtakes for the Marſyas (47), runs a few miles under-ground, but appears again before it loſes itſelf in the Mæander, which Ovid ſeems to have been ignorant of when he ſaid (48),

Sic, ubi terreno Lycus eſt epotus hiatu,
Exiſtit procul hinc, alioque renaſcitur orbe.

(45) lib. L. (46) Sermon, 38. (47) Voyage d' Italie, &c. tom. i, lib. iii. (48) Metamorph. lib. xiv.

SECT. III.

Of the antiquity, government, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, &c. of the antient Phrygians,

Their antiquity.

THE Phrygians deemed themſelves the moſt antient people of the world, which opinion ſeems to have prevailed even among the Egyptians, at leaſt in the time of Pſammiticus, who in point of antiquity looked upon all other nations with an eye of contempt. For we are told [k], that after the experiment, which we have mentioned elſewhere [l], thoſe great boaſters of antiquity acknowledged the Phrygians to be more antient, challenging only the ſecond rank to themſelves. And hence it is, that Apuleius [m] diſtinguiſhes them with the epithet of firſt-born.

Origin.

As to their origin, ſome ſuppoſe them deſcended from Togarmah, one of the ſons of Gomer; and of this opinion are Joſephus and S. Hierome [n], who adds, that they were known to the Hebrews under the name of Tigrammanes. Herodotus [o], Strabo [p], Pliny [q], and Euſtathius [r], led by the ſimilitude of names, a deceitful guide, derive them from the Brigians a people of Macedonia, who paſſing into Aſia Minor, were, with a ſmall alteration, called Phrygians, and the country which they ſettled in named Phrygia. We are not unwilling to allow, that as the Phrygians and Brigians bore anciently the ſame name, ſo they were originally one and the ſame people; but how it can be deduced from thence, that the Brigians paſſed out of Europe into Aſia rather than the Phrygians out of Aſia into Europe, is what we do not comprehend. All that can be concluded from this ſimilitude, or, if you pleaſe, identity, of names is, that they were both derived from the ſame origin; but in order to prove, that the Phrygians were a colony of the Brigians, rather than the Brigians a colony from

[k] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 9. [l] Phaleg. lib. iii. [m] de Aſino aur. l. xi. [n] Joſeph. Ant. l. i. c. 7. Hieron. in quæſt. Hebraicis. [o] lib. vii. [p] lib. vii. x. xii. [q] lib. v. c. 37. [r] Euſtath. in Homer. & Dionys.

from Phrygia, recourſe muſt be had to ſome other argument. All we can ſay is, that if they Phrygians had been deſcended from the Macedonians, it is not likely, they would have piqued themſelves ſo much on their antiquity; at leaſt other nations, namely the Egyptians, would not ſo readily have yielded to them the priority. Bochart [s] is of opinion, that the Phrygians were the offspring of Gomer, the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, the word Phrygia being, as we have obſerved elſewhere, the Greek tranſlation of his name. Joſephus makes Gomer the father of the Galatians, but he by the Galatians muſt neceſſarily mean the Phrygians, inhabiting that part of Phrygia which the Galatians had made themſelves maſters of; the deſcendants of Gomer being placed by Ezekiel [t] northward of Judea near Togarmah, (which Bochart takes to be Cappadocia) long before the Gauls paſſed over into Aſia. Moſt of the modern writers will have the Cimmerii to be the offspring of Gomer, underſtanding their country by the country of Gomer mentioned in the ſcripture. But as the Cimmerians lay beyond the Euxine ſea, at a vaſt diſtance from Judea, we can hardly think, that the Jews had any knowledge of a nation ſo remote from them. The Chaldee paraphraſts place Gomer in Afric, wherein they muſt certainly be miſtaken, ſince it is plain from Ezekiel [u], that his country lay northward of Judea. We are therefore willing to let Gomer enjoy the fine country which Bochart is pleaſed to give him, and allow him the honour of being the progenitor of the Phrygians, ſince we have no-body elſe to beſtow it on.

THE antient Phrygians are deſcribed as a ſuperſtitious, voluptuous, and effeminate race, without any prudence or forecaſt, and of ſuch a ſervile temper, that nothing but ſtripes and ill-uſage could make them comply with their duty, which gave riſe to ſeveral trite and well-known proverbs (Q). They are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors

[s] Phaleg. lib. iii. cap. 8. [t] Ezek. xlviii. 6. [u] ubi. ſupra.

(Q) Phryges ſero ſapiunt, Phryx verberatus melior, Phryx non minus quam ſyhntharus, &c. which proverbs intimate their ſervile temper, and ſhew, that they were more fit to bewail misfortunes in an unmanly manner, than to prevent them by proper meaſures. Their muſic too was ſuited to their effeminate temper. The Doric mood was a kind of grave and ſolid muſic; the Lydian a doleful and lamentable harmony; but the Phrygian chiefly calculated to effeminate and enervate the mind. But this is contradicted by others.

tors of divination by the ſinging, flying, and feeding of birds. Their muſic, commonly called the Phrygian mood, is alledged by ſome as an argument of their effeminacy.

Their Government.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be ſaid, that it was monarchical, and that all Phrygia was, during the reigns of ſome kings, ſubject to one prince, Ninnacus, Midas, Manis, Gordius, and his deſcendants, were certainly lords of all Phrygia. But ſome time before the Trojan war we find this country divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, and read of divers princes reigning at the ſame time. Apollodorus [w] mentions a king of Phrygia contemporary with Ilus king of Troy. Cedrenus [x] and others ſpeak of one Teuthrans king of a ſmall country in Phrygia, whoſe territories were ravaged by Ajax, himſelf ſlain in a ſingle combat, his royal ſeat laid in aſhes, and his daughter, by name Tecmeſſa, carried away captive by the conqueror. Homer [y] makes mention of Phorcys and Aſcanius, both princes and leaders of the Phrygian auxiliaries that came to the relief of Troy. Tantalus was king of Sipylus only and its diſtrict, a prince no leſs famous for his great wealth, than infamous for his covetouſneſs and other deteſtable vices. Whether Phrygia was ever ſubdued by Ninus, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, or by the Amazons, as we read in Suidas [z], is much queſtioned by the learned. Moſt authors, that ſpeak of Gordius, tell us, that the Phrygians, having ſent to conſult an oracle, in order to know how they might put an end to the inteſtine broils, which rent their country into many factions and parties, received for anſwer, that the moſt effectual means to deliver themſelves and their country from the calamities they groaned under, was to commit the government to a king, which they did accordingly, placing Gordius on the throne. Whence we may conclude, that, ſome time before his acceſſion to the crown, an ariſtocratical or democratical form of government had been introduced

Their trade, laws, learning.

As to their trade, all we can ſay is, that Apamea was the chief emporium of all Aſia Minor. Thith rereſorted merchants and traders from all parts of Greece, Italy, and the neighbouring iſlands. Beſides, we know from Syncellus, that the Phrygians were for ſome time maſters of the ſea (he ſays 25 years); and none but trading nations ever

[w] lib. iii. [x] Cedrenus, p. 104. Sophocl. in Ajace. Calaber. lib. iii. [y] Homer. Iliad. B [z] Suid. vit. ορφευς.

ever prevailed on that element. The country was ſtocked with many choice and uſeful commodities, and well able to afford conſiderable exports. They had a ſafe coaſt, convenient harbours, and whatever may incline us to think that they carried on a conſiderable trade. But as moſt of the Phrygian records are loſt, we will not dwell on conjectures ſo hard to be aſcertained.

We have no ſet form of their laws; and as to their learning, ſince we are told that for ſome time they enjoyed the ſovereignty of the ſea, we may, at leaſt, allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy, and add to theſe, from what we have ſaid above, a more than ordinary knowledge of muſic.

Their language.

Some have been of opinion, that the Phrygian language bore a great reſemblance to the Greek; but the contrary is manifeſt from the few Phrygian words which have been tranſmitted to us, and carefully collected by Bochart [a] and Rudbechius [b]. To theſe we may add the authority of Strabo [c], who, after attempting to derive the name of a Phrygian city from the Greek, concludes, that it is a difficult matter to diſcover any ſimilitude between the barbarous words of the Phrygian language and the Greek. The Phrygian tongue after the experiment made by Pſammiticus king of Egypt, as we have mentioned elſewhere [d], was looked upon by the Egyptians as the moſt antient language of the world. But other nations, namely the Scythians, refuſed to ſubmit to their opinion, as founded on an argument of no real weight. As the two children, ſay they, had never heard the voice of any human creature, the word Bec or Bekkos, the firſt they uttered, was only an imitation of the goats that had ſuckled them, and happened to be a Phrygian word ſignifying bread (R). A late writer [f], after obſerving that Homer in ſeveral paſſages diſtinguiſhes the language of the gods from that of men, endeavours

[a] Bochart. Quæſt. num Æneas unquam fuerit in Italia. [b] Rudbec. in Atlant tom. i. cap. 36. [c] Strab. lib. xii. [d] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 537. [e] Lakemacherus. obſer. Philol.

(R) Goropius Becanus makes uſe of the ſame argument to prove, that the High-Duch is the original or mother-tongue of the world, becauſe the word Becker in that language ſignifies a baker.

to ſhew, that the poet by the language of the gods meant the Greek, and by that of men the Phrygian (S).

Their Religion

As to the religion of the antient Phrygians, we have already obſerved, that they were greatly addicted to ſuperſtition. They had many idols, but the goddeſs Cybele ſeems to have been their principal deity. She was called Cybele, Berecynthia, Dindymene, from Cybelus, Berecynthus, Dindymenus, all hills of Phrygia, and Idæa from mount Ida in Troas, becauſe on theſe hills ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner (T). She was alſo named Cubebe,

(S) Gothofredus Lakemacherus in order to prove this chuſes the two following verſes (49);

Αυτα δ' αρ' Ηφαιστοιο μεγας ποταμος βαθυδινης,
Ὁν Ξανθον καλεσσι θεοι, ἀνδρες δε Σκάμανδρον,

where Homer tells us, that the river here mentioned is by the gods named Xanthos and by men Scamander. He ſhews, that as Xanthos is a Greek word ſignifying yellow, the above mentioned river had very probably its name, from the Greeks, who gave the ſame name, as Strabo (50) witneſſes, to another river in Lycia on account of its yellow ſands. From hence he infers, that Homer, by the language of the gods, can mean no other than the Greek. As to the word Scamander, he thinks that this name was communicated to the river from one Scamandrius ſon of Hector and king of the Phrygians, whoſe territories were watered by this river, it being a common cuſtom among the antients to call the rivers after the names of the princes through whoſe countries they had their courſe. Now as Scamandrius, ſays he, was a Phrygian, his name was undoubtedly taken from that language; from whence he concludes, that the name of the river Scamander is originally Phrygian, and that Homer by the language of men means the Phrygian. This author concludes the ſame of all other paſſages in Homer, where ſuch a diſtinction is made; the more becauſe two other words attributed by Homer to men, viz. Bateia and Kumindis, are without doubt Phrygian; the one being the name of a hill in Phrygia, and the other of a bird moſtly frequenting mount Ida in Troas.

(T) Phiioſtephanus is of opinion, that the hill Dindymene was ſo called, becauſe it had διδυμας μασας two tops; but Strabo ſays in expreſs terms that it has but one. Bochart (51) thinks, that

(49) Iliad. 20. ver. 73. (50) lib. xiv. p. 665. (51) Bochart. de Quæſt. Utrum. Æneas fuerit unquam in Italia; a cym-

Cubebe, becauſe her prieſts, when ſeized with their frantic fits, uſed to throw themſelves on their heads, that name being derived from a Phœnician verb of that import. Arnobius [g] gives us the following account of Cybele from the mythology of the Gentiles. There was a vaſt rock on the borders of Phrygia, called in the language of that country Agdus, from whence Deucalion and Pyrrha, by the direction of Themis, took the ſtones, which they made uſe of to repair mankind after the duluge. From one of theſe ſprung Cybele the great mother of the gods. The ſame rock conceived by Jupiter and brought forth Acdeſtis, who is ſaid to have been an hermaphrodite, of invincible ſtrength, of a moſt cruel and intractable temper, and, above all, a moſt outragious enemy of the gods, who were in no ſmall fear of him, till Bacchus by a cunning contrivance found means to deprive him of his manhood, and thereby rendered him ſomewhat more tractable. From the blood he ſhed on this occaſion ſprung up a pomegranate-tree loaded with fruit in full perfection and maturity, which Nana daughter to king Sangarius being wonderfully taken with, gathered one, and, as it was of a moſt beautiful appearance, put it in her boſom. This coſt her dear, for ſoon after proving with child, notwithſtanding all her proteſtations of innocence, ſhe was by her father ſhut up and condemned to ſtarve. But being maintained alive with fruit conveyed to her by Cybele, ſhe was in due time delivered of a ſon, who being expoſed by his grandfather's order, was privately taken up by one Phorbus, and nurſed with goats milk; whence he was called Attis, the word Attagos in the Phrygian dialect ſignifying a goat. As he grew up he proved a moſt beautiful youth, and was on that ſcore greatly favoured both by Cybele and Acdeſtis; nay Midas king of Phrygia, then reſiding at Peſſinus, was ſo taken with

[g] Arnobius contra Gentes, lib. viii.

a cymbal was in the Phrygian language called Dindum, as it is in the Syrian Zinzum; and from thence he derives the name of the hill Dindymus; the more, becauſe the invention of cymbals is generally aſcribed to the Phrygians, and in particular to this goddeſs (52), whoſe feſtival was on that account ſolemnized on mount Dindyme with great noiſe of cymbals, drums, trumpets, and other inſtruments.

(52) Diodor. Sicul. lib. iii.

with him, that he designed to bestow on him his only daughter, by name Ia. The day appointed for the nuptials being come, Midas, to prevent any disturbance that other suiters might create, caused the gates of the city to be shut and well guarded. But no gates or guards could keep out the great mother of the gods, who, being stung with jealousy, presented herself at the gate of the royal palace, with the walls of the city and all their turrets on her head; whence she was ever afterwards pictured with a crown of towers on her head. At the same time, came Acdestis, who, inspiring with an enthusiastic frenzy all who assisted at the fatal nuptials, changed the genial banquet into a scene of horror and confusion. The unhappy bridegroom in the height of his fury emasculating himself under a pine-tree, soon after died of the wound; the bride laying violent hands on herself accompanied her spouse to the shades. Acdestis and Cybele drenched in tears long bewailed the untimely and cruel death of their beloved Attis, and Jupiter having, at their joint entreaties, exempted his body from corruption, a magnificent temple was erected to his memory in Pessinus, ceremonies instituted, priests appointed, &c. Thus far Arnobius.

Eusebius [h] gives us a very different account of Cybele and Attis or Atys, copied, as he informs us, from the antient Phrygian mythologists. According to these, the first king of Phrygia, by name Meon, was father to Cybele, who being smitten with the charms of Attis, proved with child by him; whereupon Meon caused Attis to be put to death, at which Cybele being unspeakably grieved wandered long up and down Phrygia, seeking in the mountains and woods some allay to her grief. Her sorrow being in length of time somewhat asswaged, she admitted Apollo into an intimacy with her, and with him wandered to the Hyperboreans. By his order the body of Attis was interred, and Cybele after her death ranked among the gods. From these two accounts of Cybele, which come both from very good hands, we may conclude, that the Phrygians had different genealogies for, and traditions of, this their chief deity (U).

This

[h] Eusеb. de præpar. evangelic. l. ii iv.

(U) The Roman writers differs widely from those we have quoted, and frequently among themselves. Cybele according to

THIS goddeſs was pictured ſitting in a charriot drawn by four lions, crowned with towers, holding a key in her hand, and attired with a garment ſeeded with flowers of different colours. The mythologiſts by Cybele mean the earth, taking her crown of towers to be an emblem of the towns and cities built thereon; the key ſhe holds in her hand intimates, that the earth, which, during the winter, is in a certain manner locked up, begins to open in the ſpring, and the ſeeds to ſhoot up; her garment variegated with flowers of divers colours is a ſymbol of earth beautifully enamelled with all kinds of flowers; the lions that draw her chariot denote her empire over all ſorts of animals; which ſhe both produces and nouriſhes; finally Saturn, that is time, is feigned to be her huſband, to ſignify, that the earth produces nothing but in time. Euſebius and others [i] are of opinion: that Cybele was a woman famous for remedies againſt ſuch diſtempers as young children are ſubject to, and that on this ſkill or knowledge are grounded all the ſtories that are related of her.

CYBELE had her peculiar prieſts, ceremonies, and ſacrifices. Her prieſts were called in the Phrygian language Cubeboi, for the reaſon we have alledged above. The Greeks and Latins named them Curetes, Corybantes, which

[i] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. Euſeb. de præpar. evang.

to them was the daughter of heaven and earth, wife of Saturn, and the ſame with Ops, Rhea, Veſta, and the Bona dea. She was expoſed immediately after her birth on mount Cybelus, nurſed there firſt by wild beaſts, and after by the wife of a ſhepherd who found her by chance, &c. The Romans having learnt from the books of the Sybils, that they would never be able to drive the Carthaginians out of Italy, till the Idean mother was brought to Rome, ſent therefore embaſſadors to king Attalus, who delivered them a ſtone, which the inhabitants of Peſſinus called the great mother of the gods. This happened in the year of Rome 550 (53). 'Tis to be obſerved, that the Romans made Cybele to be the ſame with Veſta, but acknowledged two goddeſſes bearing the ſame appellation, which their poets frequently confound; Cybele was that Veſta they called the earth and wife to Saturn, ſhe was called Veſta becauſe Stat vi terra ſua, as Ovid ſays, vi ſtando Veſta vocatur. The other was daughter to Saturn, and the goddeſs of fire, or rather fire itſelf, according to that verſe of the ſame poet, Nec tu aliud Veſtâ quam vivam intellige flammam.

(53) Liv. Decad. iii. l. 9.

which is the Greek tranſlation of the word Cubeboi, and Galli, from the river Gallus, flowing through Peſſinus, where this goddeſs had a magnificent temple. They were alſo ſtiled Idæi Dactyli ; but it is no eaſy matter to account for this appellation. Sophocles quoted by Strabo [k] informs us, that they were called Idæi becauſe they inhabited mount Ida, and Dactyli from the Greek word Dactylus, ſignifying a finger, they being at firſt ten, which is the number of a man's fingers. Strabo indeed numbers five brothers [l], viz. Hercules, Pæon, Epimides, Jaſias, and Idas, adding, that they had as many ſiſters. But in other writers we find three only mentioned, and quite different from thoſe Strabo ſpeaks of, viz. Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Acmon. Apollonius [m] acknowledges but two, Fitia and Cyllenus. Some derive the name of Corybantes from the word Cherub, ſignifying in the Phœnician language valiant, and add, that they were the guards of the firſt kings of Phrygia [n] (W).

[k] Strab. lib. x. p. 473. [l] ubi ſupra. [m] Apollon. Argonaut. [n] Fr. Not. in Scholiaſt. Luciani. tom. ii. Pitiſcus. Lexicon Antiquitat. Natalis Comes. l. ix. Myth. c. vii.

(W) Diodorus tells us (54), that Cybele was daughter to Meon king of Phrygia, that ſhe married Jaſius a Samothracian the brother of Dardanus, and had by him a ſon called Corybas; that after the death of her huſband ſhe went with Dardanus and Corybas into Phrygia, and introduced into that country the myſteries of the mother of the gods, calling the goddeſs after her own name Cybele, and her prieſts Corybantes from her ſon Corybas. Thus Diodorus ; but Dionyſius (55) informs us, that Dardanus inſtituted the Samothracian myſteries, that his wife Chryſes learnt them in Arcadia, and that Idæus the ſon of Dardanus inſtituted afterwards the myſteries of the mother of the gods in Phrygia. Herodotus brings the Curetes out of Phœnicia with Cadmus ; and Sir Iſaac Newton (56) thinks, that having followed Cadmus out of Phœnicia, ſome of them ſettled in Phrygia where they were called Corybantes, ſome in Crete where they were named Idæi Dactyli, others in Rhodes where they were ſtiled Telchines ; others in Samothrace where they were known under the name of Cabiri ; ſome in Eubœa, where, as they were well ſkilled in arts and ſciences, they wrought in copper (iron not being yet invented) in a city thence called Chalcis ; ſome in Lemnos, where they aſſiſted Vulcan ; ſome in Imbrus ; and

(54) Diodor. p. 223. (55) Dionyſ. l. i. p. 38, 42.
(56) The chronology of antient kingdoms, &c. c. ii. p. 146.

THE ceremonies performed by theſe prieſts in honour of this goddeſs were, 1ſt, At ſtated times they uſed to carry her ſtatue about the ſtreets dancing and ſkipping round it, and after having with violent geſticulations worked themſelves up to the height of frenſy, they began to cut and ſlaſh their bodies with knives and lancets, appearing ſeized with a divine fury. This ceremony was performed in commemoration

and a very conſiderable number of them in Ætolia, which was thence called the country of the Curetes, till Ætolus the ſon of Endymion, poſſeſſing himſelf of it, called it Ætolia. Theſe Curetes making themſelves armour uſed to dance in it at the ſacrifices, with great noiſe of pipes, and drums, and ſwords, which they ſtruck upon one another's armour, keeping time and forming ſome kind of harmony. And this is reckoned the origin of muſic in Greece both by Solinus and Iſidorus (57). Clemens Alexandrinus (58) aſcribes to the Curetes the invention of muſical rhymes. and of the letters called Epheſian. And Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion (59), that when the Phœnician letters were by Cadmus brought into Greece, they were at the ſame time introduced into Phrygia and Crete by the Curetes, who called them Epheſian from the city of Epheſus where they were firſt taught. Theſe Curetes were no leſs eſteemed for their ſkill and knowledge in religious matters and myſtical practiſes, than for their arts and ſciences (60). In Phrygia they attended the myſteries of Cybele; in Crete and the Terra Curetum thoſe of Jupiter, who had been brought up under their care and tuition in a cave of mount Ida, where they danced about him in their armour, with great noiſe to drown the cries of the infant, and conceal him from his father Saturn who ſought his deſtruction. Bochart (61) brings them from Paleſtine, and thinks, they had the name of Curetes from a people among the Philiſtines called Crethim or Cerethites. We muſt not forget, that Cybele or the Great Mother was ſometimes repreſented with a key, and ſometimes with a drum in her hand; which has made ſome think that ſhe was the ſame with the Syrian goddeſs Aſtarte, whoſe chariot was alſo drawn by lions. Lucian tells us (62), that ſhe was the Cretan Rhea, that is, according to ſome, Europa the ſiſter of Cadmus; and thus the Phœnicians firſt introduced, as Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves, among the Greeks and Phrygians the practice of deifying their dead; for we meet with no inſtance of any ſuch practice before the departure of Cadmus and Europa from Sidon.

(57) Solin. Polyhiſt. c. xi. Iſidor. orig. l. xi. c. 6. (58) Clem. Strom. l. i. (59) ubi ſupra. (60) Strab. l. x. p. 472, 473. Diodor. l. v. c. 4. (61) Boch. in Canaan, l. i. c. 15. (62) Lucian. de Saltatione.

commemoration of the grief wherewith Cybele was transported at the death of her beloved Attis: 2dly, A pine-tree was yearly wrapt up in wool, and with great solemnity carried by the priests into the temple of the goddess, in commemoration of her wrapping up after the same manner the dead body of Attis and carrying it to her cave; on these occasions the priests were crowned with violets, which were supposed to have sprung from the blood of Attis, when he had laid violent hands on himself. The victims immolated in honour of the Phrygian goddess were a bull or a she-goat, whence the sacrifice was called Taurobolium or Criobolium. At Rome a sow was yearly sacrificed to her, and the ceremony performed by a priest and priestess sent for out of Phrygia on that occasion. Her priests, (those at least who were known under the name of Galli) were all eunuchs; this the great goddess required of them in memory of Attis; the waters of the river Gallus, when plentifully drunk, were believed to inspire them with such a frantic enthusiasm, as to perform the operation on themselves without the least reluctancy. They were not allowed to drink wine, because Attis, overcome with that liquor, discloſed his amours with Acdestis, which he had ever before concealed with the utmost care. They abstained from bread, in commemoration of the long fast which Cybele kept after the death of the same Attis. They held oaths to be unlawful on all occasions, which tenet, some tell us, was common to all the Phrygians. The priests were placed after their death on a stone ten cubits high [o]. Though the Romans professed a great veneration for Cybele, yet we find, that they looked upon her priests as the very refuse of mankind; of which we have a signal instance in Valerius Maximus [p], who tells us, that one Genutius, a Gallus or eunuch of Cybele, having by a decree of the prætor been admitted to the possession of an estate that had been bequeathed him, Mamercus Æmilius Lepidus, at that time consul, being appealed to, reversed the decree of the prætor, adding thereunto, that an eunuch, as being neither man nor woman, could not enjoy any privileges of that nature. This judgment Valerius Maximus extolls as

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[o] Arnol. lib. v. Hierony. Epist. ad Lætam. [p] Val. Max. l. vii. c. 7. Natalis Comes. l. ix. Myth. Pitiscus. Lexicon. Antiquit. &.

a decree worthy of Mamercus, worthy of one that was at the head of the ſenate, ſince it put a ſtop to the appearing of eunuchs in the courts of judicature, and defiling the tribunals with their unhallowed preſence, under pretence of ſuing for juſtice.

BESIDES Cybele, who was the peculiar deity of Phrygia, the Phrygians had divers other idols; namely Bacchus whom they ſtiled Sabazios, and his prieſts and temples Saboi, whence Bochart derives the Hebrew word Sabbath, as that of Levite from Lyſius and Evius [q]. Apollodorus acquaints us, [r] that while Bacchus was travelling through Phrygia, he was purified by Cybele, inſtructed in her myſteries, and preſented by her with a ſtole, which was the firſt he ever uſed (X). Adagyus, whom Bochart [s] takes to be Hermaphroditus, the ſon of Venus and Mercury, there being, at leaſt to his ear, a great ſimilitude of ſound between Adagyus and Androgynus. Some rank alſo the Cabiri or Cabires among the Phrygian deities, and add, that they were ſo called from Cabirus a hill in Phrygia, or, as Steſimbrotus terms it, in Berecynthia [t]. But others, with more appearance of truth, derive their name from the Hebrew word Cabir, ſignifying great or powerful [u]. Some confine the number of the Cabiri to two, viz. Jupiter and Bacchus; but Manaſeas enumerates four, Ceres, Proſerpine, Pluto, and Mercury, whom he diſguiſes under the uncouth appellations of Axioros, Axiokerſa, Axiokerſos, and Kaſmilos; to theſe Dionyſidorus adds a fifth whom he ſtiles Caſmilus, called by others Camillus, and the ſame with Mercury; but he is univerſally looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and no ways on the level with the Cabiri, termed the moſt high, the moſt powerful [w]. But theſe we ſhall have occaſion

[q] Vide Boch. ubi. ſupra. [r] Apollodor. lib. iii. [s] Boch. ubi ſupra. [t] Bochar. ubi. ſupra. [u] Bochar. ubi ſupra. [w] Bochar. ubi ſupra.

(X) Stephanus (65) writes, that when Bacchus was born, Jupiter committed the care of him to one of Cybele's female attendants, by name Ma, who being aſked by Juno, whoſe child ſhe nurſed, anſwered, that it was the child of Mars, whence Bacchus in the Carian dialect was called Maſaris or Maſares, that is, the Mars of Ma.

(65) Voce Μᾶ.

caſion to mention when we come to ſpeak of the Samothracian deities.

We likewiſe read of ſome dances and ſongs uſed by the Phrygians in ſolemnizing the feſtivals of their gods, and ſometimes on other occaſions, which they called Lityerſes, from Lityerſes ſon of Midas king of Phrygia. Heſychius mentions certain Phrygian dances called by him Briciſmata, without doubt from the word Briges the antient name of the Phrygians [x]. Some ſpeak of a dance called Sicinnis, invented, ſay they, by a Phrygian nymph, and uſed by the Phrygians in honour of Sabatius, whom they add to the number of the other Phrygian gods [y]. But it is now time to proceed to the hiſtory of the Phrygian kings.

[x] Bochar. ubi ſupra. [y] Bochar. ubi ſupra.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of Phrygia.

THE ſucceſſions and reigns of the kings of Phrygia are overcaſt with ſuch an impenetrable miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and appears moſt worthy of credit.

The firſt king of Phrygia we find mentioned in hiſtory is Nannacus, Annacus, or Cannacas, for he bore all theſe appellations. Suidas [a] ſays, that he reigned before the flood of Deucalion, and that from thence things exceeding antient were proverbially ſaid, to be from the time of Nannacus. He lived to a very great age, for it is recorded of him, that when he was above three hundred years old he ſent to enquire of all ſuch oracles as were in any repute how long he ſhould live. The oracles unanimouſly anſwered, that at his death all things were to periſh; whereupon repairing with his ſubjects to the temples of the gods, he

[a] Verbo Αννακος.

he ſtrove there with many ſighs and tears to appeaſe their wrath, and avert the impending calamaties; and thence to weep like Nannacus, became a trite expreſſion to ſignify an extraordinary grief or ſorrow [x]. Not long after Nannacus died, and the flood of Deucalion enſued, which was attended with the deſtruction of mankind.

MIDAS appears next, of whom all we can ſay is, that he reſided at Peſſinus, and deſigned to diſpoſe of his daughter, by name Ia, in marriage to Attis or Atys, as we have already mentioned. This perhaps is the Midas who built, as Diodorus Siculus informs us [y], a magnificent temple at Peſſinus, and appointed yearly ſacrifices to be performed there in honour of the great mother of the gods. Hyginus ſeems to make him the ſon of Cybele [z].

THE next king we read of is Manis, a prince, as Plutarch [a] informs us, of ſuch proweſs and virtue, that the word Manic, derived from his name, became ſynonimous with Great, whence Manic atchievements were among the Phrygians the ſame as great, glorious, heroic atchivements [b].

AFTER theſe reigned Gordius, who was raiſed from the plough to the throne. His riſe is related thus [c]: While he was one day ploughing, an eagle ſettled on the yoke, and continued there all day. Gordius, terrified at this prodigy, went to conſult the ſoothſayers of Telmiſſus, a city in Lydia, about this ſo extraordinary an event; for the art of divining was, in a manner, hereditary to all the Telmiſſians. At his entering the city he met with a moſt beautiful young woman, who, upon his enquiring after the ſoothſayers, and acquainting her with the motives of his journey, informed him, as ſhe was herſelf ſkilled in the art, that nothing leſs than a kingdom was preſaged by that omen; and therewithal offered herſelf ready to ſhare with him in wedlock, the hopes with which ſhe had inſpired him. This offer ſeemed to him the greateſt happineſs that could attend a crown, he therefore readily complied with her requeſt, gratifying at the ſame time his own inclination.

[x] Suid. ubi ſupra. Eraſm. Chiliad. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. iii. c. 5. [z] Hygin. fab. 191. & 274. [a] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſirid. [b] Eraſm. Adag. Chiliad. i. Cent. iii. lxxvii. [c] Strab. l. xii. Juſtin. l. xi. Curt. l. iii. Arrian. l. ii. Ælian. vit. H. l. i. c. 1.

inclination. Not long after a sedition breaking out among the Phrygians, the oracles, which they consulted on that occasion, were all unanimous in advising them to commit the government to a king, if they desired to put a stop to the growing evils. Upon this the Phrygians having sent again to consult about the person whom they should raise to that dignity, their embassadors were enjoined to acquaint them, that the first man, who after their return should visit in a cart the temple of Jupiter, was by the gods designed for their king. The embassadors had scarce delivered the answer of the oracle, when Gordius appeared riding in his cart, and was immediately with loud shouts of joy proclaimed king of Phrygia. Gordius, acknowledging the crown from Jupiter, in memory of so signal a favour, consecrated in his temple the cart to regal majesty, which not by the Phrygians only, but other nations, was adored as a goddess. To the beam of the cart he fastened a knot, woven with such art, and so perplexed, that the monarchy of the world was promised by the oracles to him who should untie it, which Alexander the Great having attempted in vain, cut it at last with his sword, and thereby either fulfilled or eluded the oracle. We know nothing more of Gordius, but that he built the city of Gordium, which was his residence, and that of all the princes of the Gordian family. Plutarch writes [d], that his son Midas was born of the goddess worshipped by the Romans under the name of Bona Dea; but whether she was wife to Gordius is much questioned by the mythologists (Y).

GORDIUS

[d] Plutarch. in vita Cæsaris.

(Y) Midas the son of Gordius, according to Ælian and Arrian (64), was the first king of the Gordian family that reigned in Phrygia. They tell us, that the Phrygians, having enquired of the oracle by what means they could put an end to their intestine broils, received for answer, that a cart would bring them a king who should restore their country to its former tranquillity; and that while they were musing on this answer, Midas came riding in his cart into the throng, who was immediately acknowledged king. But most writers begin, as we have done, the reign of the Gordian family with Gordius himself. Justin (65) makes Midas king of the Brigians in Macedonia; and adds, that being driven from his own territories he retired to Asia Minor,

(64) Ælian. vit. H. l. i. c. 1. Arrian. l. iii. (65) Justin. l. xi. c. 7.

GORDIUS was ſucceeded by his ſon Midas, of whom it is recorded, that when he was a child, a ſwarm of ants was obſerved very busy one day, while he was aſleep, in conveying their ſtores of wheat into his mouth; whereupon the oracles being conſulted, returned anſwer, that immenſe riches were preſaged by that omen. The prediction was completely fulfilled, for he is accounted by all the antients as one of the richeſt princes that ever reigned [e]. Strabo [f] ſays, that he drew vaſt treaſures from mines of metal, diſcovered perhaps in his reign, on mount Bermius. He is greatly commended by ſome writers for the comelineſs of his perſon, by others for the religious bent of his mind. He is ſaid to have been inſtructed by Orpheus in the myſteries of religion, and to have filled Phrygia with new deities, temples, prieſts, ceremonies, and ſacrifices [g]. He introduced the cuſtom of mourning over the dead with doleful ſongs or dirges, and by annually renewing his lamentations over his deceaſed mother brought the Phrygians by degrees to worſhip her as a goddeſs [h]. He built the town of Ancyra [i], where an anchor of his contrivance was to be ſeen in the temple of Jupiter, when Pauſanias travelled through Greece [k]. He is ſaid to have reigned not over Phrygia only, but alſo Dardania [l]. Cleobulus Lyndius, one of the ſeven ſages of Greeee, honoured his monument with an epitaph [m], which is falſely aſcribed by ſome to Homer [n]. His wife, by name Hermodica, is celebrated by Heraclides [o] in regard of her beauty and wiſdom, and ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the inha-

 bitants

[e] Cic. l. i. de Divin. Val. Max. l. i. c. 6. Ælian. vit. H. l. xii. c. 15. [f] Strab. l. xiv. p. 680. [g] Arrian. l. ii. Juſtin. l. xi. [h] Suidas Ἔλεγος. [i] Nonnus, in orat. 30 Greg. Naz. Pauſan. in Atticis. Suidas Μιδάς. [k] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. L Servius in Æneid. II. [m] Plato in Phædro. Laer. in Cleob. [n] Plutarch. in vita, & anthologium Planudis. [o] Heraclides in Politiis.

nor, where the Brigians with a ſmall alteration were termed Phrygians. According to this writer then the Phrygians, under the conduct of Midas, migrated out of Europe into Aſia, and of courſe there were no Phrygians in Aſia before Midas; how then could his father Gordius reign in Phrygia and be raiſed to the throne from ſo mean a condition, as Juſtin himſelf relates? As to the Gordian knot, ſome authors ſay, that it was of a bark of a cornel-tree, and that it faſtened the yoke of the cart to the beam.

bitants of Cyme to coin money. By her Midas had three ſons, Gordius, Ancharus, and Otreus; his fourth ſon Lityerſes was a baſtard (Z).

AFTER

(Z) Nothing has rendered the name of Midas more famous than the Greek proverb Μίδας ὄνος ὦτα, that is Midas has aſſes ears; but what gave riſe to that ſaying is variouſly reported. The poets tell us, that in a trial of ſkill between Pan and Apollo, both famous muſicians and rivals in that art, Midas gave ſentence in favour of the former, whereupon Apollo clapt a pair of aſſes ears on his head; this badge of ignorance he artfully concealed a long time under his diadem; but at laſt it was unfortunately diſcovered by his barber and made public. Others ſay, that Midas having offered an affront to Bacchus, was by the incenſed deity metamorphoſed into an aſs. Conon in his firſt narration (66) tells us, that Midas, having found a treaſure, became very rich; that being inſtructed by Orpheus on mount Pierius, he got himſelf by various artifices proclaimed king of the Brigians; that in his reign Silenus appeared on mount Brime, that whatever Midas touched was immediately turned into gold; and that making uſe of this prodigy, he perſuaded his ſubjects to remove out of Europe into that country which lies on the Helleſpont; that he ſettled in Myſia, and there changed the name of his ſubjects, calling them no more Brigians, but Phrygians. He adds, that Midas had a great many ſpies diſperſed up and down the country, by whoſe informations he knew what-ever his ſubjects did or ſaid, whence he reigned in peace and tranquillity to a great age, none of his ſubjects daring to enter into any plot or conſpiracy againſt him. His knowing by this means whatever his ſubjects ſpoke of him occaſioned the ſaying, that Midas had long ears; and as aſſes are ſaid to be endowed with the ſenſe of hearing to a degree of perfection above all other animals, he was alſo ſaid to have aſſes ears; but in proceſs of time, what was taken in a metaphorical ſenſe began to run current in the world for truth. Tully (67) relates, that Silenus, being taken priſoner by Midas, inſtead of paying gold for his ranſom, taught the king, that the greateſt happineſs was not to be born, and next to that to die ſoon. To other fables the poets add, that for entertaining Bacchus he was rewarded by the gods with the virtue of changing into gold whatever he touched, which is interpreted by ſome, as if he had been extremely covetous, ſtudying by all means and methods to fill his coffers (68).

(66) Conon apud Phot. Bilblioth. (67) Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. i. (68) Maximus Tyrius Serm. 3. Joan Tzetzes hiſt. 2. Iſaicus Tzetzes in Caſſandram Lycophrontis. p. 377. Fulgentius. l. ii. Natalis Comes Mythol. l. ix. c. 15. Greg. Sabinus in lib. xi. Metamorph.

AFTER Midas reigned his eldeſt ſon Gordius, but all we can ſay of him is, that he ſurrounded the town of Gordium with a wall [p]. His brother Ancharus is celebrated for the love he bore his country, having even ſacrificed his life for the public welfare. The fact is related thus [q]; during the reign of his father Midas the earth opened to a prodigious depth, and ſwallowed up great part of the city Celæne; whereupon Midas, having recourſe to his oracles, underſtood, that the opening would not cloſe till the moſt valuable thing in human life were thrown into it. This anſwer was no ſooner imparted to the inhabitants, but all the gold, ſilver, jewels, and whatever elſe of any value came to their hands, was gladly ſacrificed to the common ſafety. But all to no effect, for the gap continuing open threatened both the city and citizens with preſent deſtruction, when Ancharus, conſidering with himſelf that nothing in the world was of ſuch value as a human ſoul, embraced his father, took leave of his wife Timothea, and mounting on horſeback rid full ſpeed into the opening, which immediately cloſed. His example was long after followed in a parallel caſe by Curtius the Roman.

OTREUS is ſtiled by Homer [q] king of all Phrygia, and ſaid to have been contemporary with Anchiſes, whence we may conclude, that he ſucceeded his brother Gordius.

LITYERSES reigned at Celæne, and is deſcribed as a ruſtic, unſociable, and inhuman tyrant. Soſitheus the tragedian paints him as one of an inſatiable and canine appetite, having in one day, as this poet writes, emptied three large baſkets of read, band drank out twelve gallons of wine. He took great pleaſure in agriculture, and uſed often to labour in the fields like a common huſband-man. But as acts of cruelty were what he chiefly delighted in, he uſed to oblige ſuch as happened to paſs by while he was reaping to join with him in the work; and then cutting off their heads for their pains bind up their bodies in the ſheaves. For theſe and ſuch like cruelties he was put to death by Hercules, and his body thrown into the Mæander [r]. However, his memory was cheriſhed by the reapers of Phrygia (for reaping was his favourite employment); and an hymn,

[p] Stephanus, p. 99.
[q] Homer. in hymnis. Plutarch. in Parall. Stobæus. Serm. 7. Pollux. l. iv.
[r] Athenæus, l. x. c. 1, Suidas Διτυέρσης

from him called Lityerſis, ſung in harveſt-time in honour of their fellow-labourer [s].

Midas II. MIDAS II. was king of all Phrygia, but whoſe ſon he was, or whom he ſucceeded, is what we find no-where recorded. He was an uſurper, and ſeized on the crown in the following manner: One night, under pretence of offering a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, he marched out of the town of Gordium, attended with a numerous band of Phrygians, playing on all ſorts of muſical inſtruments; but at the ſame time, as they were privy to their maſter's deſign, with ſwords and daggers concealed under their garments. The citizens, led by their curioſity and not ſuſpecting any treachery, followed them out of town, when the conſpirators, all on a ſudden throwing away their muſical inſtruments, fell upon the multitude ſword in hand, ſeized the city, and, in that terror and confuſion no-body daring to oppoſe them, proclaimed Midas king of Phrygia [t].

Gordius III. MIDAS II. was ſucceeded by Gordius III. perhaps his ſon. He is mentioned by Herodotus [u] as father to Midas, and that is all we can ſay of him. Herodotus does not ſtile him king, but as his ſon reigned, it is not unlikely that he held the crown before him.

Midas III. MIDAS III. ſon of Gordius, was the firſt among foreign princes that ſent donations to the oracle at Delphi; he preſented that deity with the royal ſeat or tribunal, from whence he uſed to adminiſter juſtice. Herodotus, in whoſe time it was ſtill to be ſeen, commends it as a piece of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip [w]: at that time it ſtood by the golden cups, with which Gyges king of Lydia had preſented the ſame oracle; for after Midas Gyges was the firſt of the Barbarians, as Herodotus informs us, who ſent preſents to Delphi [x]. Perhaps this Midas was ſucceeded by another Gordius, for we find that the kings of Phrygia took alternatively the names of Gordius and Midas.

Midas IV. MIDAS IV. lived in moſt calamitous times, when the Cimmerions, being driven out of Europe by the Scythians, invaded Aſia Minor, poſſeſſed themſelves of Sardis, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the Lydians, Paphlagonians, and Phrygians. Gordius, not finding himſelf in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy, and foreſeeing the many evils that were inevitably to fall upon him, thought

[s] Theocritus Eidill. x. Eraſm. Adag. Chilad. iii. Cent. iv. Ad. lxxv. [t] Polyænus, lib. vii. [u] Herodot. lib. i. [w] Herodot. l. i. [x] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

thought beſt to prevent them by putting an end to his unhappy days, which he did accordingly, drinking off a large cup of bull's blood [y]. And this is the firſt time that we find this ſort of death mentioned in hiſtory; his example was followed long after by Pſammenitus king of Egypt, and Themiſtocles the Athenian. Plutarch [z] ſays, that Midas thus ended his life, being driven to deſpair by frightful dreams and apparitions; but theſe in all likelihood were occaſioned from the terror and conſternation he was in, at the approach of ſo dreadful and mercileſs an enemy. Midas had two ſons, Adraſtus, and another whoſe name is not mentioned in hiſtory. Adraſtus, having unfortunately killed his brother in his father's life-time, and being thereupon baniſhed Phrygia, repaired to the court of Crœſus king of Lydia, who not only purified him, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, from the blood he had innocently ſhed, but earneſtly preſſed him to remain at his court, aſſuring him, he ſhould want for nothing that Crœſus could give him. Adraſtus complied with his requeſt, and being entruſted with the education of the king's favourite ſon by name Atys, he unfortunately killed him too at a chace; which ſo grieved him, that he laid violent hands on himſelf, though Crœſus had generouſly forgiven him [a]. In him ended the royal family of Phrygia, which became a province of the Lydian monarchy, and continued in that ſtate till Crœſus was conquered and all Lydia reduced by Cyrus, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of Lydia.

Year of the flood 2447. Before Chriſt 655.

[y] Strab. l. i. Euſtathius in odyſſ. λ. [z] Plutarch. in Q. Flaminio. [a] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Phrygia Minor.

THE tract we commonly call Phrygia Minor was antiently ſtyled Troas, Teucria, and Darnania, from kings that reigned in that country. It was alſo named Idæa from mount Ida, and Phrygia from the Phrygians, who were maſters of great part of it, ſome ſay before, others after, the deſtruction of Troy; the epithet of Minor was added to diſtinguiſh it from the other Phrygia

where Midas reigned, as Euſtathius expreſſes himſelf [a]. In the reign of king Priam the name of Troas generally prevailed.

THIS country was divided into two parts, the maritime called Helleſpontiaca and the mediterranean termed Epictetus. The former borrowed its name from the Helleſpont, and extended along the coaſt from the town of Percote to the promontory Lectum or Lecton, oppoſite to the north ſide of the iſland of Leſbos. This part was properly called Troas or Troja, though the Trojan kingdom extended from the river Æſopus to the banks of the Caycus [b], including not only Troas but alſo the Greater and Leſſer Myſia. Epictetus, or the inland part of Phrygia Minor, extended to the neighbourhood of mount Olympus in the Greater Myſia. This part at firſt belonged to Pruſias king of Bithynia, who yielded it, by agreement, to Eumenes king of Pergamus, whence it was called Epictetus, that is, acquired. However, theſe appellations are frequently confounded, and both attributed to all Phrygia Minor (A).

PHRYGIA Minor, as preciſely as we can gather, lay between the forty and forty-ſecond degrees of north latitude, and was but of a very ſmall extent in longitude, which we ſhall not pretend to determine, there being a great diſagreement among authors as to the boundaries of the inland provinces. In general we may ſay, that Phrygia Minor, as comprehending both the Helleſpontiaca and Epictetus, was bounded by the Propontis on the north, by the Ægean ſea on the ſouth, by Myſia Minor on the eaſt, and the Helleſpont on the weſt.

Cities of Phrygia Minor.

ON the coaſt were the cities of Percote, Abydus, Ariſba, Dardanum, Rhœteum, Sigeum, Troy, or Illium, Lariſſa,

[a] Euſtath. in Dionyſ. ver. 810. [b] Strab. l. xiii. p. 582.

(A) Strabo ſometimes diſtinguiſhes Troas Helleſpontiaca from Epictetus, and ſometimes confounds them; nay, he often makes Epictetus part of Phrygia Major (69), wherein he agrees with Ptolemy. Euſtathius diſtinguiſhes three Phrygias, viz. the Greater, where Midas reigned, extending as far as Piſidia; the Leſſer lying on the Helleſpont, and from thence reaching to mount Olympus; the third he calls Epictetus, and places it near Dorylæum.

(69) Strab. l. xii. p. 374. 388. 393.

Lariſſa, Colonæ, Alexandria, Troas, &c. Percote is often mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Homer, who mentions one Merops and his two ſons as being of this city [c]. Abydos was built by the Mileſians on the Helleſpont, and became famous for the poetical ſtory of Hero and Leander. Here it was that Xerxes began his bridge ſo much talked of, over which in ſeven days and ſeven nights he marched, according to Herodotus, ſeventeen-hundred-thouſand foot and fourſcore-thouſand horſe, exclusive of the camels and carriages. Here all Alexander's cavalry and moſt of his infantry landed, under the command of Parmenio, on their paſſing out of Europe into Aſia. The geographers are generally of opinion that the caſtles of the Dardanelles were built on the ruins of Seſtos and Abydos; but they are manifeſtly miſtaken, for the caſtles are directly oppoſite to each other, whereas Seſtos was a great way nearer the Propontis than Abydos; and Strabo [d] reckons 3750 paces from the port of Abydos to that of Seſtos. Beſides, there are no remains of antiquity to be ſeen near the caſtles, but very remarkable ones three miles further, where the channel is conſiderably narrower [e] (B). Ariſba,

[c] Homer. Iliad. A. ver. 229. [d] Strab. l. xiii.
[e] Tournefort voyage au Levant. Spon. voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c.

(B) The Helleſpont, every one knows, ſignifies the ſea of Helle; for the ancients tell us, that a daughter of Athamas king of Thebes, whoſe name was Helle, was drowned in that channel as ſhe was carrying the golden fleece to Colchis with her brother Phryxus (70). The name of Dardanelles is probably derived from Dardanum, an ancient city not far from the caſtles bearing that name. This ſtrait was antiently called the Helleſpont and the ſtrait of Abydos; but now it goes under the following names, the ſtrait of Gallipoli, the channel of the Dardanelles, the arm of St. George, from a famous church of St. George in a village called Periſtaſis not far from Gallipoli: it is known to the Turks by the name Boghas, or ſtrait of the white ſea. The mouth of the channel is defended by two new caſtles, which Mahomet IV. built in 1659, to ſecure his fleet againſt the inſults of the Venetians, who uſed to attack it in ſight of the old caſtles. The waters, that paſs through this ſtrait from out of the Propontis, flow with great rapidity; when the north-wind blows no ſhip can enter, but when 'tis ſouth, the current is ſcarce perceptible. Tournefort (71) tells us, that the mouth

(70) Euſtath. in Dionyſ. p. 810. (71) Tournefort, ubi ſupra.

ba, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of Alexander's army after he had paſſed the Helleſpont. Dardanum, built by king Dardanus, near a promontory, bearing the ſame name. This city was the reſidence of Dardanus and his ſucceſſor Erichtonius. It communicated its name to the neighbouring country, and in length of time to all Troas. Some think, that the Dardanelles borrowed their name from this city. Here Mithridates and Sylla

mouth of the Helleſpont is four miles and a half over, but Le Brun (72) ſays, that it is only a mile and a quarter. Spon (73) informs us, that where the old caſtles ſtand the Helleſpont is near two miles broad, and that the very name of Abydo or Avido is unknown to the inhabitants of the place. But Le Brun aſſures us (74), that the ſtrait at the old caſtles is only half a mile over, and that one of them is ſtill called Seſtos, and the other Abydo or Avido; he adds, that this ſea, where broadeſt, is but a mile and a quarter over, and half a mile where narroweſt: Among the antients, Strabo (75) allows it about a mile in the narroweſt place; Pliny (76) and Herodotus (77), ſeven furlongs or ſtadia, and Polybius only two (78). Of Abydos was Leander, who uſed to ſwim from thence to Seſtos to viſit his miſtreſs. One night that the ſea was very rough, and he near being drowned, Martial makes him addreſs the waves thus; Parcite dum propero, mergite dum redeo. He is repreſented on the medals of Caracalla and Alexander Severus, as conducted by a cupid flying before him with a torch. The inhabitants of this city made a vigorous reſiſtance againſt Philip of Macedon, and when they were not able to hold out any longer, choſe rather to deſtroy themſelves than ſubmit to the conqueror. Abydos was taken by the Turks through the treachery of the governor's daughter in the year 1330. It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that what Herodotus (79) relates of Xerxes, viz. that he ordered three hundred laſhes to be given to the ſea, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into it for having broke down the firſt bridge he built here, is looked upon by ſome as quite fabulous. Gilles (80) thinks, that this piece of folly was firſt laid to his charge by the Greek poets, and that Herodotus took the thing too ſeriouſly; the 300 laſhes, ſays this writer, intimate 300 anchors, that were thrown into the ſea to fix the ſhips that formed the bridge; and by the pair of fetters is meant the two iron chains that faſtened them together at both ends and on each ſide.

(72) Le Brun voyage au Levant. (73) Spon, ubi ſupra. (74) Le Brun, ubi ſupra. (75) Strab. l. xiii. (76) Plin. l. viii. c. 32. (77) Herodot. l. vii. c. 34. (78) Polybius, l. c. (79) Herodot. l. vii. (80) De Boſph. Thrac. l. ii. c. 12.

Sylla concluded a peace. Some ſay, with what foundation we know not, that Dardanum was the patrimony of Æneas. Rhetæum, memorable for the tomb of Ajax, who was ſaid to have been interred there [f]. Sigeum, ſeated on a promontory of the ſame name, whence that ſea is called the Sigean ſea [g]. On this promontory was the tomb of Achilles, which Alexander honoured with a viſit, and in antient times a ſtatue of the ſame Achilles [h] with ear-rings like the ſtatue of a woman, which Tertullian [i] interprets as an argument of his effeminacy in point of dreſs (C).

TROY or Ilium, a city of great fame, and made immortal by the inimitable poems of Homer and Virgil, was built by Tros king of that country, who called it Troy from his own name, and Ilium from that of his ſon Ilus. It was ſeated on a riſing ground near mount Ida, and about five miles from the ſhore. There was ſcarce any remains of it to be ſeen in Strabo's time, and moſt of the antient as well as the modern writers, confound the old and new Ilium. All [k] Strabo ſays of its ſituation is, that the new Ilium or Troy was 30 furlongs nearer the ſhore than the old city. This new city was reduced to a village in the time of Alexander the Great, remarkable for nothing but a temple of Minerva, which that prince viſited after defeating Darius on the banks of the Granicus, and enriched with offerings, beſtowing ample privileges on the place, and honouring it with the title of city. He likewiſe ordered the buildings to be repaired, and the whole city to be embelliſhed, which was performed by Lyſimachus, one

[f] Strab. l. xiii. p. 409.
[g] Virg. Æneid. ii. ver. 312.
[h] Salmaſius Plinianæ exercitat. p. 610.
[i] Tertul. de pallio.
[k] Strab. l. xiii.

(C) Pliny (81) places not far from hence the tomb of Proteſilaus with trees ſet round it of a very extraordinary nature; for when they are grown up to ſuch a height as to be diſcovered from Troy, they begin to wither, and ſoon after die; then they ſhoot up again, and thrive till they are grown up to their former height, when they begin anew to decay and wither; and this viciſſitude of ſhooting up and dying away has continued, ſays our author, ever ſince they were firſt planted; that is, ſince the death of Proteſilaus, who in the Trojan expedition was the firſt among the Greeks that ſet foo in Aſia, and the firſt that was ſlain.

(81) Plin. l. xvi. c. 44.

one of his generals, who ſurrounded it with a wall of 40 furlongs in circumference. This new city was almoſt reduced to the condition of the former, and was more like a village than a city, when the Romans firſt entered Aſia. As they pretended to be the genuine offspring of the antient Trojans, no coſt nor pains was ſpared to reſtore it to its antient luſtre, eſpecially in the time of the Cæſars. Cæſar Auguſtus ſent thither a colony, embelliſhed the city with many ſtately buildings, and enriched it with moſt ample privileges and exemptions. And of this Ilium are, without all doubt, the ruins which are to be ſeen at preſent. Bellonius [l] tells us, that in his time the walls were yet ſtanding with the ruinous monuments of their turrets, and that he ſpent four hours in compaſſing them, partly on horſe-back, and partly on foot. He obſerved round the walls a great many marble tombs of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip, with their covers entire. Two of theſe were ſtill remaining when Mr. Spon [m] viſited thoſe places, who informs us, that they were in the ſtile of the antient Romans, and not unlike thoſe that are to be ſeen at Arles; whence he concludes them to be the remains of that Troy which was rebuilt by the Romans. Bellonius likewiſe obſerved the ruins of three great towers, one on the top of a hill not far from the ſhore, another about the middle, and the third at the bottom, with a great many large ciſterns to receive the rain-water. As to the ſo much celebrated rivers Xanthus and Simois, he calls them ſmall brooks, and adds, that in ſummer-time they are quite dry. But Sandys [n] thinks, they are not ſo contemptible as Bellonius makes them, who perhaps miſtook others for them, Spon [o] obſerved on the ſouth of the haven three columns lying among the briars, of which two were entire, and each of one ſingle piece, being thirty foot long; the third, which was broken in three places, was thirty-five feet in length, and four feet nine inches in diameter; they were all three of granate. Le Brun [p] ſpeaks of great remains of a moſt noble ſtructure which he viſited at the diſtance of about five miles from the coaſt. The four gates of this great edifice, at that time intire, were about forty-five feet in height, and near them ſtood a wall of an extraordinary

[l] Bellonius, l. ii. c. 6. [m] Spon, ubi ſupra. [n] Sandys, l. i. [o] Spon, voyage d'Italie, Dalmatie, &c. [p] Le Brun, voyag. au Levant.

nary thickneſs with fourteen gates of a competent ſize; the veſtiges of this magnificent ſtructure took up a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred in breadth. Our author thinks, that theſe ruins may vie with any monuments of antiquity he ever ſaw. The harbour of Troy, ſo much ſpoke of by the antients, is now quite choaked up with ſand; however, there are ſtill to be ſeen fragments of columns, to which they faſtened their ſhips and gallies, and as theſe were placed round it, Spon thinks, that the port was about a mile and a half in circumference. As to antient Ilium, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it more at length in the reign of king Priam, when it was taken and laid in aſhes by the Greeks after a ten years ſiege.

TROAS Alexandria was ſituated between the promontories of Lectum and Sigeum, and is named by Stephanus in the ſecond place among the eighteen cities, which were ſo called from Alexander. It is ſometimes named Alexandria without the appellation of Troas, and ſometimes Troas without that of Alexandria or Alexandrea, which has made ſome think, that Alexandria and Troas were two different cities. Its firſt name was Antigonia from its founder Antigonus, which was afterwards changed by Lyſimachus into that of Alexandria in honour of Alexander [q]. This is ſuppoſed to be the place meant by the apoſtle Acts xx. 6. it being at that time the metropolis of the province; it lies now in ruins, and is called by the Turks Eſki-Stamboul. Theſe are the chief cities on the coaſt, the others are but of ſmall account, and therefore we ſhall dwell no longer on this ſubject.

OF the rivers that watered Troas or Phrygia Minor, we ſhall only mention the Scamander and Simois, rivers, as Mela writes [r], greater by fame than by nature. The Scamander riſes from mount Ida, and, having received within its banks, not far from Troy, the Simois, diſcharges itſelf into the Ægean ſea, over-againſt the iſland of Tenedos. It is ſaid by Herodotus to have been drunk up by the army of Xerxes. Pliny [s] calls it a navigable river, and diſtinguiſhes it from the Xanthus, though it is certain that theſe are but too different appellations of one and the ſame river. Its original name was Scamander; but it was afterwards called alſo Xanthus, becauſe it was believed to communicate

[q] Plinius, l. v. c. 30. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 408. [r] Pompon. Mela, l. i. c. 18. [s] Plinius, l. v. c. 30.

communicate a yellowiſh tincture to the ſheep that drank its waters [t]. Homer tells us [u], that it was named Scamander by the gods and Xanthus by men, where according to his cuſtom he aſcribes the moſt antient appellation to the gods, and the more modern to men. This river was honoured by Heſiod with the title of divine Scamander. It was a cuſtom among the Phrygian brides to bathe themſelves before marriage in this river, uſing on that occaſion the following words, Receive, O Scamander, my virginity. Which opportunity one Cimon an Athenian taking hold of, under the diſguiſe of a river-god deflowered Callirhoe, a noble virgin, at that time betroathed, and thereby occaſioned the abrogating of that ſuperſtitious ceremony.

THE Simois ſprings likewiſe out of mount Ida, falls into the Scamander near Ilium, and diſcharges itſelf into the Ægean ſea, as we ſaid already. Whatever theſe rivers were in antient times, they are at preſent but ſmall brooks, if the accounts of our modern travellers are to be depended on.

IDA is the only mountain of this country that deſerves notice. It is rather a ridge of hills than a ſingle one; for it extends from the city of Zeleia, near the borders of Myſia Minor, to the promontory Lectum. We are told by the poets, that Paris, on this hill being choſen judge by the three contending goddeſſes, decided the controverſy in favour of Venus, which ſay they, occaſioned the deſtruction of Troy.

Soil and climate.

THE ſoil of this country was antiently reckoned among the moſt fertile that were then known. It was productive of whatever was requiſite for the pleaſures of life, and yielded to no ſpot that lay under the ſame happy parallel; nor at this day are there wanting ſigns and ſufficient indications thereof, though it is now in part uncultivated and neglected. Our modern travellers deſcribe the Aſiatic coaſt of the Helleſpont as a moſt beautiful and fertile tract of land, the hills being covered with vineyards and olive-plantations, and the vales productive of all ſorts of grain [w].

Tenedos.

OVER-AGAINST Troy lay Tenedos about two leagues from the ſhore, and formed the Trojan harbour. As all the

[t] Ælian. de animal. l. viii. c. 21. ubius ſequeſter de fluminibus Maximus Tyrius Serm. 12. [u] Iliad. verſ. 74. [w] Tournefort, ubi ſupra.

the ſplendor and magnificence of this iſland ſtood and fell with Troy, it will not be improper to inſert here a ſuccinct account of it. All antient writers agree, that this Iſland was firſt called Leucophrys, and afterwards Tenedos from one Tenes or Tennes, who brought a colony thither from the continent. Tennes was ſon to Cycnus king of Colone in Troas, and is deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus [x] as a man of great probity and juſtice, having been greatly beloved by his ſubjects during his life, and adored by them after his death. The antient inhabitants of Tenedos gave the following account of him, which Diodorus Siculus looks upon as fabulous, but Suidas and Pauſanias ſeem to credit. Tennes, ſay they, was ſon of Cycnus and Proclea, ſiſter to Caletor, who was killed by Ajax in attempting to burn the ſhips of Proteſilaus. Cycnus, after the death of his wife Proclea, married Philonome, who falling in love with her ſtep-ſon Tennes, and finding that ſhe could by no means make him comply with her inceſtuous deſires, complained of him to her huſband, as if he had offered violence to her. Stephanus adds, that the evidence ſhe produced in proof of her charge was a player on the flute. Cycnus giving more credit to his wife than his ſon, cauſed him to be ſhut up in a cheſt and thrown into the ſea, which carried the cheſt ſafe to the iſland we are ſpeaking of, where Tennes was received as ſent by the gods, and with loud acclamations proclaimed king. Some writers tell us, that his ſiſter by name Hemithea, not caring to outlive her brother, was at her own requeſt with him locked up in the cheſt. Some time after Cycnus, being convinced of his ſon's innocence, ſailed to Tenedos to crave his pardon, and expreſs the concern he was in for ſo haſty and inhuman a reſolution. But Tennes inſtead of receiving him went to the harbour, where with a hatchet he cut the cable which faſtened his father's ſhip to the ſhore. This hatchet was carried by Periclytus, a citizen of Tenedos, to Delphos, and there lodged in the temple of Apollo. The Tenedians cauſed two others to be made reſembling this in ſhape and ſize, which they conſecrated in the temple of

[x] Diodor Sicul. l. v.

of their city, These adventures gave birth to two famous proverbs among the antients (D).

SECT.

(D) The one is Τενεδιος αυλητης, that is, the Tenedian player on the flute, a saying used by the antients to reproach a false evidence. The other Τενεδιος πελεκυς, that is, the Tenedian Ax, an expression used to signify a quick and an unalterable resolution (82). Aristotle, cited by Stephanus, explains this in a different manner. He says, that a king of Tenedos having enacted a law forbidding adultery on pain of death, the first that transgressed this law was his own son, who was therefore beheaded with an ax. Stephanus adds, that the heads of the two lovers back to back were represented on the medals of the island, and on the reverse the ax with which they were beheaded. 'Tis certain several medals of this kind have been found in that island. Some take these two heads to be those of Tennes and his sister Hemithea, others of Jupiter and some Amazon, who might have founded a city in Tenedos. The ax on the reverse was the instrument used by the inhabitants in the execution of their criminals. Suidas tells us, that Tennes after he was settled on the throne of Tenedos ordered an officer to stand behind the judge in all public trials with an ax in his hand, ready to strike off the head of such as should give false evidence; and hence Τενεδιος ανθρωπος, Τενεδιος συνηγορος, that is, A man of Tenedos, an advocate of Tenedos, were expressions used to signify a man or a judge of great severity (83). Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the siege of Troy. It was within sight of that powerful city, as Virgil observes (84): he supposes, that the Greeks concealed themselves behind this island when they feigned to raise the siege. After the fall of Troy, the inhabitants were brought so low, that they gave themselves up to their neighbours, as Pausanias obferves. Tenedos was one of the first conquests of the Persians after the overthrow of the Ionians at the isle of Lada (85). It was reduced by the Athenians, or at least sided with them against the Lacedæmonians, since Nicolochus admiral of Lacedæmon ravaged this island, and raised contributions in it in spite of the vigilance of the Athenian generals. The Romans enjoyed Tenedos in their turn, and the temple of that town was plundred by Verres, who as Tully informs us, carried away, to the great grief of all the inhabitants, the statue of Tennes founder of the city (86). This island is about eighteen miles in circumference. It had one city, two ha-

vens,

(82) Erasmi Adag. Chiliad. iv. Cent. 1. (83) Suidas. Erasmus ubi supra. Cic. lib. ii. Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. Tournefort, voyag. au Lev. (84) Virg. Æneid. l. ii. (85). Herodot. l. vi. (86) Cic. pro Manil. pro Muræna. pro Arch. poæta.

vens, and a temple dedicated to Apollo Smynthius, of which idol we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak preſently. There are no ruins to be ſeen at Tenedos except thoſe of the granaries, which Juſtinian cauſed to be built as a repoſitory for the corn that was brought from Alexandria to Conſtantinople, leaſt it ſhould mould on ſhip-board, the veſſels being frequently wind-bound for a conſiderable time at the entrance of the Dardanelles. Theſe magazines, as Procopius informs us, were two hundred and eighty feet long, and ninety broad (87). The muſcate wine of this iſland is the moſt delicious of all the Levant, and though it is not celebrated by the antients as that of Scio and Leſbos, yet it may be proved from ſeveral medals, that Tenedos has in all times produced great plenty of good wine, ſince on the reverſe of ſome medals of that iſland is to be ſeen the branch of a vine charged with grapes, a plain indication, that it was in antient times famed for this production.

(87) Procop. de ædific. Juſtin. l. v. c. 1.

SECT. VI.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the Trojans.

THE inhabitants of Leſſer Phrygia or Trojans, ſo called from Troy the metropolis of that country, were without all doubt a very antient people; but as to their original there is a great diſagreement among authors. Some make them Samothracians by deſcent; others Greeks, and tells us, that Teucer, according to them the firſt king of Troy, was by birth an Athenian, and lord of a village named Axonus. Some derive them from the iſland of Crete from whence they ſuppoſe Phrygia Minor to have been peopled; but theſe are again divided among themſelves as to the leader of this colony, ſome beſtowing that honour on Teucer, others on Dardanus. Some will have them deſcended from the Arcadians, and there are not wanting writers who make them even come originally from Italy, which opinion, though deſtitute of all probability, Antiquity.

bility, was embraced by Virgil, as moſt redounding to the glory of that country, and perhaps current among the Romans in his days. Bochart [y] thinks, that Leſſer Phrygia was planted by Aſkkenaz Gomer's eldeſt ſon, there being the footſteps of his name in the Aſcanian lake, and a river called Aſcanius with a bay of the ſame name in Bithynia, and likewiſe in a city named Aſcania in Leſſer Phrygia, with iſles on the coaſt named the Aſcanian iſlands: he alſo obſerves, that, beſides Aſcanius the ſon of Æneas, Homer mentions a king of that name, who was at the ſiege of Troy. Hence he concludes, that a colony was led by Aſkkenaz out of Greater Phrygia, where his Father had ſettled, into Troas or Leſſer Phrygia, and that by this colony and their deſcendants that tract of country was peopled, which from the Ægean ſea extends along the coaſt of Helleſpont and the Propontis, to the Pontus Euxinus or Axenus, as it was firſt called by the Greeks, which he ſuppoſes to be a corruption for the ſea of Aſkenaz. He obſerves, that the ſcripture, among the nations which were to be called by the Medes under Cyrus to deſtroy Babylon, mentions Ararat, Minni, and Aſkenaz. And to prove, that the Aſkenæz mentioned in ſcripture were the people of theſe parts, he ſhews out of Xenophon [z], that Hyſtaſpes having conquered Phrygia that lies on the Helleſpont, brought from thence many of the horſe and other ſoldiers, which Cyrus carried with him to the ſiege of Babylon. But whoever was the progenitor of the firſt inhabitants of this country, it is certain, that in proceſs of time their blood was mixed with that of foreigners, namely of Myſians, Samothracians, Greeks, and Cretans, who ſettled among them, and were reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the antient proprietors.

Government. As to their government, it was, no doubt, monarchical and hereditary; for from Dardanus to Priam we find the father conſtantly ſucceeded by the ſon, or the elder brother by the younger. Their country was at firſt, like moſt others, parcelled out into ſeveral petty Kingdoms; for we read of Cycnus, Pandarus, Eurypylus, and other princes of ſmall teritories within the limits of Leſſer Phrygia [a]. But all theſe were in length of time either driven out by, or made tributary to, the Trojan kings; inſomuch,

[y] Phaleg. l. iii. c. 9.

[z] Cpropæd. l. vii.

[a] Diodor Sicul. l. v. Strab. l. xiii.

much, that Strabo [b] enumerates no fewer than nine ſmall kingdoms or principalities ſubject to Troy, beſides the iſland of Lesbos. And this is what drew out the Trojan war to ſuch a length, for all theſe countries were to be ſubdued before Troy could be inveſted. Diodorus Siculus informs us [c], that the Trojans were ſubdued by Ninus; but Philoſtratus tells us in expreſs terms, that they were allies, and no ways vaſſals or tributaries, to the Aſſyrians. The Trojan kings ſeem to have been abſolute and no ways controulable by the ſubject. But we ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject when we come to their hiſtory.

Religion. We have no particular ſyſtem of their laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

As to the religion of the Trojans, it was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia. which we have already deſcribed. Their principal deities ſeem to have been Cybele, or as they ſtiled her the great mother of the gods, who, according to the common opinion, was brought into Troas from Crete by Teucer, lord of that iſland and the progenitor of the Trojans [d]. She was chiefly worſhipped on the hills of Ida, Dindymus, Berecynthus, and Cybele, whence ſhe borrowed her name. Apollo, who had a temple in the citadel of Troy called Pergamus. In this temple, and by this god, Homer feigns, that Æneas was concealed, till the wounds he had received in an encounter with Diomedes were cured by Latona and Diana, Apollo's mother and ſiſter. Minerva or Pallas, from whoſe temple Virgil pathetically deſcribes Caſſandra dragged by the victorious Greeks, while the city was in flames [e]. The famous Palladium was a wooden ſtatue of this goddeſs, holding in one hand a buckler, and a ſpear in the other, ſo contrived as to move them, and at the ſame time roll her eyes in a threatning manner. We are told, that, while the Trojans were erecting a temple to Pallas in their citadel, this ſtatue fell from heaven into the temple before it was covered; whereupon an oracle being conſulted returned anſwer, that the city of Troy could not be taken ſo long as it enjoyed this heavenly gift; which coming to the knowledge of the Greeks, Diomedes and Ulyſſes got privately into the caſtle, killed the guards, and by bereaving the Trojans of their main defence enabled the Greeks to take the city. All the Roman writers aſſure us,

[b] lib. xiii. [c] ubi ſupra. [d] Virgil. l. iii. [e] Æneid ii.

us, that this Palladium was brought into Italy by Æneas, and lodged first at Lavinium, afterwards at Alba, and at last removed to Rome, and deposited there in the temple of Vesta under the care of the vestals and the Nautian family. The Romans were so strongly possest with the false notion, that the city, which was blest with this valuable treasure, could never fall into the enemies hands, that Metellus, seeing the temple of Vesta all in flames, ventured his life without the least hesitation to rescue this sacred depositum, and was on that score thanked by the senate and people of Rome, as if he had saved the republic. The Romans universally belived themselves masters of the true Palladium, but could never shew how they came by it. For to say, that it was in Troy when the city was taken, is the same as to deny its boasted virtue of rendering that city impregnable in which it was lodged. On the other hand, if it was stolen by the Greeks before they entered Troy, how could Æneas bring it into Italy (E)?

(E) There is great variety of opinions among the antients as to the Trojan Palladium. Some tell us (88), that the king of Phrygia Major presented Ilus with a pied ox, warning him at the same time to build a city where the ox should lie down; that Ilus followed him, and in the place where he lay down built a city, calling it from his own name Ilium. They add, that Ilus, having desired Jupiter to signify his approbation by some visible token, found the Palladium next morning before his tent. Others say (89), that Chrysas daughter of Pallas, marrying Dardanus, brought him the Palladium as part of her fortune; that Dardanus first erected a temple in Samothrace to this and other deities, and afterwards took them with him into Phrygia on the Hellespont, Lycophron seems to insinuate, that the Palladium was a Phænician goddess, for he calls Ulysses Δελφινό σημον κλῶπα Φοινίκης Θεᾶς (90). Johannes Antiochenus, Eustathius, and others say, that it was made by a certain mathematician, and covered over with a human skin (91). Julius Firmicus (92), Clemens (93), and Arnobius (94), tells us, that the Gentiles believed it to have been made of the bones of Pelops. According to the common opinion it was stolen out of the citadel of Troy by Diomedes and Ulysses; but some tell us, that the true Palladium never fell into the hands of the Greeks, it being carefully concealed, and another of the same shape

(88) Apollod. l. iii. (89) Vide Rosinum Roman. Antiquitat. p. 147. (90) Seldenus de diis Syris Syntag. 2. (91) Selden. ubi supra. Syntag. 1. (92) De errore profanar. religion. c. xvi. (93) In protrept. (94) Ad. versus gentes. l. iv.

VENUS alſo is counted among the Trojan deities, but as to Veſta, whom Æneas is ſaid by the poets to have carried into Italy, with his houſhold gods, we find not any footſteps of worſhip paid her at Troy. She was indeed worſhipped all over Greece, where there was not one city, but could ſhew a temple dedicated to this goddeſs with a lamp always burning in honour of her, which has made ſome think, that the rites and ceremonies of Veſta were introduced into Italy by the Greeks, and not by the Trojans [f].

AMONG the other Trojan deities we find mention made of Apollo Sminthius, ſo ſtiled from the Phrygian word Sminthos ſignifying a field-mouſe. We are told [g], that this ſort of vermin made ſuch a devaſtation in the fields of Troas, that the inhabitants, finding all other means of ridding the country of them unſucceſsful, had recourſe to the oracle of Delphos, which anſwered, that they ſhould be delivered from that plague if they ſacrificed to Sminthian Apollo, which they did accordingly, and moreover erected a temple in Amaxito a city of Troas to their pretended deliverer, addreſſing him under the title of Sminthian Apollo. [h] Others relate the matter in a different manner, and tell us, that the inhabitants of Troas worſhipped mice for having on a certain occaſion gnawed the bow-ſtrings of their enemies, and thereby ſecured a complete victory to the Phrygians. The worſhip of Apollo Sminthius was introduced into Myſia, the iſle of Tenedos, and other countries; for Strabo [i] tells us, that a

[f] Prudentius contra Symmach. l. ii. ſect. viii. [g] Strab. l. xiii. Ælian, vit. H. l. iv, [h] Ptolemo apud Clem. Protrept. [i] ubi ſupra.

ſhape and ſize expoſed to public adoration; this, ſay they, was carried off by Diomedes and Ulyſſes; but the true Palladium remained in Troy till Æneas removed it from thence to Lavinium. But as this is derogating from the virtue of the true Palladium, and putting it, as it were, upon the ſame level with a falſe one, ſince it was not able to ſave the city in which it was kept, others, to mend the matter, ſuppoſe, that the Greeks returned the Palladium to the Trojans, or rather to Æneas, being warned ſo to do by the oracles. But we ſhall have occaſion to examine in the courſe of this hiſtory the truth of Æneas's voyage to Italy, and add ſomething relating to this famous idol. In the mean time, we may obſerve, that there was another Palladium of great fame worſhipped at Athens, which Nicias had placed in the caſtle of that city.

mouſe was engraved at the foot of Apollo's ſtatue in a temple of Chyrſa a city of Myſia, to unfold the reaſon of his being ſurnamed Sminthian; he adds, that the ſtatue was done by Scopas a celebrated ſtatuary of Paros. The ſame author, in ſpeaking of the iſle of Tenedos, ſays, that it had one town, two havens, and a temple dedicated to Sminthian Apollo (F.) As to the religious cuſtoms and ceremonies of the Trojans we are almoſt quite in the dark; but we may ſuppoſe them to have been much the ſame with thoſe of the inhabitants of Phrygia Major.

Character. THE character we have of the Trojans is, that they were a brave and warlike people; and in this we ſhall be more confirmed, when we come to view their behaviour in the reign of king Priam, when they withſtood for nine years with uncommon bravery the combined forces of all Greece. They ſeem to have entertained a fond veneration for their deities, and a great reſpect for their princes; for we do not find in their hiſtory any kind of inteſtine broils, or plots, or conſpiracies againſt the prince on the throne, whoever he was.

Cuſtoms, Language &c. WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the Trojans, their civil concerns, or their arts and learning; they are celebrated by the antients as one of the moſt polite and civilized nations of thoſe days, and in the reigns of their latter kings they aroſe to a very conſiderable pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of arts and induſtry. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame with that ſpoken by the inhabitants of Greater Phrygia, and perhaps in all that tract which was afterwards known by the name of Aſia Proper, the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue with ſome variation of dialect.

Trade. THEIR trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation, which very likely drew merchants from all the neighbouring parts to traffic in their country, as well for their own growth as for foreign productions. Their country was ſtocked with many uſeful commodities, and muſt have abounded

(F) Tournefort (95) mentions two medals of Tenedos, the one with Apollo's head, and under it a mouſe, having on the reverſe a two-edged ax; the other bears two heads back to back, and on the reverſe the ſame ax with two mice.

(95) Tournefort voyage au Levant.

abounded in all things neceſſary for life, ſince it could ſupport for many years together two very conſiderable armies, as we ſhall ſee in the following ſection. Their ſettlements in Thrace, in Peloponneſus, in Sicily [k], in Italy [l], in Egypt [m], and in Afric [n], are a convincing proof, that they applied themſelves pretty early to trade and navigation, which in all likelihood, were the ſources of the riches, ſplendor, and power, wherein they far excelled all the ſtates round them.

[k] Pauſanias, l. ii. & 5. [l] Strab. l. vi. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 1. [n] Herodot. l. iv.

SECT. VII.

The reigns of the Trojan kings.

TROAS or Phrygia Minor was in all likelihood governed by kings before the reigns of Teucer and Dardanus; for Servius names out of Nero's Troica one Cynthius king of Troas long before Teucer. But as the Trojan hiſtory of that epoch is either fabulous, or altogether uncertain, it were loſt labour to make a narrow ſearch into it. It is no leſs uncertain which of the two aboveſaid princes reigned firſt, ſome writers giving the precedency to Teucer, others to Dardanus; and truly this is ſo dark and obſcure a ſubject, that every one may ſay what he liſts. We ſhall follow the moſt common opinion, and begin with Teucer, without pretending to add any thing of our own, or entering into the merits of ſo perplexed a cauſe. Teucer.

TEUCER, the ſon of Scamander and Ida, that is, born in Phrygia near the river Scamander and mount Ida, ruled over all Troas or Phrygia Minor. He is ſaid to have been very fortunate and ſucceſsful in all his undertakings, but what they were we find no where ſpecified. Having no iſſue-male he married his only daughter, by ſome called Batia, by others Aſia, by others Ariſba, to Dardanus, ſettling therewithal the crown of Phrygia on him and his deſcendants. Thoſe who make Teucer a Phrygian by birth ſuppoſe him to have come to the crown by a lineal

deſcent, and place Cynthius, whom we have mentioned above, among his anceſtors; ſo that, according to theſe writers, Teucer was not the founder of the Trojan kingdom, but the laſt of a long ſeries of kings prior to thoſe of the Dardanian family ſprung from Dardanus and Batia. From Teucer the country was called Teucria and the inhabitants Teucri (G).

TEUCER

(G) This is the opinion of Diodorus Siculus, and, as we have hinted, the moſt common. However, Virgil, who had as good means to come at the truth, as any other could have, and very likely did not depart from it in ſuch things as no ways concerned Auguſtus, makes Teucer a Cretan, and delivers his opinion as follows:

Creta Jovis magni medio jacet inſula ponto;
Mons Idæus ubi, & gentis cunabula noſtræ.
Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
Maximus inde pater, ſi rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhæteas primum eſt advectus in oras,
Optavitque locum regno; nondum Ilium, & arces
Pergameæ ſteterant, habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus; hinc ſida ſilentia ſacris,
Et junctì currum dominæ ſubiere leones (96).

Teucer then, according to thoſe who follow Virgil's opinion, which is aſcribed to Beroſus, was the ſon of one Scamander a native of Crete, from which iſland Teucer, retiring in the time of a great famine, put to ſea with the third part of the inhabitants in queſt of new ſeats, and arrived at that part of Phrygia which lies on the Helleſpont. Here he landed not far from the Rhætean promontory, and being the firſt night greatly annoyed by vaſt numbers of mice, he reſolved to ſettle there in compliance with the oracle, which had directed him, before he put to ſea, to fix where he ſhould be attacked in the night-time by an enemy ſprung from the earth. His firſt care was to raiſe a temple to Apollo Sminthius, who was pictured treading under foot a mouſe, calling in the Cretan or Phrygian language Sminthos. He gave new names to the hill and river near which he landed, calling the one Ida from a hill of the ſame name in his native country, and the other Scamander, which was the name of his father. This river to that time had been called Xanthus; whence Homer ſays, that it was called Xanthus by the gods and

Scamander

(96) Æneid, l. iii. ver. 104.

TEUCER was ſucceeded by Dardanus the ſon of Corytus or Corythus, by Electra the daughter of Atlas. Corytus was king of Samothrace, and had by Electra two ſons, Jaſius and Dardanus, and one daughther by name Harmonia. Dardanus ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Samothrace, where he erected a ſtately temple, and inſtituted religious rites and ceremonies in honour of Pallas and the other gods, whoſe ſtatues his firſt wife Chryſe had brought with her as part of her fortune. This, together with the many excellent laws he is ſaid to have enacted on his acceſſion to the crown, gained him the reputation of a wiſe, juſt, and religious prince. Inſomuch, that Teucer, who was ſtrucken in years and had no iſſue-male, invited him over into Phrygia, gave him in marriage his only daughter Batia, and appointed him his heir and ſucceſſor to the kingdom of Phrygia, which, after the death of Teucer, he ruled with the ſame moderation, equity, and religion, as he had done that of Samothrace. He waged war with the neighbouring princes, namely with the Paphlagonians, and, as he was always attended with ſucceſs, extended the boundaries of his new kingdom by conſiderable acquiſitions. He built two cities, the one he honoured with his own name, ſtiling it Dardana or Dardania, and this he choſe for his royal ſeat; the other he called Thymbra from Thymbræus one of his intimates. Haveing ſettled the civil concerns of the kingdom, and made many uſeful laws for the due adminiſtration of juſtice, which he looked upon as the baſis of regal authority, he applied himſelf entirely to religious matters. The Palladium, or, as others will have it, the Palladiums (H), were

Dardanus. Year of the flood, 1524. Before Chriſt 1479.

Scamander by men, meaning thereby that the former was the more antient. He likewiſe introduced the worſhip of Cybele according to the rites that were practiſed in Crete, where that goddeſs was ſuppoſed to have brought forth and nurſed Jupiter. Some think the authority of Virgil, with regard to Teucer, to be of very great weight, ſince it no ways concerned Auguſtus whether Teucer was of Crete, or not.

(H) Some writers tell us, that Dardanus had with Chryſe two Palladiums or ſtatues of Pallas, and that they were both of equal virtue, the oracle having promiſed, that the city in which either of them was kept ſhould never be liable to any diſaſters. Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus gives us the words which the oracle was ſaid to have uttered, and are the following;

Fate

were by his orders brought over into Phrygia; as for the other gods, which he had with his firſt wife, they were left in Samothrace till the death of his brother Jaſius, who governed that iſland in the abſence of Dardanus (I). Dardanus

Fata dabunt urbem, poteris qua condere ſacra,
Cœlicolaſque illic feſtis colere atque choreis.
Munera namque deæ ſervabis arce repoſta
Palladis; hæc quoniam cepit tua regia conjux,
Servatura tuam duris procul omnibus urbem.

One of theſe, ſay they, was ſtolen out of the citadel of Troy by Diomedes and Ulyſſes; but the other was brought by Æneas into Italy (97). But Varro (98) tells us, that the Palladium was brought to Rome by one Nautes, and adds, that the prieſthood of Minerva was hereditary in his family. Others ſay, that Diomedes, after the deſtruction of Troy, being driven by a ſtorm on the coaſts of Italy, and there ordered by an oracle to return the Palladium to the Trojans, ſent it to Æneas by Nautes, one one of Æneas's friends and companions.

(I) In what has been ſaid of Dardanus we have followed Homer, Manetho, Diodorus, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, Euſebius, Cyrillus, Cedrenus, Johannes Tzetzes, &c. but Virgil and the poets to flatter Auguſtus make Dardanus ſon of Electra not by Coritus, but by Jupiter. And as to Coritus, they will have him to have been king of Hetruria, and not of Samothrace. Virgil tells us, that Dardanus paſſed out of Hetruria into Samothrace, and from thence into Phrygia. He expreſſes himſelf thus: (99)

Eſt locus, Heſperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ.
Oenotrii coluere viri; nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixiſſe, ducis de nomine, gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ ſedes; hinc Dardanus ortus,
Iaſiuſque pater, genus a quo principe noſtrum.

And elſewhere (100).

Atque equidem memini (fama eſt obſcurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre ſenes; his ortus ut agris
Dardanus Idæas Phrygiæ penetravit ad urbes,
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum, Coriti Tyrrhena ab ſede profectum,
Aurea nunc ſolio ſtellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

Virgil

(96) Procog. de Bell. Goth. l. i. Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandram Lycophron. p. 146. (98) Varro de familiis Rom. apud Servium. (99) Æneid, iii. verſ. 163. (100) Æneid. l. iv. verſ. 205.

danus had two wives, the firſt named Chryſe an Arcadian, by whom he had two ſons, Idæus and Dimas, the other Batia, who likewiſe bore him two ſons, Zacynthus and Erichthonius. Idæus and Dimas, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus [o], inherited, in right of their mother, the territories of their grandfather in Arcadia, whence they led colonies into Aſia, being forced to quit their own country by frequent inundations. Zacynthus planted a colony of Phrygians in an iſland of the Ionian ſea, which from himſelf he called Zacynthus [p]. Erichthonius ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Phrygia, as we ſhall ſee anon. As to his ſiſter Harmonia, ſhe married Cadmus founder of the Theban kingdom, whom her brother Jaſius had initiated in the myſteries of religion. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of her and her huſband Cadmus, when we come to treat of the Theban kingdom. Dardanus reigned in Phrygia 64 or 65 years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

ERICHTHONIUS, who treading in the footſteps of his father was revered by his ſubjects, and greatly reſpected by all

Erichthonius. Year of the flood, 1589. Before Chriſt 1414.

[o] Dionys. Halicar. l. i. [p] Dionys. Halicar. ubi ſupra.

Virgil does not tell us on what occaſion Dardanus quitted Tuſcany: But Annus informs us, that after the death of Coritus, the two brothers Dardanus and Jaſius falling out about the ſucceſſion to the crown, the former killed the latter, whereupon he was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight from the Tuſcans, and from Siculus king of Spain and brother to Electra, who was come to compoſe their differences. The ſame Annus gives the name of Comblobaſcus to the father of Dardanus and Jaſius, and adds, that the word Corytus was a title of dignity. Apollodorus, in his fabulous hiſtory of the Greeks, tells us, that Jaſion, as he ſtiles him, and Dardanus were ſons of Electra, the daughter of Atlas and Jupiter, that the former, being paſſionately in love with Ceres, and attempting to raviſh her, was thunderſtruck, and that Dardanus was ſo concerned for the death of his brother, that, abandoning Samothrace his native country, he retired to the oppoſite continent, where he was kindly received by Teucer king of Phrygia. Iſaacus Tzetzes (9) thinks, that Dardanus was forced by an inundation to leave Samothrace. As to Atlas, the father of Electra, ſome ſay, that he was king of Mauritania others of Samothrace, and that he gave his daughter in marriage to Corytus, who had by her Chryſe firſt wife to Dardanus. Boccace (10) is of opinion, that Atlas was neither an African, nor a Samothracian, but an Italian. The want of good authorities in this point of antient hiſtory has given every one leave to ſay what he pleaſed.

(9) In Apollonium. (10) De gen. deor. l. iv. c. 8.

all the neighbouring princes, with whom, as he was more inclined to the arts of peace than of war, he carefully maintained a good underſtanding. The long quiet he enjoyed gave him an opportunity of heaping up immenſe riches, which Homer takes notice of, without burdening the ſubject with taxes and impoſitions. By his wife Aſtyoche he had but one ſon named Tros. He reigned, according to ſome, forty-ſix, according to others ſeventy-five years, and dying left the kingdom of Phrygia in a moſt flouriſhing condition (K).

Tros. Year of the flood 1635. Before Chriſt 1368.

On the death of Erichthonius, Tros aſcended the throne, and in the very beginning of his reign laid the foundations of a city, which became ſoon the moſt famous of all Aſia. This grand work being at laſt finiſhed, he invited all the neighbouring princes, except Tantalus king of Sipylus, to aſſiſt at the ſolemn dedication of the new city. Why Tantalus was omitted we know not; but he highly reſented ſuch a contemptuous behaviour, as he called it, and ſoon after had a fair oppootunity of ſhewing his reſentment. For Ganymedes, a youth of extraordinary beauty, and the darling of his father Tros, being ſent by him with a ſplendid retinue to carry preſents of great value to Jupiter Europæus, in paſſing through the territories of Tantalus was not only detained, but abuſed by that vitious and impious king (L). This indignity the generous youth

(K) Apollodorus tells us, that Erichthonius had an elder brother, by name Ilus, who died before his father, and a ſiſter called Idæa, who married Phineus II. king of the Thracian Thyni, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the hiſtory of Thrace. As the name of Erichthenius is entirely Greek, ſome have concluded from thence, that the Greek tongue began very early to prevail in Phrygia; which argument would be of no ſmall weight, could they but prove, that Erichthonius was that prince's original or Phrygian name, and not a Greek tranſlation thereof; for the Greeks, as Plato obſerves (11), uſed to tranſlate foreign names into their own language, as the Egyptians did all Greek names into theirs. Some finding a king of Athens bearing the ſame name, infer from thence, that the Trojans were originally Athenians. An opinion built on ſo ſlight a foundation is ſcarce worth refuting.

(L) The fable of Ganymede's being taken up into heaven by Jupiter is variouſly interpreted; but Natalis Comes (12) is of opinion,

(11) In Atlantic. (12) l. ix. c. 13.

youth took ſo much to heart, that he died ſoon after of pure grief. Neither did his father Tros long outlive him; for the war, which he made upon Tantalus to revenge the affront offered to his ſon, proving unſucceſsful, the affliction, which aroſe from thence, joined to the concern he was in for the loſs of his favourite ſon, put an end to his days in the 60th, or, according to others, in the 49th year of his reign. He had by his wife Acalide, or, as Apollodorus calls her, Callirrhoe, three ſons, Ilus, Ganymedes, and Aſſaracus, and one daughter by name Cleomeſtra, or as Apollodorus will have it, Cleopatra. Hyginus, by miſtake, makes Ganymedes ſon to Erichthonius. From this king Phrygia Minor borrowed the name Troas, as its metropolis did that of Troy.

As the chief commanders of the Trojan troops, whoſe names are of great renown in antient hiſtory, and from whom moſt of our European nations have once pretended to derive their pedigree, were deſcended from Tros, be-

fore

opinion, that this ſtory was invented by the Greeks to give a kind of ſanction to the unatural luſt that greatly prevailed in that nation. And truly Jupiter, as Arnobius obſerves (13), ſeems to have been ſet up for no other purpoſe, but that men might father their crimes upon him, and thereby extenuate in great meaſure their own guilt. Thus Theocritus the poet, in celebrating the inceſtuous marriage of Ptolemæus Philadelphus with his ſiſter Arſinoe, produces the example of Jupiter and Juno; and Seneca the tragedian had recourſe to the ſame topic to find ſomething commendable in the marriage of Octavia and Nero: Sortita fratris more Junonis toros, ſays he, ſpeaking of Octavia (14). Others tell us, that Ganymedes was killed in a battle between Tantalus and Ilus; for Ilus purſued the war with Tantalus which his father had begun. They add, that the body of Ganymedes not being found among the dead, nor ever after appearing, the poets took occaſion from thence to feign, that he had been taken up into heaven by Jupiter. Suidas charges Minos with the rape of Ganymede, and ſays, that Minos being kindly received and entertained by Tros, on that occaſion fell in love with Ganymedes, and requited the favours he had received of the father by abuſing, and forcibly conveying away the ſon, who was the only delight of his old age. Cicero (15) ſeems to make Ganymede the ſon of Laomedon, which is a miſtake. Oroſius (16) and Euſebius (17) inform us, that the war which Tros made upon Tantalus was deſcribed by one Patrocles a poet of no mean character; but his works have not reached us.

(13) lib. v. contra gentes. (14) Pag. 334. (15) Cicero 1. Tuſcul. (16) lib. 1. c. 12. (17) De præpar. evangel. l. ii,

fore we proceed in the hiſtory of the Trojan kings, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of his numerous progeny. Tros, as we have already obſerved, had by his wife Acalide, or, as others call her, Callirrhoe, three ſons, Ilus, Ganymedes, and Aſſaracus, and one daughter by name Cleomeſtra. Of Ilus, who ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Phrygia, and his poſterity, we ſhall ſpeak in the ſeries of the kings. Ganymedes died without iſſue. Aſſaracus had by his wife Hieromname, or, according to others, Clytodora, one ſon named Capys, of whom we know nothing elſe but that the city of Caphya in Arcadia, according to Stephanus, borrowed its name of him, and that he married one Themis, by whom he had Anchiſes, who was famous for the comelineſs of his perſon, which gave riſe to the fable of his amours with Venus. He had the misfortune to ſee the city of Troy twice taken and plundered during the firſt ſiege, which happened in the reign of Laomedon, he is aid to have behaved with great gallantry; but in the time of the ſecond, he was no more fit to bear arms, being wore out with old age and infirmities, occaſioned by the lewdneſs and diſſoluteneſs of his youth, to which his blindneſs is alſo aſcribed. He is ſuppoſed to have been ſaved out of the flames of the burning city on the ſhoulders of his ſon Æneas, and to have accompanied him to Sicily, where he died. He had two ſons, Æneas, whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter, and Elymus, and one daughter named Hippodamia. Elymus, according to Suidas, imparted his name to the Elymæis a people of Sicily. Apollodorus calls him Lycus. Hippodamia married Alcathous, who fell in a battle by the hand of Idomeneus [q].

Cleomestra had but one ſon, by name Lyerſus, father to Antenor. As to Lyerſus antient hiſtory is quite ſilent; but Antenor is greatly commended for his prudence and wiſdom. He was ſent by king Priam embaſſador into Greece to demand his ſiſter Heſione, whom Hercules after taking Troy had carried captive into Greece, and beſtowed on Telamon, as a reward for being the firſt that mounted the wall of that city. The Greeks treated him more like a ſpy than an embaſſador; whereupon, returning to Aſia, he inflamed Priam and his ſons againſt that nation However, ſome time after he not only

[q] Homer. Iliad. v.

ly entertained in his houſe the Greek embaſſadors that were ſent to demand Helena, but protected them againſt the treacherous attempts of Priam's ſons, and found means to convey them ſafe out of Troy. This having gained him the good will of the Greeks, he was ſent into Greece on a ſecond embaſſy, on which occaſion he is commonly believed to have betrayed the truſt repoſed in him, and ſome years after the city itſelf, ſeeing that Priam would hearken to no conditions of peace, to which Antenor ſhewed himſelf mightily inclined after his laſt embaſſy. It is agreed on all hands, that the Greeks entering Troy ſword in hand, ſhewed in the height of their revenge a tender and friendly regard for Antenor, having even cauſed the ſkin of a panther to be hung up before his door, leſt, through miſtake, any violence ſhould be offered to his houſe or perſon by the greedy and incenſed ſoldiery. Some add, that having known Ulyſſes, who had entered the city in diſguiſe to obſerve the ſtrength of the Trojans, he neither apprehended nor diſcovered him. Many, however, clear him from all treachery, and put a more favourable conſtruction on the kindneſs ſhewn him by the Greeks, ſaying that they ſpared him merely in compliance with the laws of hoſpitality, which in thoſe days were deemed ſacred even by the moſt ſavage nations. Of this opinion is Livy [r]; and Virgil alſo ſeems to free him from all ſuſpicion of treachery, ſaying, that he eſcaped falling into the hands of the Greeks [s]. But be that as it will, the Trojans, that remained in the country after the deſtruction of Troy, were ſo predudiced againſt him, that they obliged him to withdraw from Troas. At the ſame time the Heneti, being driven out of Paphlagonia and forced to ſeek for new ſettlements, choſe him for their leader in room of their king Pylæmenes, who had been killed in the ſiege of Troy. With theſe and a few Trojans he put to ſea, and, ſteering his courſe up the Adriatic gulph, landed in the country of the Euganei lying between the ſea and the Alps. Here he reſolved to ſettle, and having driven out the antient proprietors, and blended the mixed multitude of Heneti and Trojans under the common name of Veneti, he gave riſe to a new nation. He built a ſmall town in the place where he landed and called it Troy. He is ſuppoſed to have built the city of Padua. Antenor

[r] Decad. i. l. i. [s] Æneid, l. i. verſe 246.

nor had by his wife Theano, ſiſter to Hecuba and daughter to Ciſſeus king of Thrace, Iphidamus, Coon, Helicaon, Laodocus, Acamas, Archilochus, Polybus, Agenor, Laodamas, Demoleon, Glaucus, and Crino. Iphidamus was brought up in Thrace under the care of his grand-father, and came to ſuccour Priam and his country with twelve ſhips, which he left at Percope, marching by land to Troy, where he was ſlain by Agamemnon, whom he had engaged, and would very likely have conquered, had he not been leſs fortunate than brave [t]. Coon, attempting to revenge the death of his brother, ſingled out and dangerouſly wounded the ſame Agamemnon, but at laſt fell likewiſe by his hand. Helicaon married Laodice daughter to king Priam. Archilochus and Acamas commanded, in conjunction with Æneas, the troops of Dardania. Agenor was a warrior of great proweſs, attended Hector in his boldeſt undertakeings, and was not afraid to encounter Achilles himſelf [u]. The others are named by Homer, Pauſanias, Calaber &c. but performed nothing worth relating. Pindar [w] tells us, that the ſons of Antenor, after the deſtruction of Troy, joined Menelaus and Helena, and with them ſettled in Libya. But Euſebius ſays, that they reigned in Phrygia till the return of Hector's ſons, by whom they were driven from the throne and the country. Perhaps ſome of them remained in Phrygia, and ſome accompanied Menelaus and Helena; among the latter were, according to Symmachus [x], Glaucus, Acamas, and Hippolochus or Archilochus. As to Theano Antenor's wife, Suidas and Cedrenus informs us, that ſhe was the chief prieſteſs of Pallas, and that ſhe betrayed the Palladium to Diomedes and Ulyſſes, who were ſent into Troy under the pretence of an embaſſy to king Priam. Let us now return to the ſucceſſion of the Trojan kings.

Ilus. Year of the flood 1684. before Chriſt 319.

TROS was ſucceeded by his ſon Ilus, who, purſuing with great vigor the war which his father had begun, after many ſignal victories drove Tantalus out of Aſia and poſſeſſed himſelf of his kingdom, which he annexed to the crown of Phrygia. Pelops the ſon of Tantalus, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, was at laſt entirely routed, and forced to quit Aſia and follow his father into Greece.

Byſnus

[t] Homer. Iliad. λ. Pautanias in Phoc.
[u] Homer. Iliad. λ.
[w] Pindar. Pyth. Od. 5.
[x] Apud Iſaac. Tzetzum, p. 276.

Byſnus king of the Bebryces, who had eſpouſed the quarrel of Tantalus and his ſon Pelops, was likewiſe defeated, and, ſome ſay, killed in the engagement; Ilus having thus revenged the affront offered to his brother, applied himſelf entirely to civil affairs, and is ſaid to have made a great many uſeful laws for the regulation of public affairs. He enlarged and adorned with many ſtately buildings the city of Ilium or Troy. Plutarch informs us, that in his time the temple of Pallas being ſet on fire by lightning, he ſaved the Palladium out of the flames; but on that occaſion loſt his ſight, which, however, he afterwards recovered. Herodianus informs us[y], that he called the place, where he defeated Tantalus, Peſſinus, which name was afterwards given to a city built on that ſpot. He died in the 40th year of his reign. He had by his wife Lucippe two ſons, Tithonus and Laomedon. Tithonus, whom ſome believe to have been the ſon, and not the brother, of Laomedon, was from his early years greatly addicted to hunting; by which manly exerciſe having acquired a ſtrong and robuſt conſtitution, and inured himſelf to hardſhips, he betook himſelf to a military life, and went to ſerve among the Aſſyrians, who in thoſe days were a very warlike people, and thought to excel all other nations in the military art. His courage and conduct ſoon raiſed him to the firſt poſts in the army, in which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was ranked among the Titanes or chief lords of the Aſſyrian monarchy, and made governor of Perſia. Hearing that Phrygia was invaded by the Greeks, he obtained leave of Teutamus king of Aſſyria, who had a great value for him, to ſend his ſon Memnon at the head of a conſiderable body of choſen troops to aſſiſt his countrymen. But this expedition proved fatal both to the father and the ſon; for Memnon being ſlain by the Theſſalians, Tithonus, already worn out with old age, was ſo grieved for his death, that he did not long outlive him. The comelineſs of his perſon, his riſing early in the morning as he was a great ſportſman, the old age he lived to, and his pining away at laſt with grief, may have given riſe to the many fables which the poets relate of him; but for theſe and their explanation we muſt refer the reader to Athenæus

[y] lib. i.

Athenæus [a], Tzetzes [b], Natalis Comes [c], and other mythologists.

TITHONUS had by his wife Ciſſia, or, as Diodorus calls her, Ida, two ſons, Memnon and Emathion, and one daughter named Hemera. Memnon, being brought up under the diſcipline of his father, proved a brave, wiſe, and experienced commander. He ſerved with great ſucceſs in Egypt againſt the Ethiopians, who were become very troubleſome neighbours to the Egyptians; for he routed and diſperſed their armies, laid waſte their country, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute to the Egyptians, who out of gratitude transferred it to Memnon, appointing him king over the country which he had ſubdued. In Ethiopia he built a city bearing his own name, and ſome make him likewiſe the founder of Abydus. Having thus diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Egypt and Ethiopia, he returned to his father in Aſſyria, where he was ſet over part of Perſia in quality of ſatrapa or chief governor, and is ſaid to have built in his ſatrapy the city of Suſa, and another to which he imparted his own name. To gratify his father he marched, at the head of 20000 Ethiopians and the like number of Perſians, to the aſſiſtance of king Priam. On this occaſion he behaved with his uſual bravery, and often put the Greeks to flight; but at laſt falling into an ambuſcade was killed by Achilles at the head of the Theſſalians. His body was reſcued out of the enemies hands, his obſequies performed with great ſolemnity, and his aſhes ſent back to his father. Joſephus places his tomb near Ptolemais in Phœnice, but Pliny and Ælian ſay, that he was buried at Suſa (M). Every body has heard of the vocal ſtatue of Memnon near Thebes in Egypt. This, according to Pauſanias [d], Euſtathius,

[a] Athen. lib. xii. c. 26. [b] Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandr. Lyc. [c] Natalis Comes, l. vi. c. 4. [d] In Atticis.

(M) Pauſanias (18) tells us, that a cenotapium or empty tomb was raiſed to him in the country of Troas, not far from the river Æſopus, which tomb, as the inhabitants informed him, was yearly viſited by ſtrange birds, known to them under the name of Memnonian birds. Theſe on ſtated days flocking to the tomb, cleared the ground, on which it ſtood, of all rubbiſh, and afterwards dipping their wings in the Æſopus ſprinkled it with the water of that river.

(18) In Phocis.

thius [e], Lucian [f], was broke in pieces by order of Cambyſes, but ever after that part, which remained on the pedeſtal, at the riſing of the ſun, yielded a ſound like that of the ſtring of a lyre or lute, when it breaks on the inſtrument by being drawn too tight. Euſebius ſeems to have credited this ſtory; for he ſays, that this miraculous effect ceaſed at the birth of Chriſt. Pauſanias [g] informs us, that Memnon's ſword was kept at Nicomedia, and produces it as an argument to prove, that the arms uſed by the antients were of braſs. Anticles, quoted by Pliny, ſays, that Memnon invented letters fifteen years before the reign of Phoroneus firſt king of Argos. Heliodorus [h] makes him the progenitor of the kings of Ethiopia.

EMATHION, the other ſon of Tithonus, remained at home with his uncle Laomedon, and was killed in the war that broke out between him and Hercules. Probus the grammarian is of opinion, that Macedonia was from him named Emathia, and Juſtin mentions an antient king of Macedonia bearing his name [i]. Romus, deſcended from one of the ſons of Tithonus, was reckoned by ſome, as Plutarch informs us, among the founders of Rome [k]. As to Hemera, we know nothing of her but what is related by the ſpurious Dictys now extant, whoſe hiſtory deſerves no manner of credit.

Laomedon. Year of the flood, 1724. Before Chriſt 1279.

ON the death of Ilus Laomedon was placed on the throne, his elder brother Tithonus being at that time employed in foreign wars. He built the citadel of Troy, being aſſiſted therein by Apollo and Neptune, that is, he carried on the work with the treaſures that were conſecrated to them and lodged in their temples. Several inundations are ſaid to have happened in his reign, and a plague to have broke out, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants. Theſe were looked upon as puniſhments inflicted by the gods whoſe temples he had plundered. He treated Jaſon and the other Argonauts, who had landed on the coaſts of Troas, in a very inhoſpitable manner, refuſing to ſupply them with neceſſaries, and even threatening to treat them as enemies, if they did not forthwith return on board their ſhips and quit the country. To revenge this affront, Hercules, who was one of the Argonauts, returned ſome time after with twelve gallies to Troy, which

[e] In Dionyſ. [f] In Toxeri. [g] In Atticis. [h] In Æthiop. l. x. c. 5. [i] Juſtin, l. vii. [k] Plutarch in Romulo.

he beſieged, took, and plundered. In this war Laomedon killed Oileus, a commander of great renown, but was himſelf not long after killed by Hercules, whom he had engaged with more courage than caution (N). Laomedon had five ſons. Tithonus, Lampon, Clytus, Icetaon, and Priam; his daughters were Heſione, Cilla, Aſtyoche, Antigone, Proclia, and Euthria. All his ſons, except Priam, were killed in the war with Hercules. As to the daughters, Heſione, as we have ſaid, baing taken by Hercules, was beſtowed in marriage on Telamon, who treated her more like his concubine than wife; which Priam, who had ſucceeded his father, no ſooner underſtood, but he ſent Antenor into Greece to expoſtulate with Telamon, and to demand his ſiſter Heſione. In the council of the princes of Greece this embaſſy was heard with contempt, and the embaſſadors uſed in a manner no ways ſuitable to their character, which gave occaſion, according to ſeveral writers, to the Trojan war. Cilla and Aſtyoche are only named by Apollodorus [i]. Antigone is deſcribed as a woman of a proud, haughty, and inſolent behaviour, which gave riſe to the fable of her contending for beauty with Juno, and being transformed into a ſtork by that incenſed goddeſs [k]. Proclia married Cycnus, by whom ſhe had Tenus and Hemithea [l]. Euthria, being taken by the Greeks and preferring death itſelf to ſlavery, adviſed the Trojan women, who were captives with her on board the Greek fleet, to ſet the enemies ſhips on fire, and thereby revenge the evils which they had brought upon their common country, and prevent thoſe that were reſerved for themſelves

[i] Apollod. l. iii. [k] Servius in l. i. Æneid. [l] Iſaac Tzetzes in Caſſandr. Lycoph. p. 118.

(N) Others tell us, (19) that Apollo and Neptune were hired by Laomedon to build the walls of Troy; and that, upon his refuſing to pay them their wages, Apollo ſent a plague, and Neptune drowned part of the country with inundations. They add, that the oracle adviſed him to expoſe his daughter Heſione to a ſea-monſter, and attone for his crime by ſacrificing his favourite child. She was delivered by Hercules, ſay they, but Laomedon refuſed him the reward which he had promiſed; whereupon Hercules beſieged and took Troy, killed the king, and gave Heſione in marriage to Telamon.

(19) Euſeb. in Chron.

themſelves. Her advice was followed, and the Greeks being gone aſhore near Pallene to take in freſh proviſions, they burned both the fleet and themſelves, which obliged the Greeks to ſettle there [m], having no other ſhips to purſue their voyage. Apollodorus mentions one Bucolion, a natural ſon of Laomedon's by Calybe, who was ſlain with his father and brothers by Hercules. Laomedon reigned, according to ſome, thirty-ſix, according to others, forty-four, years.

LAOMEDON being ſlain by Hercules, as we have ſaid above, Podarces, the only ſurviving ſon, who had been carried away captive with his ſiſter Heſione, was with a great ſum of money ranſomed and placed on the throne of his anceſtors, and hence came the ſirname of Priam, which is derived from a Greek verb ſignifying to redeem or ranſom. His firſt care, after his acceſſion to the throne, was to encompaſs the city of Troy with a ſtrong wall, to prevent ſuch calamities as had happened in his father's reign. There being diſcovered in the beginning of his reign a mine of gold near Abydus, he was thereby enabled to undertake and carry on many public works; for he is ſaid to have embelliſhed the city with ſtately edifices, towers, caſtles, aqueducts, &c. He maintained in conſtant pay a conſiderable army, reduced moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and was rather conſidered as ſovereign of all Aſia Minor, than king of Troas. He married to his firſt wife Ariſba, or, as others call her, Alyxothoe, by whom he had but one ſon named Æſacus; but by his ſecond wife Hecuba, daughter to Ciſſeus king of Thrace, he had Hector, Alexander or Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, Polites, Antiphus, Hipponous, Polydorus, and Troilus; and daughters, Creuſa, Laodice, Polyxena, and Caſſandra. Beſides theſe he had many children by concubines, in all to the number of fifty. Some writers ſay, that being abroad when Troy was taken in the reign of his father, he was called home and placed on the throne by Hercules, notwithſtanding ſome of his elder brothers were then alive.

Priam. Year of the flood 1768. Before Chriſt, 1235.

THE name of this king will be ever memorable in hiſtory for the war that happened in his reign between the Greeks and Trojans, a war famous to this day for the many princes of great proweſs and renown that were concerned in it, the battles that were fought, the length of the ſiege, the deſtruction of that great city, and the endleſs

The cauſe of the Trojan war.

[m] Polyænus l. vii.

endleſs colonies that were planted in divers parts of the world by the conquered as well as the conquerors. As to the cauſe of this fatal and deſtructive war, it is agreed on all hands, that the rape of Helen firſt kindled it; but what encouraged Paris to ſuch an attempt, and induced his father Priam to ſtand by him at the expence of ſo much blood, and treaſure is not determined by antient writers. Herodotus [n] gives a very unnatural and far-fetched account of this rape. He ſays, that the Phœnicians having raviſhed Io, the daughter of Inachus king of Argos, and carried her with other Greek women into Egypt, the Greeks, making uſe of repriſals, firſt carried off Europa, the king of Tyre's daughter, and afterwards Medea daughter to the king of Colchos, refuſing to reſtore either till ſuch time as they received due reparation for the rape of Io. Paris, adds Herodotus, in the next ſucceeding age hearing of theſe adventures, was encouraged to raviſh Helen, perſuading himſelf, that he ſhould not be conſtrained to make any reparation, ſeeing others had eſcaped with impunity. But this whole account is quite frivolous and foreign to the purpoſe. For how could the Greeks ever take it in their heads to quarrel with the king of Colchos, or revenge on him an injury done to their nation by the Phœnicians, whom the king of Colchos, in all likelihood, had never ſo much as heard of? Beſides, it is plain from Thucydides, that the diſtinction of Greeks and Barbarians was not introduced even in Homer's time, and conſequently highly improbable, that the Greeks ſo long before, when they had not even one common name to diſtinguiſh themſelves from other nations, ſhould nevertheleſs look upon them all as their enemies by reaſon of an injury done by one. Others ſay, that king Priam, hearing that his ſiſter Heſione was ill-uſed by Telamon, to whom Hercules had given her in marriage, ſent firſt Antenor, and afterwards Paris, to complain thereof, and inſiſt on her being delivered to them. This, they think, has ſome appearance of truth; for Telamon in hiſtory bears the character of a ſurly, cruel, and ill-natured prince, inſomuch, that his own ſon Teucer choſe rather to roam on the ſeas in queſt of a new habitation after the war, than return home, not daring to appear before his father, for no other reaſon, but becauſe his brother Ajax had laid violent hands on himſelf, which it was not in Teucer's power to prevent. Paris,

[n] lib. i.

ris, add theſe authors, coming into Greece upon this embaſſy was hoſpitably entertained by Menelaus king of Sparta, who being obliged by his private concerns to paſs over into Crete, his baſe and ungrateful gueſt laid hold on that opportunity to entice away his wife. But neither is this account by any means ſatisfactory; for were it true, that Heſione was ill-uſed by Telamon, yet no body can imagine, that Priam would on that ſcore ſend a ſolemn embaſſy into Greece, or think of taking his ſiſter from her huſband, with whom ſhe had lived above thirty years. Whereupon it is moſt natural to think, that Paris, in raviſhing Helen, never thought of Europa, Medea, or Heſione; but, falling in love with her, as ſhe was the moſt beautiful womam in Greece, was prompted by his own perverſe inclinations to do what in thoſedays was commonly practiſed both by Greeks and Barbarians. Thus Helen herſelf had been ſtolen before by Theſeus, and ſuch practices of ſtealing women were ſo common, as Thucydides [o] informs us, that none durſt venture to live near the ſea-coaſt. The ſame Thycydides [p] tells us, that as Helen was a women of extraordinary beauty, her father Tindareus, after recovering her from Theſeus, to prevent a ſecond rape, obliged all her ſuitors, who were moſt of the princes of Greece, to bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to reſcue her, in caſe ſhe ſhould be taken from her huſband. This done, he gave his daughter free choice of a huſband, who preferred Menelaus to all the reſt. According to this account, the oath, which ſo many princes had taken to Tyndareus, was what drew them together, and armed them againſt the raviſher and his abettors. To which we may add the great power of Agamemnon, brother to the injured Menelaus, who, as he was by far the moſt potent prince of all Greece, ſo he had, without all doubt, a great influence over the reſt of his countrymen. But be that as it will, war againſt Troy was determined in a general aſſembly of all the princes of Greece, and this was the firſt enterprize the Greeks ever undertook with common conſent. Before the aſſembly broke up, Agamemnon was appointed commander in chief of the whole army; Ægium a city in Peloponneſus was fixed upon for the place of the general rendezvous; and each prince, as Greece was at that time divided into endleſs dynaſties, enjoined to ſend his quota of troops and ſhips.

[o] Thucyd. l i. [p] Idem ibid. p. 6.

THE beſt and moſt rational account we have of this great war is that which we gather from Homer, whoſe inimitable performance ought not to be regarded as a mere fiction, or the reſult of a poetical imagination, but as a rich fund of the moſt antient hiſtory of Greece. The known rules of epic poetry ſuppoſe the truth of the hiſtory, though they admit of its being embelliſhed with poetical fictions. So that if we had no other monuments of antiquity to convince us of the Trojan war, and the taking of that city by the Greeks, yet we could not queſtion the truth of the fact. But moſt of the hiſtorical events related by Homer are atteſted and confirmed by the moſt creditable hiſtorians, and by all the monuments of antiquity, namely, by the Arundelian marbles. We muſt therefore carefully diſtinguiſh in Homer's works what is hiſtorical from what is merely fictitious. He deſcribes the ſtate of Greece at that time, and informs us, that it was cantled out into a great many dynaſties; that Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, Sicyon, and Corinth, was the moſt powerful prince of all Greece, that he was appointed to command in chief; he enumerates and names the ſeveral nations and princes that ſided with the Trojans; he gives us an inſight into the art of war practiſed in that age; diſcloſes the laws and religion of the Greeks; gives us the character of their leaders; deſcribes the ſituation of their country and cities, &c. all which are purely hiſtorical; ſo that Homer's poems may deſervedly be conſidered as the moſt antient hiſtory of the Greeks, whoſe earlier ages are buried in oblivion for want of ſuch a writer to tranſmit their actions to poſterity (O).

THE number of ſhips employed by the Greeks in this expedition, according to Euripides, Lycophron, and Virgil, amounted to 1000; Homer enumerates 1186; but Thucy-

(O) Dion Chryſoſtome (19), in an oration addreſſed to the Trojans, attempts to prove the ſiege and reduction of Troy by the Greeks to be an errant fable without any foundation of truth. But his performance is generally looked upon only as a witty eſſay, ſince the author elſewhere (20) diſproves what he endeavours to prove here. And truly the ſiege and taking of Troy are tranſactions ſo well atteſted, and have left ſuch a remarkable epocha in hiſtory, that no man of ſenſe can call them in queſtion.

(19) Orat. xi. (20) Περὶ ἀσκήσεως p. 255.

Thucydides [q] raiſes the number to 1200. The Bœotian ſhips, that were the largeſt, carried 120 men each; thoſe of the Philoctetæ were the ſmalleſt, and each manned with 50; every man, the commanders excepted, was both a mariner and a ſoldier; ſo that ſuppoſing the fleet to have been of 1200 ſail, as Thucydides affirms, and the ſhips to have carried one with another 85 men, we ſhall find the Greek army to have been 102,000 men ſtrong, no great force, conſidering, that all the powers of Greece, except the Acarnanes alone [r], were engaged in this war. The Greeks, as Thucydides obſerves, could have raiſed a far more powerful army, but were afraid of being diſtreſſed for proviſions in a foreign country [s]. Againſt this army the city of Troy held out ten years; but the Trojans, as Homer makes Agamemnon ſay, were not the tenth part of the enemies which the Greeks had to contend with; for all Phrygia, Lycia, Myſia, and the greateſt part of Aſia Minor ſided with the Trojans. Rheſus king of Thrace marched at the head of a conſiderable body to their aſſiſtance, and Memnon, as we have ſaid, joined them with 20,000 Perſians and the like number of Æthiopians. Wherefore the Greeks, foreſeeing the reſiſtance they were likely to meet with, and how dear it would coſt them to carry their point by dint of arms, before they began any hoſtilities, ſent Menelaus and Ulyſſes embaſſadors to Troy, to demand Helen and the treaſures which Paris had carried off with her, hoping, that the fame of the vaſt preparations which they had made might frighten the Trojans into a compliance with ſo equitable a demand. What anſwer was returned to the embaſſadors we know not; but 'tis certain, that they returned without Helena, and highly diſſatisfied with their reception at Troy.

Herodotus [t], upon a tradition that prevailed among the prieſts of Egypt, ſeems inclinable to believe, that Helen was taken from Paris before he could reach Troy. The tradition, as Herodotus, who learnt it of the prieſts themſelves, informs us, amounts to this: Paris on his return with Helen was by ſtreſs of weather driven on the coaſt of Egypt, and forced to put in at Tarichia on the Canopean mouth of the Nile. Here ſome ſlaves of Paris's retinue, taking ſanctuary in a temple of Hercules which ſtood on the ſhore, informed againſt their maſter, aggravateing before the governor of the province, by name Thonis,

[q] lib. i. p. 8. [r] Juſtin. l. xviii. [s] ubi ſupra. [t] lib. ii.

nis, the injury which he had done to Menelaus. Thonis laid the whole matter before Proteus, at that time king of Egypt, who, finding, upon examination, the depoſition of the ſlaves to be true, detained Helen and the treaſures that had been taken with her, in order to reſtore them to Menelaus; but commanded Paris, after having ſeverely reprimanded him for his crime, to depart the kingdom within the term of three days, on pain of being treated as an enemy. The Egyptian prieſts add, that when the Greeks ſent embaſſadors to demand Helen and her riches, the Trojans proteſted, that they were not in their power, but in the hands of Proteus king of Egypt, which the Greeks looking upon as a mere ſhift to put them off, began the war; but at laſt after taking the town, as Helena no where appeared, and the Trojans perſiſted in their former proteſtations, the Greeks began to believe them, and ſent Menelaus into Egypt, where he was kindly entertained by Proteus, and had his wife reſtored to him without any injury done to her perſon or goods. Theſe things the Egyptian prieſts aſſured Herodotus that they knew for certain, as they had happened in Egypt, and had been handed down to them from thoſe who had converſed with Menelaus himſelf. Herodotus produces one argument of no ſmall weight to prove the truth of this tradition, viz. that if it had been in king Priam's power to reſtore Helen, he would certainly have done it, rather than ſuffer the unſpeakable calamities that befel his family, his kingdom, and himſelf, during the courſe of the war. How great ſoever his tenderneſs to Paris might have been, yet it could not be proof againſt ſo many misfortunes. Homer ſeems not to have been ignorant of the tradition of the Egyptian prieſts, for he mentions Paris and Helen's arrival in Egypt, and ſays, that Menelaus went thither before he returned home to Sparta, which voyage it is not likely he undertook at that time for pleaſure. Nevertheleſs Homer, and with him all the Greek poets (after whom the Latins have copied), except Euripides, ſuppreſs the circumſtance of Helen's not being in Troy, as too favourable to the Trojan cauſe. But whether the Trojans would not, or could not, reſtore her, the embaſſadors on their return highly complained of the treatment they had met with, and with their complaints ſo incenſed their countrymen, that they reſolved without further delay to put to ſea, and carry

carry fire and ſword into the enemies country (P). They ſteered to the coaſt of Troas, where on their landing they met with ſo warm a reception, that they began to be ſenſible of the difficulty of the enterprize. In the firſt encounter they loſt Proteſilaus, who was ſlain by Hector, and many others of leſs note. However, they gained ground enough to encamp on. But what moſt of all retarded their progreſs was want of proviſions, which daily increaſed, and was owing partly to their numbers, partly to the ſmallneſs of their veſſels, which, as the building of ſhips with decks was not then introduced, could not carry ſuch ſtores of proviſions as were neceſſary to ſupply the army. Wherefore they were obliged to divide their forces, ſending part of them to cultivate the ground in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, and part to rove about the ſeas for the relief of the camp. All writers, whether poets or hiſtorians, agree, that the Greeks employed the firſt eight or nine years in ſcowering the ſeas, pillaging the coaſts, and reducing ſuch cities and iſlands as ſided with the Trojans. Hence in the poets we read of many towns taken, iſlands plundered, ſtrong-holds razed, and numbers of people carried into captivity by Achilles, whom the army could not well have ſpared, had there been any ſervice of importance to be performed before Troy (Q).

At

(P) Calchas, a famous ſoothſayer, without whoſe advice and approbation nothing was undertaken by the Greeks during the war, declared, that the goddeſs Diana oppoſed their paſſage with contrary winds, and that ſhe was to be appeaſed with a victim of no ſmaller note than Iphigenia daughter to Agememnon. The goddeſs, ſay the poets, was incenſed againſt him for having killed by chance one of her ſtags; but after all, pitying the innocent young virgin, ſhe prevented ſo horrid a ſacrifice by putting a hind in her room. Some writers are of opinion, as we have obſerved elſewhere (21), that the fable of the ſacrifice of Iphigenia had its birth from Jephtha ſacrificing his daughter.

(Q) Ovid ſays, that from the firſt year to the tenth there was no fighting at all; and Herodotus tells us, that the Greeks did not ſit down before Troy till the tenth year, contenting themſelves with laying waſte the enemies country, and blocking up the city. Homer (21) introduces king Priam ſitting on a high tower, and there learning of Helen the names of the Greek commanders

(21) p. 751. O. (21) Iliad. 3.

At laſt the ſeveral ſmall parties, that had been diſperſed up and down the neighbouring countries and iſlands, being joined in one body, and great ſtore of proviſions brought into the camp, they approached the city with a deſign to exert their utmoſt efforts, and put an end to ſo tedious a war. But by this time the Trojans had been reinforced with conſiderable both of mercenaries and allies. Inſomuch, that when the Greeks firſt inveſted the town, Hector attacked them at the head of an army ſcarce inferior to theirs in number. The Greeks had not been long before the city, when a plague broke out in their camp, which Homer ſays was ſent by Apollo, becauſe Agamemnon refuſed to releaſe the daughter of one of his prieſts; but Heraclides on this paſſage informs us, that it was occaſioned by the violent heats, and peſtilentious vapours raiſed by the ſun, the Greeks being encamped among fens and marſhes. The plague was followed by a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles; for Agamemnon being obliged by the ſoothſayer Calchas to return his fair captive to her father a prieſt of Apollo, to appeaſe that revengeful deity, took Briſeis in her room, who in the diviſion of the booty had fallen to Achilles. This affront Achilles revenged by withdrawing his forces, and retiring with them on board his veſſels. In his abſence ſeveral battles were fought with great ſlaughter on both ſides, the victory generally inclining to the Trojans. In one of theſe Patroclus was ſlain by Hector; but his death was not long unrevenged, for Achilles returning to the camp put the Trojans to flight, and revenged the death of his friend by killing Hector himſelf. Achilles did not long outlive him, being ſlain by Paris. Thus fell many of the chief leaders on both ſides, but the Greeks at laſt carried the city; whether by force, ſtratagem, or treachery is uncertain. All writers agree, that it was taken by night: Some ſay, that Æneas and Antenor, who commanded

manders who appeared in the field on the tenth year, for which fiction, allowing it to be ſuch, there would have been no room, had the Greeks been encamped under the walls of Troy for ten years together. The only thing wherein authors differ as to this particular is, that ſome, with Thucydides (22), ſay, that the whole army was employed in ſubduing the Trojan allies; while others, with Herodotus, tells us, that a conſiderable body of troops was encamped the whole time before Troy.

(22) lib. i. p. 9.

manded the Dardanians, ſeeing, that Priam would hearken to no terms even after the death of Hector and Paris, concluded a ſeparate peace with the Greeks, betraying the city into their hands. The poets tell us, that it was taken by the contrivance of a wooden horſe, which fable ſome think to have had its birth from the Greeks entering the city by the Scæan gate, over which was the picture or ſtatue of a horſe. Perhaps they entered the town through a breach made in the wall by ſome wooden engine, called a horſe, and in the nature of that which the Romans in after-ages made uſe of to batter the walls, and from its ſhape called a Ram. Be that as it will, the Greeks, having at laſt maſtered the city, practiſed all the cruelties and abominations which a cruel, hungry, and enraged enemy can be guilty of. The city was laid in aſhes, and ſuch of the inhabitants as had not time to ſave themſelves by flight, were either put to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age, or carried by the conqueror into captivity. And thus ended the kingdom of Troy, after having ſtood, from Teucer to Priam, 296 years, according to the moſt exact computations. The city was taken the 24th day of the month Thargelion, or April, 1184 years before Chriſt. Troy taken. Year of the flood, 1810. Before Chriſt, 1184.

THE Greeks, having at laſt put an end to the war, divided the booty, and put to ſea in order to return to their reſpective homes, but met with many adventures, many of them being driven on far diſtant coaſts. Meneſtheus king of Athens died at Melos. Teucer the ſon of Telamon ſettled in Cyprus, where he built a city calling it Salamis, from the chief city of his own country, which bore that name. Agapenor, who commanded the Arcadians, built in the ſame iſland the city of Paphos. Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles ſettled in Epirus, and there built Ephyra. Ajax the ſon of Oileus was loſt. Some of the Locrians were driven on the coaſts of Afric, others to Italy, whereof all the eaſt part was called Magna Græcia, by reaſon of the many towns built there by the Greeks. Many, who got ſafe home, were obliged to put to ſea again, as Thucydides informs us [u], in queſt of new ſeats, others having ſeized their territories, and uſurped the ſovereignty, during their abſence. Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus fell out when they were upon the point of weighing anchor to return home, and their quarrel divided the whole fleet, ſome ſailing with Menelaus to the iſland of Tenedos, and others remaining with Agamemnon on the coaſt of Troas.

[u] lib. i.

Troas. Thoſe, who followed Menelaus, not agreeing among themſelves, parted, each holding his own courſe homewards. Agamemnon arrived ſafe at Mycenæ, where he was ſoon after his arrival murdered by his wife Clytemneſtra; but his ſon Oreſtes revenged his death by the murder of Clytemneſtra, of Ægiſthus her gallant, and of Helen their daughter; for which murders he was tried and acquitted by the Areopagus. The adventures of Ulyſſes are related by Homer in a fabulous manner; but what may have ſome foundation in hiſtory is, that ſome years paſſed before he got home. The adventures of the other Greeks are leſs known; but upon the whole it appears, that this war proved no leſs fatal to the conquerors than to the conquered.

As for the Trojans, thoſe who eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſeeing their country utterly ruined, took their meaſures accordingly, and ſettled in diſtant regions. Antenor, as we have ſaid already, eſtabliſhed himſelf in Italy, and founded the nation of the Heneti. Helenus, one of Priam's ſons ſettled in Macedonia, where he built the city of Ilium. Some ſay, that during the ſiege he went over to the Greeks, and ſhewed them in what manner they might eaſily maſter the city.

As to Æneas, all the Roman writers aſſure us, that he ſettled in Italy and there founded the kingdom of Alba. From him the Cæſars affected to derive their pedigree, as the other Romans did theirs from the Trojans who accompanied him. Livy alone ſeems to betray ſome ſort of doubt as to this particular, inſinuating, with a great deal of reſerve, that, he has not ſufficient grounds either to admit or reject the common opinion. But, notwithſtanding the unanimous conſent of the Latins, there are not wanting arguments of great weight, which the learned Bochart [w] has carefully collected, to evince the arrival of Æneas in Italy to be a mere fable (R).

The

[w] Bochart. epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia.

(R) In the firſt place this opinion is directly oppoſite to that of Homer (23), who ſuppoſes Æneas to have remained in Phrygia; for he introduces Neptune, whom he repreſents favourable to Æneas on all occaſions, and averſe from Priam and his whole race,

(23) Iliad, 20.

THE city of Troy being utterly ruined, and moſt of the inhabitants of Troas put to the ſword, ſome writers tell us, that the neighbouring Phrygians and Lydians, poſſeſſing themſelves of that country, ſettled there, and that Troas from that time began to be called Phrygia; others

race, aſſuring him, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the Trojans, which the poet would never have done, had he not known that Æneas and his poſterity had reigned, or were actually reigning in his time. It is the cuſtom of poets to introduce their deities or prophets telling before-hand, that ſuch thing will happen as the poets knows to have already happened; but no poet ever-made them utter ſuch things as he knew neither did nor could happen, which would be Homer's caſe if Æneas had not reigned in Phrygia. To this argument ſome anſwer, that Æneas, after ſettling a colony in Italy, returned to Phrygia and reigned over the few Phrygians that outlived the deſtruction of their country. As this anſwer has no manner of foundation in hiſtory, it is ſcarce worth refuting. Dionyſius Halicarneſſenſis (24) is of opinion, that Neptune, or rather Homer, meant only, that Æneas was to reign over ſuch Phrygians as accompanied him, or over a Phrygian colony. But this is no more than what happened to Antenor, Aceſtes, Capys, Helenus, and others; whereas the poet's intent is to make Neptune diſtinguiſh Æneas from the other Phrygians by ſome particular marks of his favour. Beſides, the words of Venus in the hymn which is generally aſcribed to Homer ἐν Τρώεσθιν ἀνάξει are capable of no other ſenſe, but that Æneas ſhall reign in the country of the Trojans; and in this ſenſe they are underſtood by Strabo (25), who tells us in expreſs terms, that Æneas remained in the country of the Trojans, that the family of Priam being extinct, the crown fell to him, and was by him tranſmitted to his poſterity. Euſtathias thinks (26), that when Homer introduces Neptune promiſing to Æneas, that he and his poſterity ſhould reign over the Trojans, the poet by the Trojans meant the Romans, and becauſe it might be objected, that Homer could have no knowledge of the Romans, being dead long before the foundation of Rome, he adds, that Homer had either ſeen the oracles of the Sibyls, which derive the Roman princes from Æneas, or had himſelf foreſeen, as moſt poets are endowed with the gift of prophecy, that the Romans were to deſcend from Æneas and be maſters of the world. But as to the books of the Sibyls, Homer certainly never did, nor could, ſee them; for they were forged, as ſeveral writers have demonſtrated, above a thouſand years after Homer's time; and as to the ſpirit of prophecy, which Euſtathius is pleaſed to beſtow upon poets, every one ſees that it has not the leaſt appearance of truth. To the authority of Homer we may

(24) lib. i. (25) lib. xiii. (26) In Iliad.

others are of opinion, that Æneas, having gathered together the scattered remains of the Trojans, rebuilt the city, and that his descendants and the descendants of Hector reigned there, till the country was subdued by the Lydians, who became so powerful as to over-run all Asia Minor. If the Trojans had any kings of their own after their city was destroyed by the Greeks, they must needs have made but a very indifferent figure, since they are not so much as named in history.

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may add that of Agathocles Cyzicensis, quoted by Festus (27), who cites many authors affirming Æneas to have been buried in the city of Berecynthia by the river Nolos (or, as others read, Gallus) not far from Troy. Stephanus informs us, that the city of Ascania in Phrygia was built by Ascanius the son of Æneas, wherein he agrees with Nicolaus Damascenus. Mela tells us, that the city of Antandrus was so called, because Ascanius who reigned there, being taken by the Pelasgi, yielded this city to them for his ransom. Hellanicus in his Troica makes Æneas fly into Thrace, and from thence to Pallene; but as to Ascanius, he says, that he remained in Troas and reigned there. Strabo assures us, that the city of Scepsis, in former times situate near Troy, was removed from thence sixty furlongs by Scamander the son of Hector and Ascanius the son of Æneas; and adds, that these two families reigned for many years in that city; and that the monarchical form of government being first changed into an oligarchy, and afterwards into a democracy, nevertheless such as were descended from these two families were still honoured with the title of kings. To these authorities Bochart (28) adds two arguments of no small weight, namely, that the chief deities of the antient Trojans, viz. Venus, Apollo, Cybele, &c. were for a long time quite unknown to the Romans, and that there is not the least similitude imaginable between the antient Phrygian and Roman language, which he proves by producing the few Phrygian words that have been transmitted to us. This, however, is no exception to Virgil's divine and inimitable Æneid; for he advances nothing but what was vouched by all the historians, orators, antiquaries, critics, and poets, who had flourished before him. Neither is it the duty of a poet to contradict an opinion which a whole nation holds for indubitable.

(27) Festus vote Roma. (28) ubi spura.

CHAP. XIV.

The Hiſtory of the Myſians.

SECT. II.

The deſcription of the country, the manners, cuſtoms, religion, &c. of the inhabitants.

THE ſmall country before us is thought to have borrowed its name from the Lydian word Myſos ſignifying a beech-tree, becauſe that tree remarkably abounded here. It was divided into the Greater and Leſſer Myſia. Myſia Minor or the Leſſer Myſia lay on the Propontis, and from thence extended to mount Olympus, being bounded by Bithynia and the Propontis on the north and weſt, by Phrygia Minor on the ſouth, and by Phrygia Major on the eaſt. Myſia Major or the Greater Myſia was bounded on the north by Phrygia Minor, on the ſouth by Æolia, on the eaſt by Phrygia Major, and on the weſt by the Ægean ſea. What Strabo, whom we have followed, calls Myſia Minor, Ptolemy calls Myſia Major; the former is alſo named Olympena from mount Olympus, and Helleſpontiaca becauſe ſome towns antiently belonging to it were ſeated on the Helleſpont. That part of Myſia which lay between Ancyra of Phrygia and the river Rhindacus is called by Strabo Abrettana, and the remaining part Morena. The former denomination is often given to all Myſia.

In that part of Myſia Minor which lay on the Propontis were the following cities: Cyzicus or Cyzicum ſeated in an iſland of the Propontis bearing the ſame name, but joined to the continent with two bridges by Alexander the Great. It borrowed its name from Cyzicus king of that iſland and the adjacent continent, who is ſaid to have been killed through miſtake by Jaſon the Argonaut. This city,

when first known to the Romans, was one of the greatest and richest of all Asia, and hence was stiled by Florus the Rome of Asia, and celebrated by him and all the other Latin writers for its walls, bulwarks, haven, marble towers, &c [x]. Among its many magnificent buildings the chief temple is mightily cried up by the antients; the whole structure was of polished marble, and the joinings all covered with lines of gold; the pillars were four cubits thick and fifty high, each of one piece. The statue of Jupiter, which stood in the temple, was of ivory, and most exquisite workmanship [y]. In after-ages this city made a glorious stand against Mithridates, who lost under its walls no fewer than 300,0000 men, and after all could not conquer it. However, the antient inhabitants of this city and island were generally deemed a cowardly and effeminate race; insomuch, that when any one behaved himself in an unmanly manner, or through fear did what was unbecoming, he was contemptuously called a Cyzican [z]. Tully [a] represents those of his time as a quiet and inoffensive sort of people, enemies to plots or tumults, averse from war, and of a turn to enjoy the sweets of peace, whatever they cost. The current coin of this island, called Stater and weighing eighteen drams, was engraved with such nicety, exactness, and skill, that they were looked upon in those days as a miracle of art (S). The inhabitants pretended to a very great antiquity, and believed, that their city had been given by Jupiter to Proserpine for her dowry, and on that account worshipped her as their chief deity. As for the beauty, greatness, riches, and laws of this city, we refer our reader to Appian [b]. It was ruined by an earthquake, and the fallen marbles and pillars were conveyed

[x] Florus, lib. iii. c. v. [y] Xiphilinus in Dione. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 15. [z] Hesychius. Erasm. Chiliad. [a] Act. iii. in Ver.

(S) This gave birth to the Greek proverb Κυζικηνοὶ σατῆρες an expression used in commending any eminent performance in the art of engraving; as if the Cyzician stateres were the utmost effort of that art. This coin represented on one side Cybele the great mother of the gods, and a lion on the other, which has made some imagine the above mentioned proverb to be a taunt on those who talk big and affect to appear like lions, though they be in effect as timid and fearful as women (29).

(29) Erasm. Chiliad.

veyed to Conſtantinople to embelliſh that city. Under the Romans it was the metropolis of the Conſular Helleſpont, but is at preſent little better than a village, and known under the names of Chizico, Spiga, and Palormi.

PARIUM, ſo called, as ſome writers inform us, from Parus the ſon of Jaſon. Some think, that Archilochus, the famous writer of Iambics, was a native of this place. In this city was a naked Cupid much celebrated by the antients, and deemed no ways inferior to the famous Venus of Cnidos. In the neighbourhood of this city lived the Ophiogenes mentioned by Pliny [c], who are ſaid to have had the gift of curing the bitings of ſerpents with their touch. Not far from hence ſtood a ſtately temple of Apollo Actæus and Diana, which being demoliſhed, the ruins were employed to build an altar at Parium, which was looked upon as one of the miracles of Aſia. The antient Parians were a colony of Mileſians, and the more modern of the Romans, who in all this province had but two colonies, namely Parium and Troas. Homer makes Parium and Adraſta one and the ſame city; but Strabo diſtinguiſhes them. Parium is now reduced to a village, but retains its antient name.

LAMPSACUS or Lampſacum was ſeated at the entrance of the Propontis over-againſt Callipolis in the Thracian Cherſoneſe. It was built, according to ſome, by the Phocenſes, according to others by Priapus, who was a native of this city and the moſt infamous of all the heathen deities. This city, as we are told, borrowed its name from a young woman named Lampſaces. It had a capacious and ſafe harbour and a noble temple conſecrated to Cybele. It was in antient times famous for its wine, and on that conſideration given by Artaxerxes to Themiſtocles in his exile. Alexander the Great conceived ſuch an averſion to this city for the lewdneſs and vices of the inhabitants, that he reſolved to lay it in aſhes; which the inhabitants having timely notice of, diſpatched deputies to intercede for mercy, and avert if poſſible their impending doom. They no ſooner appeared before Alexander, but the incenſed monarch, to redeem himſelf from their importunity, ſolemnly vowed that he would deny their requeſt. Whereupon Anaximenes, who was at the head of that embaſſy, addreſſed

[b] Appian. in Mithridatico. [c] lib. vii. c. 2.

the king thus: Moſt juſt and powerful monarch, the inhabitants of Lampſacus, having been ſo unhappy as to incur your royal diſpleaſure, and deſiring to atone for the enormous crimes that could provoke the wrath of ſo merciful a prince, have ſent us to beg, that you would utterly deſtroy their unfortunate city, a puniſhment richly deſerved by thoſe who could provoke your diſpleaſure. This unexpected requeſt, and the vow which Alexander, being bent on its deſtruction, had made to reject the deputies petition, was its preſervation. Priapus was worſhipped here in a particular manner, and his temple was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs, a very ſchool of the moſt unnatural luſts. Tully [c] repreſents the inhabitants of Lampſacus as a quiet and indolent ſort of people, and more fit to reliſh the eaſe of peace, than ſuffer the toils of war. This city is ſtill in a tolerable good condition, ſituated in a pleaſant plain, and ſurrounded with vineyards, which are fenced in with pomegranate-trees, and produce excellent wine. The Greeks call it Lampſaco, and the Turks Lepſeck. Theſe were the chief cities of Myſia Minor ſeated on the coaſt.

We will not take on us to mark out the bounds of the midland Myſia, which, according to Strabo, lay between the river Rhyndacus and mount Ida. Here Stephanus places the city of Apollonia on the banks of the Rhyndacus, which riſes from a lake bearing the name of the city. This lake, called now the lake of Abouillona, is five-and-twenty miles in compaſs, and eight miles wide, being interſperſed with ſeveral iſlands and peninſulas, whereof the largeſt, which is three miles in circuit, is called Abouillona. As the village ſituate in this iſland bears the ſame name, ſome modern travellers [d] take it be the antient city of Apollonia (U), which was once a city of great note, and maintained its

[c] Act. c. iii. in Verr. [d] Tournefort voyag. au Levant, &c.

(U) Vaillant, who viſited thoſe places, deſcribes Apollonia as ſeated on the top of a hill, at the foot of which runs the Rhyndacus; but this learned traveller miſtook the city of Lopadi, or as the Turks call it, Ulubat, for the antient Apollonia, not being aware, that the inhabitants of Apollonia for the conveniency of their commerce removed from Apollonia to Lopadi, giving the name of the city they had forſaken to this their new habitation; it being manifeſt from Anna Comnena, that in her time Lopadi bore alſo the name of Apollonia.

its antient luſtre to the reign of the emperor Alexis Comnenus, when it was taken and pillaged by the Turks, as his daughter Anna Commena informs us. Apollo was undoubtedly the chief deity of this city, for beſides that it bore his name, he is repreſented on the reverſe of ſeveral medals of this city [c].

THE chief rivers of Myſia Minor are the Rhyndacus and the Granicus. The Rhyndacus, called by Pliny Lycus, and by the moderns Lartacho, has it ſource in the lake of Apollonia, or Artynia, as Pliny names it, and falls into the Propontis near Cyzicus. This river is memorable in the Roman hiſtory for the overthrow of Mithridates, who, deſigning to ſurprize Lucullus, was himſelf ſurprized by that great commander, and his army cut to pieces on the banks of this river. The Granicus riſes on mount Ida, and diſcharges itſelf into the Propontis between Parium and Cyzicus. This river Alexander croſſed at the head of 30000 Macedonians in face of the Perſian army 600000 ſtrong. Travellers obſerve, that its banks are very high and ſteep on the weſt ſide; ſo that the forces of Darius had a conſiderable advantage, had they known how to uſe it. This river at preſent is called the Souſoughirli, which is the name of a village it waters (W).

IN this part of Myſia ſtands mount Olympus, called by the antients Olympus Myſiorum to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other mountains of the ſame name. It is one of the higheſt mountains in Aſia, and great part of the year covered with ſnow.

THE city of greateſt note in Myſia Major was Pergamus, ſeated in a ſpacious plain on the banks of the Caicus. It was the royal ſeat of the Attalic kings and of Eumenes, and enriched with a library containing 200,000 choice volumes, for the tranſcribing of which parchment was here firſt invented, and thence called by the Latins Charta Pergamena. Ptolemy king of Egypt gave occaſion to this uſeful contrivance by prohibiting the exportation of the Egyptian papyrus, in order to defeat the deſign of

[c] Tournefort ubi ſupra.

(W) Spon miſtakes the Fourtiſſar, as it is now called, for the Granicus. The Fourtiſſar is a ſmall brook riſing on mount Timinus, which ſome, thro' miſtake, think to be the Caicus of the antients.

Eumenes king of Pergamus, which was to cauſe all the valuable books then extant to be carefully tranſcribed, and by that means make a collection that might vie with Ptolemy's famous library at Alexandria. In Pergamus were likewiſe invented thoſe coſtly hangings which we call Tapeſtry, and the Romans named Aulæa from Aula ſignifying a hall, becauſe the hall of Attalus, who invented them, was the firſt room adorned with this furniture. Galen the famous phyſician was born in this city. Here Æſculapius is ſaid to have practiſed phyſic. We muſt not forget that Pergamus was one of the ſeven churches mentioned in the Revelations. It is now an inconſiderable place, and thinly inhabited. There are ſtill to be ſeen in the neighbouring fields the ruins of the palace of the Attalic kings, of an aqueduct, and a theatre.

On the coaſts of the Greater Myſia were ſeated the following cities, Antandrus, Scepſis, Aſſus, Aramyttium, Pitane, &c.

Soil and Climate.

The ſoil of this country is one of the fineſt and richeſt of Aſia, and as ſuch celebrated by the antients [f]. It chiefly abounded in corn and wine, was well ſtocked with cattle, and had a great many large plains proper for paſturing them. It was plentifully watered with ſmall rivers running down from mount Ida and mount Olympus. In ſhort, the Myſians, as Philoſtratus informs us, with reſpect to their country, were the happieſt of all the Aſiatics.

Origin.

As to the origin of the Myſians, Herodotus [g] informs us, that they were Lydians by deſcent. According to his account, Manes, the firſt king of Lydia, was father to Cotys, and Cotys to Atys, who had three ſons, Lydus, Myſus, and Cares. From Lydus the Lydians, formerly called Mæones from Mæon the father of Cybele, borrowed their name. Myſus and Cares planted Lydian colonies in the neighbouring countries, which from them were named Myſia and Caria. Others derive them from the Phrygians, and tell us that Myſus, was not a Lydian but a Phrygian. Strabo derives the Aſiatic Myſians from thoſe of Europe, inhabiting that tract which lies between mount Hermus and the Danube, and is now known under the names of Boſnia, Servia, and Bulgaria. There are divers other opinions touching the origin of this people

[f] Virg. Georg. l. i. verſ. 103. [g] lib. i. & vii.

ple, which it would be of no uſe to relate, as they are moſtly founded on diſtorted and far-fetched etymologies.

Character. As to the character of the antient Myſians, it muſt be conſidered at different times; for they ſeem to have been once a warlike people. Herodotus [h] and Pliny [i] ſpeak of a very powerful army of Myſians and Trojans, which before the Trojan war, paſſing over the Boſphorus into Europe, ſubdued all Thrace, and advancing to the Ionian ſea penetrated as far as the river Peneus. But in after-ages they degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors, ſo as to be looked upon as the moſt contemptible and inſignificant nation on the earth; inſomuch, that the Greeks [k] had no expreſſion to ſignify more emphatically a perſon of no worth or merit, than to call him the laſt of the Myſians. They were prone to tears, and on that account employed by the Greeks [l] to attend their funerals, and lament over the deceaſed. Their language was in all likelihood the ſame as the Phrygian and Trojan, with ſome variation of dialect. As to their manners, cuſtoms, arts, and ſciences we are quite in the dark. Their trade we can only gueſs at from their ſituation and wealth; for Philoſtratus informs us, that in antient times they were the moſt wealthy nation of all Aſia.

Religion. THEIR religion was much the ſame with that of the neighbouring Phrygians, whom they did not fall ſhort of in ſuperſtition. They worſhipped the ſame deities, and uſed the ſame religious ceremonies, which has made ſome believe them to be originally Phrygians. Cybele had a ſtately and rich temple at Cyzicus, and Apollo Actæus near Parium. Nemeſis alſo is numbered among their deities, and was worſhipped in a magnificent temple built by king Adraſtus not far from the city of Parium, whence both the country and the goddeſs were named Adraſtia. Priapus was worſhipped by the more modern Myſians, but unknown to them even in Heſiod's time. The Myſian prieſts abſtained from fleſh, and were not allowed to marry. It was a ceremony practiſed among them to ſacrifice a horſe, and eat his entrails, before they were admitted to the prieſthood.

Their Hiſtory. CONCERNING their government, thus much appears, that it was monarchical. We find no mention made of their kings till the Argonautic expedition; but authors are of

[h] lib. vii. [i] lib. vii. c. 6. [k] Strab. l. xii. Cic. pro. Flacco. [l] Æſchyl. in Perſis. Eraſm. Chiliad.

of opinion, that they had kings long before that time. Diodorus [m] tells us, that they lived in subjection to Ninus, by whom they had been conquered, and to the Assyrian kings that succeeded him. After the destruction of Troy and dispersion of the Trojans, the Mysians possessed themselves of great part of that country, which they held till they were conquered by Crœsus king of Lydia.

Olympus. THE first king of Mysia, we find mentioned is called Olympus: He is said to have married Nipæa the daughter of Jasius or Jasion, brother to Dardanus king of Troy [u].

Teuthras. TEUTHRAS appears next; it is uncertain whom he succeeded; he is said to have reigned over the Mysians, Cilicians, and Ceteans [o]. He married Auge daughter to Aleus the king of Arcadia's son [p]. As he had no issue-male, he gave his daughter Agriope, whom he had by his first wife, in marriage to Telephus his second wife's son by Hercules [q] (X). He built a city calling it Teuthrania, which name became common to the country where the new city stood, and in process of time to all Mysia [r]. He had another daughter by name Tecmessa, who, in the division of the booty, which the Greeks had got in plundering Mysia, fell to Ajax the son of Telamon.

Telephus. TEUTHRAS was succeeded by Telephus a natural son of Hercules by Auge. Telephus, being exposed by his grand-father's order on mount Parthenius, was nursed there by a hind till he was found by the shepherds of one Corythus, who brought him up as his own child. Being desirous, when he was grown up, to find out his mother, he

[m] lib. ii. cap. 1. [u] Scholiast. Apoll. p. 155. [o] Strab. l. xiii. [p] Diodor. l. iv. c. 3. [q] Strab. l. xiii. [r] Pindar. in Olymp.

(X) Euripides, quoted by Strabo (30), informs us, that Telephus was a natural son of Hercules by Auge; and adds, that her father Aleus caused both her and her child to be locked up in a chest and thrown into the sea; that the chest was by the provident care of Pallas guided to the mouth of the river Caicus, and that Teuthras, who at that time reigned there, falling in love with Auge, married her, and, as he had no children of his own, adopted her son Telephus, declaring him his heir and successor to the crown.

(30) Strab. l. xiii.

he was directed by an oracle to steer his course towards Mysia, where he was received with incredible joy, not by his mother only, but also by king Teuthras her husband, who, being taken with this extraordinary youth, bestowed his daughter on him and appointed him his heir. In the Trojan war he first sided with king Priam, and was dangerously wounded by Achilles; but was afterwards prevailed upon by the Greeks to stand neuter [s]. Pausanias and Aristides tell us, that he planted a colony of Arcadians in the neighbourhood of Pergamus. Jornandes [t] makes him king of the Goths, wherein he confounds the European with the Asiatic Mysians; for those of Europe, whom Pliny calls Mæsians, are thought to be descended from the Mysians of Asia. Telephus had two sons, Eurypylus and Latinus: Eurypylus, according to some [u], was killed in the Trojan war, according to others succeeded his father, or reigned over the Cilicians [w]. Latinus is said to have led a colony of Ceteans into Italy [x].

EURYPYLUS left one son by name Arius, who succeeded his father or grand-father, and was slain in a single combat by Amphialus the son of Neoptolemus, who possessed himself of the kingdom of Mysia [y]. We read of no other kings of Mysia till many ages after, when the Attalic family reigned at Pergamus, which we shall speak of in its proper place. Arius.

[s] Diodor. lib. iv. Strab. l. xiii. Apollodor. Stephan. &c. [t] De rebus Geticis. [u] Calaber. l. vi, vii, viii Hyginus fab. 113. [w] Strab. l. xiii. [x] Cedrenus. p. 115. [y] Pausanias in Atticis.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The Hiſtory of the Lydians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Lydia.

Name. WHENCE this country borrowed the name of Lydia is not determined. Some, led by the affinity of words, derive it from Lud, Shem's fourth ſon, whom they pretend to have ſettled here. But this opinion we ſhall examine, when we come to enquire into the origin of the Lydians. All the antient writers tell us, that Lydia was firſt called Mæonia or Meonia from Meon king of Phrygia and Lydia, and that it was known under no other name till the reign of Atys, when it began to be called Lydia from his ſon Lydus. Bochart [z], finding in his learned collection of Phœnician words the verb Lud ſignifying to wind, and obſerving that the country we are ſpeaking of is watered by the Mæander ſo famous for its windings, concludes, that it was thence named Lydia or Ludia. As to Meon and Lydus, he rids himſelf of them at once, by denying that there were ever any ſuch perſons. To ſupport this opinion, he endeavours to prove, that the Phœnicians, and after them Moſes, who, in the deſcription of countries made uſe of their terms, gave the name of Lud not only to Lydia on the banks of the Mæander, but likewiſe to Ethiopia, where the Nile, as Herodotus obſerves [a], has as many turnings and windings as the Mæander itſelf. Now as theſe two countries, lying on the two moſt winding rivers that were then known, were named Lud, which word ſignifies to bend or wind, who can doubt, ſays he, but they had their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? As to the antient name of Mæonia, he takes it to be a Greek tranſlation of the Phœnician word Lud, wherein he agrees, in ſome meaſure, with Stephanus,

[z] Phaleg. l. ii. c. 12. [a] lib. ii. c. 29.

phanus, who derives the name of Mæonia from Mæon the antient name of the Mæander. Some take the word Mæonia to be a tranſlation of a Hebrew word ſignifying metal, becauſe that country, ſay they, was in former times enriched above any other with mines.

THOUGH Lydia and Mæonia are by moſt authors indifferently uſed for one and the ſame country, yet they are ſometimes diſtinguiſhed, that part, where mount Tmolus ſtood and which was watered by the Pactolus, being properly called Mæonia, and the other, lying on the coaſt, Lydia. This diſtinction is uſed, as Spanhemius obſerves [b], by Homer, Callimachus, Dionyſius, and other antient writers. In after ages, when the Ionians, who planted a colony on the coaſt of the Ægean ſea, began to make ſome figure, that part was called Ionia, and the name of Lydia given to the antient Mæonia.

LYDIA, according to Pliny [c], Ptolemy, and other antient geographers, was bounded by Myſia Major on the north, by Caria on the ſouth, by Phrygia Major on the eaſt, and Ionia on the weſt, lying between the 37th and 39th degrees of north latitude. What the antients ſtile the kingdom of Lydia was not confined within theſe narrow boundaries, chiefly under the later kings, but extended from the river Halys to the Ægean ſea. Pliny's deſcription includes Æolia, lying between the Hermus and the Caicus, but that tract we ſhall conſider apart.

THE chief cities of Lydia were Sardis, the metropolis of that kingdom and the ſeat of king Crœſus. This city ſtood on the banks of the Pactolus at the foot of mount Tmolus. The Perſians thought Sardis of ſuch conſequence after it fell into their hands, that Xerxes, hearing it was taken by the Greeks, commanded one of his attendants to cry aloud every day while he was at dinner; The Greeks have taken Sardis; which was continued till he recovered the city. It was utterly ruined by an earthquake and rebuilt by Tiberius. There are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a large palace and two magnificent churches with a great many pillars and cornices of marble. Not far from Sardis ſtands a village of the ſame name, which ſome take to be that Sardis which is mentioned in the Revelations, and was one of the ſeven churches. Near this city was to be ſeen in Herodotus's time [d] the ſepulcre of Alyattes father to Crœſus, ſtructure

[b] Ad Callimachi hymnum in Delum, verſ. 250. [c] lib. v. c. 29. [d] Herodot. l. i.

whereof the foundation was of ſtone but the whole ſuperſtructure of earth, being ſix furlongs and 200 foot in circumference, and a thouſand three hundred foot in breadth.

PHILADELPHIA, formerly the ſecond city of Lydia, and ſo called from Attalus Philadelphus brother to Eumenes, ſtood in a ſpacious and fruitful plain on the north ſide of mount Tmolus. In this city were antiently celebrated the common feaſts of all Aſia, as appears from an inſcription quoted by Spon [e]. It was one of the ſeven churches, and continued to make a good figure under the Greek emperors. It was the laſt in Aſia Minor that ſubmitted to the Turks, and that upon very honourable terms after ſix years ſiege. Among the Greeks it retains its antient name, but is known to the Turks by the name of Allachſheyer. Part of the antient walls is ſtill remaining, with the ruins of an amphitheatre, and ſome ſepulchres, whence the bodies, according to an antient tradition among the inhabitants, were tranſported by the Chriſtians into Europe.

THYATIRA, a colony of the Macedonians, as Strabo informs us, was ſituate in a pleaſant plain not far from the river Hermus. This city was another of the ſeven churches, and its preſent ruins teſtify its former grandeur. The Greeks call it Thyra, and the Turks Akhiſar. It is a place of ſome trade for corn and cotton, and inhabited by about 5000 Turks.

MAGNESIA, by the Turks called Guzethiſar, ſeated on the Mæander, was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many ſtately buildings demonſtrate. Here Themiſtocles died, this being one of the three towns that Xerxes allotted to him for his ſubſiſtence during his exile. It is ſtill a large, handſome, and well-built city. Another city of the ſame name ſtood at the foot of mount Sypilus on a riſing ground, whence it commanded a very large and beautiful plain, famous in hiſtory for many battles fought there, but eſpecially for that between Antiochus and the Romans under the command of Scipio, which decided the fate of Aſia. This city was for ſome time the ſeat of the Ottoman empire, and is ſtill the capital of Caraſia.

MOUNT Sypilus is the only one in Lydia of any note. The goddeſs Sypilene took her name from this mountain; or rather Cybele was called Sypilene, becauſe ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner on mount Sylipus. And

[e] Voyage d'Italy, &c.

And hence on the reverse of almost all the antient medals of Magnesia this goddess is represented, sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. Plutarch informs us, that mount Sypilus was likewise named the Thunder Mountain, because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of Asia; and hence we find on the reverse of several medals stamped at Magnesia Jupiter armed with thunder-bolts. Mount Tmolus, and in more antient t me Timolus, was once very famous for its wine and saffron.

THE rivers of this country, that we shall take notice of are the Pactolus, which rushing from mount Tmolus waters the city of Sardis, and then discharges itself into the Hermus or Sarabat. It was called by the antients Chrysorhoas, from the colour of its sands which shine like gold. The Cayster, celebrated by the poets for the swans that frequented its banks, has its source in Phrygia Major, baths Lydia, and empties itself into the Ægean sea near Ephesus. It has almost as many windings, if Spon is to be believed, as the Mæander itself, but neither have near so many, according to Tournefort, as the Seine, beneath Paris.

Origin and Antiquity.

As to the origin of the Lydians, Josephus and after him all the ecclesiastic writers derive them from Lud, Shem's fourth son. As this opinion has no other foundation but the similitude of names, there is a strong objection against it, viz. that the Lydians were first called Mæones, as all the antients agree, and Lydians from Lydus the son of Atys, except we suppose the Greeks were deceived, and that, the name of Mæones ceasing, they resumed their old name of Lydians, which often has happened. But even in that case, we ought perhaps to consider Lydia as possessed by the Ludim, or posterity of Lud, on a second or third remove, for we see no more reason than Sir Water Releigh [f], why Lud should straggle so far from his friends as Lidya, according to what we have said elsewhere [g]. Some of the antients will have the Lydians to be a mixt colony of Phrygians, Mysians, and Carians. Others, finding some conformity in religion and religious ceremonies between the Egyptians and Tuscans who were a Lydian colony, conclude them, without any further evidence, to be originally Egyptians. The very similitude of names, which on like occasions is generally ready

[f] Book I. cap. viii. sect. 15. [g] Vol. i. p. 464.

ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, fails here; which has obliged ſome writers to take up arrant fables not worth relating. All we know for certain is, that the Lydians were a very antient nation, as is manifeſt from their very fables, for Attis, Tantalus, Pelops, Niobe, and Arachne, are all ſaid to have been the children of Lydus. And Xanthus in his Lydiaca, quoted by Stephanus, informs us, that the antient city of Aſcalon, one of the five ſatrapies of the Philiſtines mentioned in the books of Joſhua and the Judges, was built by one Aſcalus a Lydian, whom Alciamus king of Lydia had appointed to command a body of troops which he ſent, we know not on what occaſion, into Syria. The Heraclidæ, or kings of Lydia deſcended from Hercules, began to reign before the Trojan war, and had been preceded by a long ſeries of kings ſprung from Atys, and hence ſtiled Atyadæ, which is a ſtrong proof of the antiquity of that kingdom.

The Lydians began very early to be ruled by kings, whoſe government, ſo far as we can gather from their conduct, ſeems to have been truly deſpotic, and the crown hereditary. We read of three diſtinct races of kings reigning over Lydia, viz. the Atyadæ, the Heraclidæ, and the Mermnadæ. The Atyadæ were ſo called from Atys, the ſon of Cotys and grandſon of Manes. Manes, the ſon of Jupiter and Tellus and firſt king of Mæonia, had by Callirhoa, the daughter of Oceanus, one ſon by name Cotys; Cotys, by Halia the daughter of Tullus, had two, Aſius and Atys; from Aſius Lydia borrowed the name of Aſia, which in proceſs of time became common to the whole continent. Atys married Callithea the daughter of Choræus, and had by her Lydus and Tyrrhenus. Lydus ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of Mæonia, which in his reign began to be called Lydia. Tyrrhenus led a colony into Italy, and ſettled in Hetruria now Tuſcany. This is the account Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis gives us of the kings ſprung of Atys, or the firſt race of the Lydian kings.

The Atyadæ were ſucceeded by the Heraclidæ or the deſcendants of Hercules. For Hercules, being by the directions of the oracle ſold as a ſlave to Omphale queen of Lydia, to expiate thereby the murder of Iphitus, had during his captivity by one of her ſlaves a ſon named Cleolaus, whoſe grandſon by name Argon was the firſt of the Heraclidæ that aſcended the throne of Lydia. This race reigned

reigned from Argon the firſt to Candaules the laſt 505 years, the father ſucceeded the ſon for 22 generations. They began to reign about, or not long before, the time of the Trojan war.

THE third race called Mermnadæ, perhaps from one of the family named Mermnas (for the antients are ſilent as to the origin of this appellation) began to reign not long before the Medes ſhook off the Aſſyrian yoke. The Mermnadæ were alſo, properly ſpeaking, Heraclidæ, being deſcended from one Lemnos, or, as Apollodorus calls him, Agelaus, the ſon of Hercules by Omphale. The firſt king of this race was Gyges, and Crœſus the laſt.

As to their character, it muſt be conſidered at different times: under Crœſus and ſome of his predeceſſors, they were without all doubt a very warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and ſpread far and wide the terrour of their arms. But being aftewards ſubdued by the Perſians, and enjoyned by Cyrus, according to the advice given him by Crœſus (Y), to wear long veſts and apply themſelves to ſuch arts and callings only, as had a natural tendency to debauch their manners and enervate their

(Y) The Lydians, not long after they were conquered by Cyrus, rebelled at the inſtigation of one Pactyas a Lydian, whom Cyrus had truſted with the gold which he had found in the treaſury of Crœſus at Sardis. With this gold Pactyas putting to ſea engaged the maritime powers to join him, and having raiſed a conſiderable army of mercenaries, marched to Sardis, where he beſieged Tabalus, whom Cyrus had appointed governor of that city. News of this revolt being brought to Cyrus, as he was leading his army againſt the Babylonians, Bactrians, and Egyptians, he reſolved to march back into Lydia, ſell all the Lydians for ſlaves, and at once put an end to that unhappy nation. This reſolution he imparted to king Crœſus at that time his priſoner, who, fearing the utter ruin of his country, earneſtly intreated him to forgive the Lydians, and wreak his juſt anger on Pactyas alone by whom they had been ſeduced, adviſing him at the ſame time, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the Lydians the uſe of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cauſe their children to be brought up to ſuch callings only, as were moſt capable of debauching their minds and inclining them to idleneſs. This advice was followed by Cyrus, and in a ſhort time the Lydians became the moſt lewd aud debauched nation under the ſun (31).

(31) Herodot. lib. i.

their courage, they became by degrees a moſt voluptuous and effeminate race, unfit for action, and entirely given up to idleneſs, pleaſures, and diverſions.

The ſoil. THE ſoil of this country, by reaſon of the many rivers that watered it, was exceeding fruitful; it abounded in all ſorts of grain, and is celebrated for its exquiſite wines. It was enriched with ſeveral mines, whence Cræſus is ſaid

Religion. to have drawn his immenſe wealth.

As to the religion of the Lydians, it ſeems to have been much the ſame with that of the Phrygians, which we have already ſpoken of; they worſhipped Diana, Jupiter, and Cybele at Magneſia under the name of Sypilene; for in the alliance concluded between thoſe of Smyrna and Magneſia on the Mæander, in favour of king Seleucus Callinicus both parties ſwore, as appears from the Arundelian marbles, by the goddeſs Sypilene. She borrowed this name from mount Sypilus, or perhaps from a town of the ſame name, which, as Strabo informs us [h], was ruined by an quake in the reign of Tantalus. In the ſame city of Magneſia ſtood a temple of Diana Leucophryna, no ways inferior to the ſo much celebrated temple of Diana Epheſiana.

The manners, cuſtoms, &c. of the Lydians. THE cuſtoms of the Lydians were, as Herodotus informs us [i], much the ſame with thoſe of the Greeks, except that they uſed to proſtitute their daughters; for the young women among them had no other fortune but what they earned by proſtitution; after they had by this means acquired a competent dowry, they were allowed to marry whoever they pleaſed. They puniſhed idleneſs as a crime, and inured their children from their very infancy to hardſhips. Their arms were not bows and arrows, as ſome have pretended to argue from Jeremiah [k], but long ſpears, ſuch as were antiently uſed by the horſe; and in horſemanſhip, if Herodotus is to be credited [l], the Lydians far excelled all other nations. They were the firſt that introduced the art of coining gold and ſilver to facilitate trade; the firſt that ſold by retail, that kept eating-houſes and taverns, that invented public ſports and ſhews, which were therefore called Ludi by the Romans, who borrowed them of the Tuſcans, deſcended, as we ſhall ſee anon, from the Lydians. Herodotus informs us [m], on what occaſion

[h] Strab. l. i. p. 38. [i] Herodot. l. i. [k] Jerem. xlxvi. 9. [l] Herodot ubi ſupra. [m] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

caſion they invented thoſe public and ſeveral other private diverſions. During the reign of Atys the ſon of Manes, a great ſcarcity of proviſions prevailed all over the kingdom of Lydia, which the inhabitants endured for ſeveral years with an aſtoniſhing patience. But as the evil continued, in order to divert their minds from the conſideration of their unhappy condition, they applied themſelves to all manner of diverſion, and, ſome inventing one game, others another, they gradually introduced dice, balls, and ſuch other diverſions as were in antient times uſed among the Greeks, cheſs only excepted, whereof the Lydians, as we are told by Herodotus, do not challenge the invention. Having thus contrived various kinds of diverſions, they uſed to play one whole day without intermiſſion, eating and drinking the next day without amuſing themſelves with any kind of games. After they had continued thus alternately faſting and feaſting, as the ſcarcity of their proviſions could well allow, finding that their calamities increaſed rather than abated, the king divided the whole nation into two bodies, commanding them to determine by lot, which of the two ſhould remain at home, and which go abroad in queſt of new ſeats, ſince their native country could not afford wherewithal to maintain them at home. The king appointed his ſon Tyrrhenus to command thoſe who ſhould be obliged to remove, he himſelf remaining to reign over thoſe who ſhould have the fortune to ſtay. Thoſe who by lot were conſtrained to abandon their country marched to Smyrna, where they equipped a ſmall fleet, and putting to ſea, after many adventures, arrived in that part of Italy which was then called Umbria, and now Tuſcany. Here they changed their name, and were no longer called Lydians, but Tyrrhenians from their leader Tyrrhenus.

THE trade of the antient Lydians is no-where mentioned; but we may ſuppoſe it to have been very conſiderable, eſpecially under the latter kings, when Lydia was in the meridian of its glory; whoſoever conſiders the ſplendor of this monarchy, and commodious ſituation of the country, cannot doubt, but commerce muſt here have flouriſhed to a very eminent degree. To this we may add the immenſe riches not only of the Lydian princes, but of ſeveral private perſons. Herodotus [n] mentions one, by name Commerce.

[n] Herodot. lib. vii.

name Pythius, who not only entertained Xerxes and all his army, while he was marching with innumerable forces to invade Greece; but made him a proffer of two thouſand talents of ſilver, and three millions, nine hundred, ninety three thouſand pieces of gold bearing the ſtamp of Darius, wherewithal to defray the charges of that war. The ſame Pythius had preſented Darius, father to Xerxes, with a plane-tree and vine of maſſive gold, and was reckoned, after the king of Perſia, the richeſt man in the then known world.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Lydia.

Maſnes. THE firſt king of Lydia we find mentioned in hiſtory is Maſnes, or Manes, as Herodotus calls him. He is ſaid to have been the ſon of the earth, which in the language of the antients denotes him to have been of a mean extraction. Heraclides mentions an anonymous king of Lydia, who, from the abject condition of a journeyman or ſlave to a cartwright living at Cyma, was raiſed to the throne of Lydia. The ſame author adds, that as the Lydians were diſburſing the money for his ranſom, a citizen of Cyma, for whom the ſlave was at that time making a cart, inſiſted on his finiſhing what he had in hand before he was ſet at liberty, proteſting, that he valued more the glory of having a cart made by the king of Lydia, than all the gold they could offer him. This fortunate ſlave may have been Maſnes, ſince he in regard of his mean deſcent is called by the antients ſon of the earth. Heraclides does not tell us what induced the Lydians to place a ſlave on the throne; but we may ſuppoſe this to have been brought about by the advice of ſome oracle, as it happened in the caſe of Gordius king of Phrygia; for Heraclides informs us, that the Lydians choſe a ſlave for their king, in hopes of being reſcued by his means from the oppreſſions they groaned under.

Cotys. Atys. MASNES was ſucceeded by his ſon Cotys, and Cotys by his ſon Atys, in whoſe reigns, as the country was overſtocked with inhabitants, the great famine, which we have mentioned above, reigned for the ſpace of 18 years, and obliged

obliged the king to divide his subjects, keeping one half of them at home, and sending the other abroad in quest of new settlements, under the conduct of his younger son Tyrrhenus.

ATYS was succeeded by his son Lydus, from whom the country had the name of Lydia, having been called to that time Mæonia. Lydus.

ALCYMUS appears next: It is uncertain whom he succeeded: He is represented as an excellent prince, and is said to have had nothing so much at heart, as the welfare of his subjects; whence in the seventh year of his reign the whole nation met, as Suidas informs us, to offer up prayers and sacrifices for his health and prosperity. Stephanus calls him Alciamus, and adds, that in his time the city of Ascalon was built by Ascalus, son of Hymenæus and brother to Tantalus, who conducted an army of Lydians into Syria. Alcymus.

ADRYMETES or Adramytis is mentioned by Athenæus, and said to have been the first that employed women in such ministeries as other kings had done eunuchs. Adrymetes.

CAMBLETES, Camblitas or Cambles, a debauched prince, who murdered his wife, and afterwards revenged her death by laying violent hands on himself. Athenæus says, that he was so ravenous as to devour his wife in his sleep, and that finding her hand in his mouth next morning, he was so grieved and ashamed of what he had done, that he put himself to death. Cambletes.

TMOLUS put an end to his life by throwing himself headlong from a precipice, being driven thereto, as Plutarch acquaints us [n], by Diana for ravishing one of her followers by name Arrhipe. Tmolus.

THEOCLYMENUS succeeded his father Tmolus, of whom we find nothing in history, but that he buried his father on mount Tmolus, which from him had its name. Theoclymenus.

AFTER Theoclymenus Marsyas reigned, who, on what occasion we know not, coming into Italy, built there, as we are told by Solinus [o], the city of Archippena. Marsyas.

JARDANES succeeded Marsyas, and in his reign all manner of lewdness prevailed in the kingdom of Lydia to such a degree, that Omphale, the king's only daughter, could not find shelter even within the walls of the royal Jardanes.

[n] Plutarch. de fluviis.

[o] Solinus, lib. vii.

palace againſt the inſults of the licentious multitude, the moſt infamous luſts receiving a kind of ſanction from the example of the prince.

Omphale. ON the death of Jardanes his daughter Omphale was by the unanimous votes of the nobles placed on the throne. She puniſhed with great ſeverity thoſe by whom ſhe had been abuſed in her father's life-time, and by cauſing the ſlaves all over the kingdom to be ſhut up with their miſtreſſes, extended her revenge to the whole nation. But in the mean time falling in love with Hercules ſhe gave herſelf entirely up to him, and had by him a ſon named Alcæus.

Alcæus. OMPHALE was ſucceeded by her ſon Alcæus, according to ſome authors, who will have him to have been the firſt king of Lydia of the race of Hercules.

Ninus. AFTER Alcæus reigned Belus, and after Belus his ſon Ninus of whom we know nothing but their bare names.

Argon. ARGON ſucceeded his father Ninus, and is ſaid to have transferred the royal ſeat to Sardis. Herodotus will have Argon to have been the firſt of the deſcendants of Hercules that reigned in Lydia.

Leon, &c. ARGON was ſucceeded by his ſon Leon, Leon by Adryſus, who reigned thirty-ſix years; Adryſus by Alyactes who reigned fourteen; and Alyactes by Meles, who reigned twelve.

Candaules. CANDAULES the ſon of Myrſus was the laſt king of this ſecond race, and loſt by his imprudence both his life and kingdom. The fact is thus related by Herodotus[p]: He had a wife whom he paſſionately loved, and believed the moſt beautiful of her ſex. He extolled her charms above meaſure to Gyges his favourite, whom he uſed to entruſt with his moſt important affairs; and, the more to convince him of her beauty, reſolved to ſhew her to him quite naked; and accordingly placed him in the porch of her chamber, where the queen uſed to undreſs when ſhe went to bed, ordering him to retire after ſeeing her, and take all poſſible care not to be obſerved. But notwithſtanding all the caution he could uſe, ſhe plainly diſcovered him going out, and though ſhe did not doubt but it was her huſband's contrivance, yet ſhe paſſed that night in a ſeeming tranquillity, ſuppreſſing her reſentment to the next morning, when ſhe ſent for Gyges, and reſolutely told him, that he muſt either with his death atone for the criminal action he was

Year of the flood, 2268. Before Chriſt 735.

[p] Herodot. x. 1. i.

was guilty of, or put to death Candaules the contriver of it, and receive both her and the kingdom of Lydia for his reward. Gyges at first earnestly begged of her, that she would not drive him to the necessity of such a choice. But finding that he could not prevail with her, and that he must either kill his master, or die himself, he chose the former, and being led by the queen to the same place where her husband had placed him the night before, he stabbed the king while he was asleep, and at the same time married the queen, and took possession of the kingdom, in which he was confirmed by the answer of the Delphic oracle. For the Lydians having taken up arms to revenge the death of their prince, an agreement was made between them and the followers of Gyges, that if the oracle should declare him to be lawful king of Lydia, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should resign the crown to the Heraclidæ. The answer of the oracle proved favourable to Gyges, whereupon he was universally acknowledged for lawful king of Lydia. Candaules is said [r] to have purchased a picture, done by one Bularchas, and representing a battle of the Magnetes, for its weight in gold, which shews how early the art of painting began to be in request, for Candaules was contemporary with Romulus.

Gyges. Year of the flood, 2285. Before Christ 718.

GYGES, having thus possessed himself of the kingdom of Lydia, sent many rich and valuable presents to the oracle of Delphos, among the others six cups of gold weighing thirty talents, and greatly esteemed for the workmanship. He made war on those of Miletus and Smyrna, took the city of Colophon, and subdued the whole country of Troas. In his reign, and by his permission, the city of Abydus was built by the Milesians. Plutarch and other writers relate his accession to the crown of Lydia in a quite different manner, and tell us, without making any mention of the queen, that Gyges rebelled against Candaules and slew him in an engagement. As to his fabulous ring mentioned by Plato [s] and Tully [t], we refer the reader to Tzetzes, Suidas, Philostratus, &c. Gyges reigned thirty-eight years, and was succeeded by his son Ardyes.

Ardyes.

ARDYES or Ardys carried on the war against the Milesians which his father had begun, and possessed himself of Priene, in those days a strong city. In the reign of this prince the Cimmerians invaded and over-ran all Asia Minor

[r] Plin. lib. xxxv. c. viii
[t] Cic. lib. iii. de off.
[s] Plato de rep. l. xi. & x.

nor; but what battles were fought between the Lydians and theſe invaders, and with what ſucceſs, we find no-where mentioned. Herodotus only informs us [u], that in the time of Ardyes they poſſeſſed themſelves of Sardis the metropolis of Lydia but could never win the caſtle. Ardyes reigned forty-nine years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Sadyattes. SADYATTES, who reigned twelve years, and warred moſt part of his reign with the Mileſians.

Alyattes. Year of the flood, 2383. Before Chriſt 620. AFTER him came his ſon Alyattes, who for the ſpace of ſix years waged a bloody war with Cyaxares king of the Medes. The occaſion of this war is thus related by Herodotus. Certain Scythians being driven out of their country on occaſion of a ſedition that happened among them, they retired into Media, where Cyaxares received them with great humanity, and, as he entertained a good opinion of them, committed to their care divers youths to be inſtructed in the uſe of the bow, and in the Scythian tongue. The ſtrangers were great ſportſmen, and uſed daily to ſupply the king's table with game, which they dreſſed after their own manner. But returning one day empty, Cyaxares, as he was of a violent temper, treated them with moſt opprobrious language, which the Scythians reſenting, agreed among themſelves to kill one of the youths committed to their care, and ſerve his fleſh up to the king's table dreſſed like veniſon. This they effected, and then made their eſcape into Lydia, where they were kindly entertained by Alyattes, which, according to Herodotus, gave occaſion to a war that laſted ſix years, Cyaxares demanding the Scythians, and Alyattes refuſing to deliver them up. This war was carried on with various ſucceſs, the Medes ſometimes defeating the Lydians, and the Lydians ſometimes the Medes. In the ſixth year, while both armies were engaged, the day was all on a ſudden turned into night (Z), which ſo frightened both the Lydians and Medes, that they gave over fighting, and ſhewed a ſtrong inclination to make up their differences in an amicable manner, which was done accordingly by the mediation of Syenneſis king of Cilicia and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. The peace was ratified by a marriage between Aryenis the daughter of Alyattes and Aſtyages

[u] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(Z) This total eclipſe fell upon the 28th of May, and had been foretold by Thales the Mileſian ſome years before.

ages the ſon of Cyaxares (A). A peace being thus concluded between the Lydians and Medes, Alyattes employed all his forces againſt the Scythians, and, after a war, which laſted ſeveral years, had the good luck to rid his kingdom of ſo troubleſome gueſts. He was attended with the like ſucceſs in the war he undertook againſt the Smyrneans, whom he worſted in ſeveral battles, and at laſt made himſelf maſter of their capital and whole country. He continued for the ſpace of five years the war, which his father had begun againſt the Mileſians, ravaging their country, and about harveſt time carrying away yearly all their corn, in order to oblige them for want of proviſions to ſurrender their city, which he knew he could not reduce any other way, the Mileſians being at that time maſters of the ſea. In the 12th year of this war the Lydians having ſet fire to the corn in the fields, the flames were carried by a violent wind, which happened to blow at the time, to the temple of Minerva at Aſſeſus, which was burnt down to the ground. Not long after Alyattes falling ſick ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphos, which refuſed to return any anſwer, till ſuch time as the king ſhould rebuild the temple of Minerva at Aſſeſus. Hereupon Alyattes diſpatched embaſſadors to Miletus, enjoining them to conclude a truce with the Mileſians till the temple ſhould be rebuilt. On the arrival of the embaſſadors Thraſybulus, then king of Miletus, commanded all the corn that was at that time in the city to be brought into the market-place, and the citizens to banquet in public and revel, as if the city were plentifully ſtored with all manner of proviſions. This Thraſybulus did, to the end that the embaſſadors, ſeeing ſuch quantities of corn, and the people every where diverting themſelves, might acquaint their ma-

(A) The account which Herodotus gives us of the cauſe of this war ſeems to ſome writers highly improbable. And truly it is not very likely, that the Scythians falling out among themſelves ſhould have had recourſe to either of theſe kings, whoſe countries the Scythians had over-run, and oftentimes plundered. They had chiefly reaſon to diſtruſt Cyaxares, for the treachery he had ſhewn in maſſacring ſuch of their countrymen as had ſettled in his dominions. Others are of opinion, that Alyattes, being jealous of the too great power of Cyaxares (who had ſeized, after the conqueſt of Nineveh, the regions belonging to the Aſſyrians as far as to the river Halys), entered into an alliance with the Scythians againſt the Medes, and that the war was carried on with the joint forces of the Lydians and Scythians

ſter therewithal, and divert him from purſuing the war. As Thraſybulus had deſigned, ſo it happened; for Alyattes, who believed the Mileſians greatly diſtreſſed for proviſions, receiving a quite different account from his embaſſadors, changed the truce into a laſting peace, and ever afterwards lived in amity and friendſhip with Thraſybulus and the Mileſians. Alyattes had two ſons, Croeſus by a Carian, and Pantaleon by an Ionian. Croeſus ſucceeded his father after he had reigned fifty-ſeven years.

Croeſus. Year of the flood, 2441. Before Chriſt, 562.

CROESUS, ſucceeding his father at the age of thirty-five years, enlarged his dominions ſo as to be no ways inferior to any prince of that age, though there were in his time three very powerful monarchies, viz. of Media, of Babylon, and of Egypt. Croeſus was the firſt that made war on the Epheſians, whoſe city he beſieged and took, notwithſtanding their conſecrating it to Diana, and faſtening the walls by a rope to her temple, which was ſeven ſtades diſtant from the city. After the reduction of Epheſus, he attacked under various pretences the Ionians and Æolians, obliging them, and all the other Greek ſtates of Aſia, to pay him a yearly tribute. He alſo formed a deſign of equipping a fleet to attack the inhabitants of the iſlands, but was diverted from this thought by Bias of Priene, or, as others ſay, by Pittacus of Mitylene (B). Not long after he ſubdued the Phrygians, Myſians, Maryandini, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Dorians, Æolians, Pamphylians, and all the nations that lay between Lydia and the river Halys. Athenæus out of Beroſus mentions a ſignal victory of his over the Sacæans a Scythian nation, in memory whereof the Babylonians his allies yearly celebrated a feaſt which they called Sacæa. Croeſus having by theſe victories

(B) Bias arriving at Sardis from Greece, told Croeſus, enquiring what news he brought from thence, that the iſlanders had bought ten-thouſand horſes with a deſign to attack him by land, which Croeſus believing thanked the gods for inſpiring them with ſuch a reſolution, as knowing that the main ſtrength of his army conſiſted in cavalry. Then Bias acquainted him, that the iſlanders had no ſuch deſign, but were no leſs pleaſed in hearing that he deſigned to attack them by ſea, than he was at the news of their preparing to attack him by land. Whereupon Croeſus, being fully appriſed of the raſhneſs of his deſign, laid it aſide, and concluded an alliance with all the Greeks that inhabited the iſlands.

ries acquired great fame and renown; many wise men of that age went to Sardis on purpose to see him, and among others Solon, who, after publishing his laws at Athens, had absented himself from his country, under pretence of travelling for the space of ten years; that he might not be obliged to repeal any of the constitutions which he had established; for the Athenians could make no alteration of themselves, the citizens having taken a solemn oath to observe his laws for the space of ten years. Being arrived at Sardis he was with great humanity entertained by Crœsus in his own palace, and a few days after his arrival carried to see the wealth and magnificence of his treasury, which when he had seen, Crœsus asked him, who was the happiest man he had ever known, believing, that he would give, without any hesitation, the preference to himself. But Solon, as he was an enemy to all manner of flattery, and resolved on all occasions to speak the plain truth, answered, that Tellus the Athenian was the happiest man he had ever seen (C). Crœsus again asked him who was the happiest man after Tellus, not doubting but he would name him at least in the second place, but was again disappointed, the philosopher adjudging the second place to Cleobis and Biton two Argives (D). Crœsus shewing himself

(C) Tellus was an Athenian, had many virtuous children who all survived him, and, after having enjoyed all the happiness which the condition of mortals is capable of, ended his life in a most glorious manner. For coming to the assistance of his countrymen in a battle fought at Eleusis against the neighbouring people, he put the enemy to flight, and died in the field of victory. He was buried by the Athenians at the expence of the public in the place where he fell, and yearly honours were paid to his memory.

(D) These two Greeks proved victorious in the Olympic games and all other public sports. Their mother was a priestess of Juno, who being one day obliged to go to the temple, whither she ought to have been carried in a chariot drawn by a yoke of oxen, her sons, seeing that the oxen were not brought from the field at the time appointed, yoked themselves, and drew the chariot the space of forty-five furlongs. This action was greatly extolled by all the people that were assembled at the temple, and their mother transported with joy in seeing her sons so much honoured by the whole nation, begged of the goddess, that she would reward her children with what she thought would prove most advantageous to them. Having put up this petition, and, after offering the usual sacrifices banquetted with her sons, they

himſelf highly diſſatisfied with Solon, for preferring the condition of private men to that of ſo rich and powerful a prince as he, the philoſopher informed him, that it was impoſſible to judge of the happineſs of any man before death, and that all things ought to be meaſured by their end. Whereupon he was diſmiſſed by Crœſus as a man of no experience. Not long after the departure of Solon, Crœſus loſt his favourite ſon Atys, who was unfortunately killed at the chace of a wild boar by Adraſtus, ſon of Gordius and grandſon of Midas kings of Phrygia, who had fled to Sardis for refuge. This loſs was no ſmall allay to his happineſs, for he continued diſconſolate the ſpace of two whole years and in a ſtate of inaction, till the conqueſts of Cyrus and growing power of the Perſians rouſed up his martial ſpirits, and diverted his mind to other thoughts. He apprehended, that the good ſucceſs, which attended Cyrus in all his undertakings, might at laſt prove dangerous to himſelf, and therefore reſolved to put a ſtop if poſſible, to his conqueſts. To this end he conſulted all the oracles of any fame either in Greece or Afric (E), he ſtrengthened himſelf

they both fell aſleep and died in the temple. Upon which the Argians, in commemoration of their piety, cauſed their ſtatues to be made and dedicated at Delphos (31).

(E) We are told by Herodotus, that Crœſus ſent embaſſadors to the oracles of Delphos, of Abe, of Phocis, of Amphiaraus, of Trophonius, of Branchis, and of Jupiter Ammon, enjoining them to propoſe, each to the oracle he was to conſult, and all the ſame day, the following queſtion; What is Crœſus the ſon of Alyattes king of Lydia now doing? What anſwer the other oracles returned we find no-where mentioned; but that of Delphos, as Herodotus informs us, anſwered thus: I know the number of the ſands of Libya, the meaſure of the ocean, the ſecrets of the ſilent and dumb lie open to me. I ſmell the odour of a lamb and tortoiſe boiling together in a brazen cauldron; braſs is under, and braſs above the fleſh. Crœſus hearing this anſwer adored the god of Delphos, and owned, that the oracle had ſpoken truth; for on the ſame day that his embaſſadors conſulted the oracle, he was employed in boiling together a lamb and a tortoiſe in a cauldron of braſs, which had a cover of the ſame metal, thinking it impoſſible, that any, but a god, could know what he was doing. Wherefore he immediately offered to the Delphic Apollo a ſacrifice conſiſting of three thouſand oxen; and to render him more favourable and propitious, he brought

(31) Herodot lib. i.

himſelf with alliances, and, having raiſed what forces he could, marched into Cappadocia, then belonging to the Perſians, before his allies could join him. Here he encamped near the city of Sinope on the Euxine ſea, took the city of Pteria, and laid waſte all the adjacent country. Cyrus, hearing of the enemy's motions, put himſelf at the head of a powerful army, and marching into Cappadocia, encamped in ſight of the Lydian army. Here after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, the two armies came at laſt to a general engagement, wherein many fell on both ſides. The night coming on both armies parted on equal terms. But Crœſus fearing to venture a ſecond battle, as his forces were not near ſo numerous as thoſe of Cyrus, retired in the night-time, and marched with all poſſible expedition to Sardis, where he diſbanded his troops, enjoining them to re-aſſemble at the end of five months; for

brought out beds of gold and ſilver, veſſels of gold, robes of purple, and other rich apparel, and burnt them all together, commanding the Lydians to follow his example. On this occaſion ſo much gold was melted down, that one hundred and ſeventeen tiles were made out of it, whereof the longeſt were ſix ſpans in length, the ſhorteſt three, but all one ſpan in thickneſs. Theſe, with a golden lion weighing ten talents and many other rich preſents, Crœſus ſent to the Delphic oracle, enjoining his embaſſadors to enquire whether he ſhould undertake a war againſt the Perſians. The oracle returned this anſwer; If Crœſus paſſes the Halys he will put an end to a vaſt empire; which was capable of being interpreted either of Perſia or Lydia. Crœſus, hearing this anſwer, and not doubting in the leaſt, but that he ſhould overturn the Perſian monarchy, ſent more preſents to the oracle, and two ſtaters of gold to each of the inhabitants of Delphos. In conſideration of which the Delphians granted Crœſus and the Lydians a right to conſult the oracle before any other nation, together with the firſt place in the temple, and the freedom of the city for ever. Crœſus, having made theſe preſents, ſent a third time to conſult the oracle, whether he ſhould long enjoy the kingdom. The oracle anſwered, That he ſhould reign till a mule ruled over the Medes, which Crœſus deeming impoſſible, concluded that he and his poſterity were to hold the kingdom of Lydia for ever. But the oracle, as it was afterwards interpreted, by a mule meant Cyrus, whoſe parents were of different nations, his mother being a Mede and his father a Perſian. And now Crœſus, relying on theſe fallacious anſwers, and believing himſelf invincible, marched, without waiting for the troops of his allies, into Cappadocia, where he was met by Cyrus at the head of a powerful army.

for he did not in the leaſt apprehend, that Cyrus, who had not been able to get the better of him in the field, would venture to advance to his capital. Cyrus, finding the next morning that the enemy had left the field, reſolved to purſue him to Sardis, and oblige him to venture a ſecond battle before his allies could join him. This reſolution was executed with ſuch expedition, that Cyrus at the head of his army appeared in the plains of Sardis, before Crœſus had any intelligence of his deſign. The Lydians were ſtrangely alarmed at ſo bold an attempt, which they had neither foreſeen nor expected. The king, however, drawing together what forces were ſtill remaining, marched out againſt the Perſians, by whom, after a ſharp engagement, he was put to flight, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in Sardis, which was ſoon after taken by aſſault and Crœſus himſelf made priſoner. In the taking of the town Crœſus himſelf had been killed, had not his ſecond ſon, who to that time had been ſpeechleſs, cried out to the Perſian who was ready to ſtrike, Spare Crœſus. Whereupon he was againſt his will ſaved and carried to Cyrus, who commanded him to be put in fetters, and placed on a great pile of wood, with a deſign to burn him and fourteen young Lydians in honour of the gods, as a ſacrifice and the firſt fruits of his victory. Then Crœſus recollecting the words of Solon, that no man can truly be called happy before his death, pronounced thrice that great philoſopher's name, which Cyrus hearing, and underſtanding what induced him to invoke Solon, commanded him to be taken down from the pile, and ranked among his friends and counſellors. Xenophon tells us, that Cyrus received his royal priſoner with great kindneſs and humanity, when he was firſt preſented to him, without mentioning the treatment which we read of in Herodotus. The firſt favour Crœſus begged of the conqueror was, that he would give him leave to ſend his fetters to the oracle at Delphos, as the trophies of the ſucceſs which Apollo had promiſed him. This favour Cyrus willingly granted; but the oracle, or rather the prieſts, convinced Crœſus, that he and not Apollo was to blame (F). Thus ended the antient kingdom of Lydia, continuing

Crœſus taken. Year of the flood, 2454 [illegible] before [illegible]iſt,

(F) The oracle anſwered, that the god himſelf could not reverſe the decrees of fate, and that Crœſus in the fifth generation ſuffered for a crime of one, who, at the inſtigation of a woman, had

continuing subject to the Persians, till they also were conquered by the Macedonians, as we have seen in the foregoing part of this history.

had murdered his master, and possessed himself of a crown which did not belong to him; and that as to the answers of the oracle, he had no reason to complain; for Apollo only foretold, that by making war on the Persians he would overturn a great monarchy. Had he desired to be truly informed, continued the oracle, he ought to have sent again to enquire whether his own, or that of Cyrus, was meant by the oracle. But if he neither understood the true meaning of the oracle, nor would be at the pains of suing for a further explanation, his misfortune and downfall was entirely owing to himself. Crœsus, hearing this answer, acknowledged himself to be in the wrong; and cleared, as much as in him lay, the oracle from all suspicion of falshood.

CHAP. XVI.

The History of the Lycians.

THE country before us was at first called Milias or Tremile from the Milia, a people of Crete that settled there, as Herodotus [a] and Stephanus informs us, and afterwards Lycia, from Lycus the son of Pandion king of Athens. The proper Lycia, as precisely as we can gather, lies between the thirty-sixth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It was bounded by Caria on the west, by Pamphylia on the east, by Phrygia Major and part of Pamphylia on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the south. Name and divisions.

This country was divided into two parts the Maritime and the Mediterranean, or the coast and the country. The most remarkable cities on the coast were Telmessus or Telmissus, seated on a noted bay in the western limits,

[a] Herodot. l. i. & vii.

limits, whoſe inhabitants are ſaid to have been the firſt pretenders to the interpretation of dreams. Patara, ſituated on a hill, and formerly celebrated for a temple and oracle of Apollo no ways inferior to that of Delphos. At Patara Apollo was ſaid to reſide the ſix winter months, and the ſix ſummer months at Delos, whence the epithets of Pataræus Apollo [b] and Sortes Lyciæ [c]. This city was greatly improved and embelliſhed by Ptolemæus Philadelphus, and called Arſinoe from his wife who bore that name, but the former name prevailed. Myra, built on a high hill about twenty furlongs from the coaſt, mentioned in the Acts [d]. This city was the metropolis of Lycia when a Roman province, and of conſequence in the chriſtian times an archbiſhop's ſee. Olympus, a famous city with a mountain of the ſame name. Phaſelis, on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, and therefore by ſome placed in Pamphylia, by others more accurately in Lycia. This city in the time of the Romans was a famous neſt of pyrates, but was at laſt reduced by Servilius, while Pompey ſcoured the ſea with a numerous fleet. To the pyrates of this town former ages were indebted for thoſe ſwift veſſels, which the Romans from the place called Phaſeli, and we Brigantines. We will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland Lycia. Strabo reckons in it the following towns, Pinara, Cragus, at the foot of a hill bearing the ſame name, Tlos, Simena, &c. Ptolemy adds to the Mediterranean part of Lycia two ſmall countries, viz. Milias on the weſt bordering on Caria, and Cabalia on the eaſt bordering on Lycia Proper. But Strabo places Milias on the borders of Piſidia and Pamphylia. The inland part of Lycia was divided by the river Xanthus, which, ariſing in two ſprings from the foot of mount Cadmus, and waſhing the walls of Xanthus, a city formerly of ſome note, diſcharges itſelf into the Mediterranean. From this river, the people inhabiting the inland parts of Lycia, were called Xanthians. The chief mountain of this country, and indeed of all Aſia, is mount Taurus, which has its beginning in this province, and extends eaſtward to the great oriental ocean. In Lycia was alſo the famous mountain Chimæra which vomited flames, the bottom whereof was infeſted with ſerpents, the middle parts

[b] Horat. lib. iii. Carm. ode 4. [c] Virgil. Æneid. iv. 346.
[d] Act. xxvii. 5.

parts afforded paſture for goats, and the top much frequented by lions, which gave occaſion to the poets to paint it as a monſter with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a ſerpent. This mountain was firſt planted and rendered habitable by Bellerophon, who is therefore fabled by the poets to have killed this monſter.

Soil and climate.

THE ſoil of this country is very fruitful, and the air reckoned very wholeſome. It is plentifully watered with ſmall rivers running down from mount Taurus, which often ſwell to an immoderate degree, and overflow the country, being increaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains.

Their origin.

As to the origin of the Lycians, Herodotus and others [e] inform us, that they were deſcended from the Cretans; for Sarpedon, being driven out of the iſland by his brother Minos, and landing in Aſia with thoſe Cretans who had ſided with him, ſettled in Milias, and there founded a new kingdom, after having conquered and driven out the antient proprietors, whom Herodotus calls Milyans and Solymi. During the reign of Sarpedon they continued to be called Cretans, but after his death took the name of Lycians, from Lycus the ſon of Pandion king of Athens, who, being forced by his brother Ægeus to quit his native country, had fled to Sarpedon. Hence the poets, and with them Strabo, ſeem to confound the Lycians with the Carians, who were undoubtedly deſcended from the Cretans. But Diodorus Sibulus [f], and Plato [g] before him, counts the Lycians among the Greek nations of Aſia, as being deſcended from the Argivi. But not to dwell on ſuch uncertainties, the Lycians were once a very powerful and warlike people, conſidering the ſmallneſs of their country. They had, according to Strabo [h], three and twenty, according to Pliny [i], ſix and thirty large and populous towns, were experienced mariners, and extended their power on the ſeas as far as Italy.

Their manners, governments, &c.

THE Lycians are highly commended by the antient writers for their ſobriety, and manner of adminiſtering juſtice. They had in latter ages twenty-three conſiderable cities, each of which ſent their deputies to a general aſſembly or diet, the great cities three, the leſſer two, and the leaſt

[e] Herodot. lib. i. & vii. Strab. lib. xii. & xiv. Pauſanias lib. vii. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 16. [g] Plato in Minoe.
[h] Strab. l. xiv. [i] Plin. l. v. c. 27.

least one only. In this assembly all matters of consequence were canvassed, and determined by the majority of votes. They chose in the first place the president of the council, and after him the civil and military officers of each city. Here they administered justice, settled all private differences, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. Whence we may conclude, that their government, at least in latter times, either was not monarchical, or their monarchs no way absolute. This form of government they maintained even under the Romans, as Strabo informs us [k], but with this difference, that the consent of the Roman governor, and, in matters of moment, of the senate, was requisite for the validity of such acts and decrees as had passed in their assembly. Their government was at first monarchical, and the country parcelled out into several petty kingdoms; for we read of the families of Bellerophon, Sarpedon, Lycus, Telephus, and Pandarus reigning in Lycia at one and the same time; if we will not rather suppose the government to have been aristocratical, and these families to have bore the greatest sway in the administration. But be that as it will, in process of time all Lycia became subject to one prince; for Herodotus, in enumerating the princes that contributed towards the equipping and arming of Xerxes's fleet, mentions but one king of Lycia, by name Cybernisicus. This nation, as most of the other nations of Asia, was first subdued by Crœsus or the Lydians, and after the downfal of the Lydian kingdom, by Cyrus. The courage, resolution, and intrepidity, with which the Lycians of Xanthus opposed Harpagus the Persian general deserves particular notice. For instead of tamely submitting, like their neighbours, to the Persian yoke, they attacked with a handful of men Harpagus's numerous army, and fought with incredible bravery, though under all the disadvantages imaginable. But being overpowered with numbers and forced to retire into their city, they first set fire to the castle, where they had shut up their wives, children, slaves, and all their riches; and then, engaging themselves by a solemn oath to die together, returned to the field of battle, renewed the fight, and were all killed to a man. The Lycians continued to be governed by their own kings even after they were subdued by the Persians, but paid an annual

[k] Strab. l. xiv.

annual tribute to the king of Persia. They fell with the Persians under the power of the Macedonians, and after the death of Alexander were governed by the Seleucidæ. Of these Antiochus the Great being confined by the Romans beyond mount Taurus, Lycia was granted to the Rhodians; but these disobliging the Romans in the war with Perseus, Lycia was declared a free country, and continued to be so till the reign of Claudius, who provoked at their intestine dissensions, reduced their country into the form of a province.

THEIR customs were much the same with those of the Cretans and Carians, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. But they had one custom peculiar to themselves; for they took their names not from their fathers, but from their mothers, so that if any one was asked, who he was, or of what family, he had recourse to the female line. Besides, if a free-born woman married a slave, her children enjoyed all the privileges of citizens; but on the contrary, if a man of ever so great a family married a slave, their children were incapable of enjoying any honours or bearing any public employment [1]. As to their trade and navigation, we are quite in the dark. Their religion was the same with that of the inhabitants of Crete, which we shall have occasion to describe when we treat of the Greek islands.

THE succession of the kings of Lycia and the years of their respective reigns are overcast with such a mist, and interrupted with so many chasms, that it is not possible to give any tolerable account of them. We find mention of but three kings of all Lycia that we are sure of. Their kings.

AMISODARUS, who is fabled to have nourished the monster Chimæra.

JOBATES, who married his daughter Sthenobæa, or, as others call her, Antea, to Prætus king of the Argives. He is said to have undertaken an expedition against the Tyrinthians in favour of his son-in-law, and to have subdued them. His daughter Sthenobæa falling in love with Bellerophon, the son of Glaucus king of Ephyra, and having solicited him in vain to comply with her unchaste desires, complained to her husband as if she had been solicited by him. Whereupon Prætus, being unwilling to violate

[1] Herodot. l. i.

violate the laws of hoſpitality by putting a ſtranger to death in his own kingdom, ſent him into Lycia with fetters to Jobates his father-in-law, requeſting him to revenge the affront offered his daughter by the death of the bearer. Jobates, thinking it a baſe thing to imbrue his hands in the blood of a ſtranger, ſent him with a ſmall body of troops againſt the Solymi, a warlike and barbarous people, in hopes he ſhould there find his doom. But Bellerophon returned from this and many other dangerous expeditions, which he was put upon, not only ſafe, but victorious; whereupon Jobates being reconciled to him and diſcovering the calumny, gave him his other daughter in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom.

MANY years after reigned Cyberniſcus, who was one of Xerxes's admirals in his expedition againſt Greece [m]. And this is all we find upon record concerning the antient kings of Lycia.

[m] Herodot. l. vii.

The Hiſtory of the antient Cilicians.

Name and diviſions.

CILICIA, according to the Greek writers, borrowed its name from Cilix, the ſon of Agenor and brother of Cadmus, who is ſaid by them to have ſettled in this country, as we have obſerved elſewhere [n]. Joſephus [o] tells us, that it was antiently called Tarſis from Tarſhiſh the ſon of Javan, who firſt peopled this part of Aſia [p]; and of the ſame opinion are Stephanus [q], Zonaras [r], and Hierom [s]; but the latter by Tarſis in ſcripture ſometimes underſtands Carthage [t], ſometimes a province in India [u], and ſometimes the ſea [w]. Bochart [x] derives the name of Cilicia from the Phœnician word Challekim or Challukim ſignifying a ſtone, that part of Cilicia, which the Greeks called Cilicia Trachæa, being very ſtony, and to this day called by the Turks Tas Wileieth, that is, the ſtony province.

CILICIA

[n] Vol. ii. p. 366. [o] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [p] See Vol. i. p. 472. [q] Steph. verbo Ταρσος. [r] Zonar. tom. i. [s] Hieronym in quæſt. Hebraic. [t] Idem, in cap. 23. Eſa [u] Idem, ad Marcell. [w] Idem. in cap. 10. Eſa. [x] Bochart. Phal. l. i. c. 5.

CILICIA, properly ſo called, lies between the 36th and 40th degree of north latitude, and is bounded by Syria on the eaſt, or rather by mount Amanus which ſeparates it from that kingdom, by Pamphylia on the weſt, by Iſauria, Cappadocia and Armenia Minor on the north, and by the Mediterranean on the ſouth. It is now called Caramania, having been the laſt province of the Caramanian kingdom that held out againſt the Ottoman race. This province is ſo ſurrounded by ſteep and craggy mountains, chiefly the Taurus and Amanus, that it may be defended by a handful of reſolute men againſt a whole army how numerous ſoever, there being but three narrow paſſes leading into it, commonly called Pylæ Ciliciæ or the gates of Cilicia, one on the ſide of Cappadocia called the paſs of mount Taurus, and the other two, called the paſs of mount Amanus, and the paſs of Syria, leading from Syria. The Perſian army marched through the ſtraits of mount Amanus, while that of Alexander was encamped at Iſſus not far from the ſtraits of Syria, which lie more to the ſouth, and were guarded by a body of Macedonians under the command of Parmenio; the ſtraits of mount Taurus Alexander had paſſed in entering Cilicia, the Perſians who guarded that important paſs having retired at the approach of the Macedonians.

THE whole country was divided by the antients into Cilicia Aſpera and Cilicia Campeſtris; the former, called by the Greeks Trachæa or ſtony, is bounded by Iſauria on the north, Pamphylia on the weſt, Cilicia Campeſtris on the eaſt, and the Mediterranean on the ſouth. The cities in this part of Cilicia, mentioned by the antients, are Sydra, or as Ptolemy calls it, Syedra, Nagidus a Samian colony, Anemurium, Arſione, Celendris or Celenderis, Aphrodiſias, ſo called from Venus who was worſhipped there in a ſtately temple, Holmus, or, as Pliny calls it, Holmia, Sarpedon, famous for a noble temple conſecrated to Apollo and Diana, Zephyrium, according to Ptolemy, the laſt city of Cilicia Aſpera, which Strabo extends to Solæ. Pliny, Mela, and Scylax make no diſtinction between the two Cilicias. Near Zephyrium was a grove much celebrated by the antients, and minutely deſcribed by Pomphonius Mela[y]. Sebaſte, which Archelaus the Cappadocian choſe for his reſidence, after he was

Cities of Cilicia Aſpera.

[y] Pomp. Mela, apud. Apollodor. l. i. c. 6. ſect. iii.

by Auguſtus appointed king of Cilicia Aſpera; this city was ſituated on a ſmall iſland called Eleuſa, and not on the continent, where Pliny and Ptolemy have placed it. Theſe were the towns of moſt note on the coaſt of Cilicia Aſpera; the inland cities were, Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator on the banks of the Calycadnus, and peopled by the inhabitants of Holmus; it was a free city under the Romans, and maintained its liberty, as is plain from ſeveral medals, at leaſt to the time of the emperor Gordian. Domitianopolis, Philadelphia, Lamus, and in latter times Scandeloro, on the confines of Pamphylia, which, with the adjoining territory, was governed by its own prince, while all the neighbouring provinces were ſubject to the Caramanian kings.

Cities of Cilicia Proper.

THE chief cities of Cilicia properly ſo called, or Cilicia Campeſtris, were, according to Strabo, Soli or Solæ, built by the Rhodians and Achæus. This city was deſtroyed by Tigranes king of Armenia in his wars with the Romans, and rebuilt by Pompey; whence in after-ages it was known by the name of Pompeiopolis. Laertius [z] tells us, that this city was built by Solon on his return from the court of Crœſus, and peopled by a colony from Athens; and adds, that theſe Athenians, having in proceſs of time quite loſt the purity of their native language by converſing with the Barbarians, became remarkable for their rude pronunciation and uncouth expreſſions, whence any impropriety of ſpeech was called a Soleciſm. But this is contradicted by others [a], who derive the word Soleciſm not from the Solenſes in Cilicia, but from the Solii in Cyprus [b]. Tarſus, which produced the great Apoſtle of the Gentiles, and was, if we believe Strabo [c], in former times no ways inferior for the ſtudy of philoſophy and polite literature either to Athens or Alexandria. We are told, that it borrowed its name from Tarſhiſh the ſon of Javan, by whom or by his deſcendants it was built; but Strabo out of Ariſtobulus acquaints us, that it was built by Sardanapalus, and proves his aſſertion from an antient monument found in thoſe parts with this inſcription, Sardanapalus the ſon of Anacyndaraxes built the cities of Anchiale and Tarſus in one day. Tarſus was at firſt the metropolis of all Cilicia, and after Conſtantine's diviſion of Cilicia

[z] Laert. in vitis Philoſoph. [a] Strab. l. xiv. p. 456. [b] vid. Plut. invita Solon. [c] Strab. l. xiv. p. 463.

licia Prima. The inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizens, which St. Paul thought fit to make use of according to the Portian law [d]. The Tarsians, to ingratiate themselves with Julius Cæsar, exchanged the antient name of their city for that of Juliopolis; but the old name survived the new, that city being called to this day by the Greeks Tersia or Terassa; the Turks, as Bellonius and other more modern travellers inform us, call it Hamsa. Anchiale, built by Sardanapalus, as we hinted above, or, if we believe Athenodorus, by Anchiale the daughter of Japhet. Anazarobum, situated on the river Pyramus, and in the Roman times the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda. Suidas tells us, that it was first called Cyinda, and afterwards Anazabum from one Anazarbus, who was sent by the emperor Nerva to rebuild it after it had been quite ruined by an earthquake; but he is certanly mistaken, since Pliny, who died long before the reign of Nerva, calls the inhabitants of this city Anazarbeni; and Stephanus derives its name from mount Anazarbus at a small distance from the place where this city stood. Anazarbum was the birth place of Dioscorides, and continued in a very flourishing condition to the division of the empire. Epiphania, which gave birth to George the famous Arian bishop of Alexandria. Mopsuestia, the see of Theodorus Mopsuestenus, a great patron of the Nestorian heresy in the time of Chrysostom. Issus, situated on a gulph to which it gave name, and famous for the battle fought near it between Alexander and Darius; this town is now called Ajazzo, and the great gulph on which it stands the gulph of Ajazzo. Alexandria built by Alexander the Great between Issus and the straits which lead from Cilicia into Syria. Ptolemy places this city in Syria, but Strabo more rightly on the bay of Issus. As this city was situated in a place very convenient for trade, it soon became one of the most flourishing cities of the world. Alexander in building it employed Democrates, who had rebuilt the temple of Diana at Ephesus burnt by Erostratus [e], and took care to people his new city with colonies from several other places, especially from Judæa [f], allowing the Jews the free exercise of their own religion, and the same privileges, immunities, and exemptions which he granted the Macedonians. As it was very convenient for such as traded

[d] Act. xvi. 37. and xxii. xxv. xxviii. Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii.

[e] Plin. l. v. c. 10.

traded on the Mediterranean, the Red-Sea and the Nile, it continued in a flouriſhing condition, till trade took another courſe on the diſcovery of a way to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, when it became by degrees a poor village. It is at preſent called by the Turks Scandaroon, by the Italians Alexandretta, remarkable for nothing elſe but ſome ruins, which ſhew what it was in better times. Several other cities are mentioned by the antients, but as they were no ways conſiderable, and are at preſent quite unknown, we ſhall not dwell any longer on this ſubject.

Rivers. THE rivers of any note in Cilicia are, the Pyramus, which riſes on the north ſide of mount Taurus, and empties itſelf into the Mediterranean between Iſſus and Magarſus; the Cydnus, which ſprings from the Antitaurus, paſſes through Tarſus, and diſembogues itſelf into the Mediterranean near the city of Anchiale; it is famous for the rapidity of its ſtream, and coldneſs of its waters, which proved very dangerous to Alexander; the Calycadnus, the Lamus, the Sarus, the Pinarus, and ſeveral others of leſs note, water this province, and diſcharge themſelves into that part of the Mediterranean, which the antients called the ſea of Cilicia, and extended near two hundred and fifty miles from eaſt to weſt.

Soil and Climate. THAT part of Cilicia, which the antients called Cilicia Campeſtris, was, if we believe Ammianus Marcellinus, one of the moſt fruitful countries of all Aſia; but the weſtern part equally barren, though famous even to this day for an excellent breed of horſes, of which 600 are yearly ſent to Conſtantinople for the ſpecial uſe of the Grand Signior. The air in the inland cities is reckoned very wholeſome, but equally dangerous on the coaſt, eſpecially to ſuch as are not accuſtomed to it.

Their origin THIS country, according to Joſephus [g], was firſt peopled by Tarſhiſh the ſon of Javan and his deſcendants, whence the whole country was called Tarſis, and not the territory alone adjoining to the city of Tarſus, as ſome have wrote. The antient inhabitants were in proceſs of time driven out by a colony of Phœnicians, who under the conduct of Cilix firſt ſettled in the iſland of Cyprus, and from thence paſſed into the country which from their leader they called Cilicia. Strabo [h] tells us, that this Phœnician colony paſſed from Cyprus into Phrygia, where they lived

[g] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [h] Strab. l. xiii. p. 342.

lived in subjection to the kings of Troy, and after the Trojan war poſſeſſed themſelves of that country which was afterwards called Cilicia. In tract of time ſeveral colonies from other countries ſettled in this kingdom, namely from Syria and Greece, whence the Cilicians in ſome places uſed the Greek tongue, in others the Syriac, but the former greatly corrupted by the Perſian, the predominant language of the country being a dialect of that tongue.

Their manners, government, &c.

THE Cilicians, if we believe the Greek and Latin writers, were a rough race of people, unfair in their dealings, cruel, great liars (G), and in the Roman times entirely addicted to piracy. They firſt began together with the Pamphylians in the time of the Mithridatic war to infeſt the neighbouring coaſts, and being emboldened with ſucceſs ſoon ventured as far as the coaſts of Greece and Italy itſelf, where they took innumerable ſlaves, whom they ſold to the Cypriots, and the kings of Egypt andSyria. Publius Servilius was firſt employed againſt them, who gave them a great overthrow in a ſea-engagement, took Phaſelis and ſeveral other ſtrong-holds, whither they uſed to retire, and ravaged their whole country. But ſcarce was he withdrawn, when they broke out more violently than ever, filling all the ports and creeks of the Ionian, Mediterranean and Archipelago, with their veſſels, ſo as to entirely obſtruct the navigation. Whereupon Pompey himſelf did not think it beneath his greatneſs to undertake a war againſt them, which he ended in the ſpace of one month, having at the ſame time attacked them both by ſea and land, with 500 ſhips, and 130,000 men.

IN antient times the Cilicians, before they ſettled in that country which we call Cilicia, were governed by their own kings, and divided into two petty kingdoms, viz. the Theban and the Lyrneſſian; in the former ruled the family of Eetion, in the latter that of Evenus. Theſe kingdoms did not extend beyond the territories of Thebes

(G) Which gave riſe to the proverbs, Cilix haud facile verum dicit; Cilicium exitium; and to the ſaying of Pherecrates, Dii ſemper nobis imponunt, more Cilicium; that is, A Cilician ſcarce ever ſpeaks the truth; Cilician cruelty; The gods, like the Cilicians, always deceive us. (32)

(32) vide Chiliad. Eraſmi. verbo Cilix.

and Lyrneſſus, two cities in the famous plain called the plain of Thebes, often mentioned both by the Greek and Latin writers, as having been the occaſion of frequent diſputes between the Lydians and Myſians, and in the Roman times between the neighbouring princes of Aſia Minor. After the ſettling of the Cilicians in that country which from them was called Cilicia, we find no mention made of their kings till the time of Cyrus, to whom they voluntarily ſubmitted, continuing ſubject to the Perſians till the overthrow of that empire, but governed to the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon by kings of their own nation. Herodotus indeed counts Cilicia among the Perſian Satrapies [i]; but from other writers it is manifeſt, that the Cilicians were governed by kings of their own in the time of Xerxes [k] and Artaxerxes Mnemon. After the downfal of the Perſian empire Cilicia became a Macedonian province, and on the death of Alexander fell to the ſhare of Seleucus, and continued under his deſcendants till it was by Pompey reduced to a Roman province. As a proconſular province, it was firſt governed by Appius Claudius Pulcher, and after him by Cicero, who reduced ſeveral ſtrong-holds on mount Amanus, in which ſome Cilicians had fortified themſelves and held out againſt his predeceſſor, for which he was ſaluted by the army with the title of Imperator or General. All Cilicia being thus brought under ſubjection, it was firſt divided into Cilicia Campeſtris and Trachæa; the former became a Roman province, but the latter was governed by kings appointed by the Romans till the reign of Veſpaſian, when the family of Tracodementus being extinct, this part too was made a province of the empire, and the whole divided into Cilicia Prima, Cilicia Secunda, and Iſauria; the firſt took in all Cilicia Campeſtris, the ſecond the coaſt of Cilicia Trachæa, and the laſt the inland parts of the ſame diviſion; and in this ſtate it continued till the diviſion of the empire.

As to the ſucceſſion of the Cilician kings we are almoſt quite in the dark. Thoſe we find mentioned by the antients, are Eetion, who reigned before their migration into Cilicia and aſſiſted Priam againſt the Greeks. He was king of Thebes only, in the defence of which city he was with his ſeven ſons killed, as we read in Homer [l], by Achilles. The famous Andromache, Hector's wife, was his

[i] Herodot. l. iii. [k] vid. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. vii. Diodor. l. xvi. Curt l. ii. [l] Homer. Iliad. Z.

his daughter. Evenus reigned in Lyrneſſus during the Trojan war, and is likewiſe mentioned by Homer [m]. He was ſucceeded in his petty kingdom by his ſons Mines and Epiſtropus, who ſiding with the Trojans were both killed by Achilles. Syenneſis I. who was contemporary with Alyattes king of Lydia, Cyaxares king of the Medes, and Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, as we have hinted in the hiſtories of Media and Lydia. Horomedon mentioned by Herodotus [n]. Syenneſis II. who aſſiſted Xerxes in his expedition againſt Greece [o], and is greatly commended by Æſchylus. Syenneſis III. who aſſiſted, tho' much againſt his will, Cyrus the younger againſt his brother Artaxerxes. After his death we find no mention of kings, but only of governors of Cilicia, appointed by the kings of Perſia; whence we conclude him to have been the laſt that reigned in Cilicia before the country was ſubdued by Alexander. Of the kings that reigned ſeveral ages after in Cilicia Trachæa we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Year of the flood, 2592. Before Chriſt 401.

[m]. Idem. Iliad B. [n] Herodot. l. vii. [o] Herodot. ibid.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

The fabulous and heroic times; Containing the history of the antient kingdoms of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, Bœotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Corinth, of Sparta to Lycurgus, and some others of less note, to their severally becoming common-wealths.

SECT. I.

An account of the fabulous and heroic times in general.

IT being the design of this chapter to open the way to the history of Greece, by tracing the several nations of it, as far as can be done with probability, to their primitive, weak, rude, and obscure originals; and by pointing out the various steps by which they raised themselves, from the lowest beginnings, to that flourishing state in which they came at length to excel all the world in learning, in arts and sciences, in politeness, in the excellency of their laws and government, and in the strength and valour of their armies; we cannot reasonably expect, that our readers will rest satisfied with our bare endeavouring to give them the best account that can be had of this long and perplexed epocha, clear of all the monstrous fictions with which the extravagant fancies of the poets, and the vanity and ignorance of the Grecian writers, have stuffed it. We shall therefore strive to make the best and shortest way we can through this long period of 900 years, whose antient monuments, though disguised under the tales of the most unnatural actions of the gods, such as their adulteries, rapes, murders, and the like, and the incredible exploits

Original of the Greeks.

ADRIATICI

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Par thini

Epidamnus seu
Dyrrachium

Almopi

Albani

Albanopolis

GRÆCIA ANTIQUA

prout Primitus in Regna dein in Respub; denique a Romanis in Provincias in hoc Vol: divisa legitur.

S. Wheatley Sculp.t

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exploits of their heroic offspring (A); yet, when divested, from the fable, afford at leaſt ſo much light to thoſe dark times, that all hiſtory of this country would be juſtly thought imperfect without ſome ſhort account of them.

THE

(A) It will not be amiſs to begin our notes on this fabulous epocha with offering ſome tolerable account for that heap of monſtrous fables under which the hiſtory of it is couched; and it will, upon examination, appear to flow from ſome, if not all, of the following reaſons:

1. From the genius of thoſe languages in which theſe antient monuments were written, which was altogether figurative, and whoſe elegance conſiſted in the boldeſt and moſt ſublime alluſions and metaphors.

2. From the writers themſelves, who, being all poets, and recording theſe tranſactions in ſhort ſonnets, to be learned by heart and ſung upon proper occaſions, did ſtill inhance upon their native idiom in poetic pieces, and made choice of the moſt ſtrained and ſurpriſing allegories, that they might make the deeper and more laſting impreſſion both on thoſe who ſang, and thoſe who heard them.

3. From an ambitious affectation of antiquity, equal or ſuperior to other contemporary nations, or perhaps rather from a ſhame of their mean and low extraction, and of their rude, not to ſay brutiſh, anceſtors, who like wild beaſts did live by preying upon one another, having no law or rule, but that of the ſtrongeſt arm. The conſciouſneſs of which made ſome of them fetch their original from certain great heroes begot by ſome lecherous god, either upon ſome kind goddeſs or ſtraggling nymph, whilſt others contented themſelves with pretending, that they ſprung like muſhrooms out of their own native ſoil.

4. This might be alſo another reaſon, why they transformed into fictitious monſters thoſe real ones amongſt them, whoſe cruel and infamous actions they could not either palliate or obliterate.

5. From the high eſteem they had for thoſe renowned heroes, who cleared the country of thoſe peſts of mankind. They could not, it ſeems, look upon the arduous, and yet ſucceſsful, labours of a Minos, Hercules, or a Theſeus in this ſo beneficial a province, without ſuppoſing them to have been more than mortal men, or at leaſt without an ambition to make them paſs in future ages for the offspring of ſome of the gods.

6. From an imitation of, or rather an emulation to outdo, the antient Hebrew heroes, both in their extraction and in their wonderful exploits; thus we find a great part of the character of Hercules to be a mere compound of thoſe of a Samſon, Gideon, Jephtha, and other Jewiſh worthies. The ſame may be ſaid of ſeveral others (1).

(1) vid. Grot. de Verit. Huet demonſt. Evang. & al. mult.

Geography of Greece.

THE limits of Greece, not as they were afterwards enlarged, either by continual sending out of colonies, or by conquests which still carried their name with them, which will be best seen in the next chapter, but only as they relate to our present epocha, extended from north to south, that is, from the long ridge of mountains, which divided it from Macedonia, and from the river Strymon, by which it was parted from Thrace, to the promontory of Tenarus, the utmost southern extent of Peloponnesus, about 6 deg. 20 min. or 380 miles. And from east to west, that is, from the Ægean to the Ionian sea, about 5 deg. 10 min. or 310 miles. It contained the following kingdoms: In Peloponnesus, Sicyon, Argos, Messenia, Corinth, Achaia Propria, Arcadia and Laconia. Out of it, or in Græcia Propria, those of Attica, Megara, Bœotia, Locris, Epichnemidia, Doris, Phocis, Locris, Ozolœa, and Ætolia. In Epirus, the Molossi, Amphilochi, Cassiopœi, Dræopes, Chaones, Thesprotii, Almenii, and Acarnania. In Thessaly, it contained the countries of Thessaliotis, Estiotis, Pelasgiotis, Magnesia, and Phthia [a]. All these have at one time or other been severally governed by kings of their own, whose names we only find occasionally mentioned in the history of the more considerable kingdoms of Argos, Attica, Thebes, and Sparta, of the Argonautic expedition, and of the Trojan war [b]. The fuller description and history of those chief kingdoms will be seen in the following sections; of the rest we must content ourselves with a bare mention, because we know very little except their names.

Their various names.

FOR this reason it cannot be expected, that we should enter into a critical enquiry into the names and original of those various inhabitants of antient Greece. The general names by which they were known, and mentioned by old historians and geographers, were those of Graioi and Graicoi [c] (B). These they quickly changed for those of Achæi and Hellenes [d], by which they are generally called in antient authors

[a] De his vid. Ptol. Herodot. D. Sicul. Mela, Cluver. & al. mult. [b] Pausan. Apoll. & al. [c] Callimach. Hym. in Jov. Sophoc. & al. [d] Thucydid. l. i. Aristot. in Meteor. l. i. c. 14. Steph. Byzant. &c.

(B) From Græcus the father, or, according to others, the son of Thessalus, who gave name to Thessaly (2). But by a modern critic

(2) Euseb. Chronic. Isidor. Orig. l. xiv. c. 4. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. iv. c. 7. Suid. & Steph. Byzant. in Voc. Γραικος & Θεσσαλια

thors (C). Another name by which they were known in ſeveral parts of Greece was that of Pelaſgi, which the Arcadians, who are generally reckoned the antienteſt people of it, do challenge from their pretended founder Pelaſgus, who, we find, did get ſuch footing in Peloponneſus, that the whole peninſula was from him called Pelaſgia [e]. We find theſe Pelaſgians, for whom ſome critics and antiquaries have found a much older original (D), ſpread in many

[e] Id ſub voc. Πελοποννησος.

critic (3) derived from Ragau the ſame with Reu the ſon of Peleg (4), by the tranſpoſition of a letter to ſoften the ſound.

(C) The firſt ſuppoſed from Achæus the ſon of Xuthus, the ſon of Hellen and father of Ion; or, according to the fable, the ſon of Jupiter (5); the other from Hellen abovementioned, the ſon of Deucalion and father of Dorus, from whom came the Dores, afterwards a famous nation in Greece.

Thucydides obſerves rightly, however, that the name of Hellenes did not univerſally obtain over Greece; ſince Homer, who wrote ſo long after the ſiege of Troy, doth only call them ſo who followed Achilles from Phthiotis (6).

(D) Theſe (7) ſuppoſe, that the deſcendants of Peleg, the fourth in deſcent from Shem the ſon of Noah, whom they ſuppoſe to have been the father of the Scythians, were the firſt who peopled Greece; and that they only ſoftned the name of Peleg, or, according to the ſeptuagint and vulgate, Phaleg their progenitor, aud called themſelves Pelaſgians. The laſt of thoſe authors confirms this opinion, drawn from the affinity between the Hebrew and antient Greek, from the various dialects and pronunciations of the latter, which in the Doric comes neareſt to the eaſtern tongues; and from the remainder of thoſe tongues, eſpecially in thoſe places where the Pelaſgians have been, which Bochart thought of Phœnician, but our author will rather have of Hebrew extraction.

All this is further confirmed by a paſſage in Epiphanius, who ſays (8), that from the age of Therah downward, Phaleg and Ragau removed towards the clime of Europe to part of Scythia, and were joined to thoſe nations from which the Thracians came.

This

(3) Salmaſ. de re Hellenicſt. p. 2. c. 1. ap. Hind. introd. in Hiſt. Græc. (4) 1 Chron. i. 25. Gen. xi. 18, 19. (5) vid. Byzant ſub voce Ιωνια. (6) Thucydid. l. i. (7) Grot. Salmaſ. & Stilling fleet. orig. Sacr. l. iii. c. 4. (8) Epiſt. ad Acac. & Paul.

ny other parts of Greece, as in Attica, Theſſaly and Epirus; in which laſt they have been ſuppoſed by ſome [f] to have laid the foundation of the Dodonean oracle. But the moſt antient name of all is univerſally allowed to be that of Iones, which the Greeks themſelves derive from Ion the ſon of Xuthus, or, as the fable hath it, of Apollo by Creuſa the daughter of Erechtheus, and grandſon to Deucalion [g]. But it is more probable, as Joſephus affirms[h], that their original is of much older date, and that Javan, the ſon of Japhet and grandſon of Noah, and his deſcendants were the firſt who peopled theſe countries, as the learned Bochart ſeems to have proved by very ſtrong arguments [i] (E).

It

[f] vid. Strab. Geogr. l. v. vid. & Pauſan. in Attic. & Byzant ſub voce Θεσσαλια. [g] vid. Herodot. l. viii. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. Pauſan. Achaic. [h] Ant. l. i. c. 7. [i] Phaleg. l. 3.

This laſt paſſage, where-ever Epiphanius got it, has been ſufficiently confuted by Bochart (9), who ſhews, that both Phaleg and Ragau, and their deſcendants, continued ſtill in the confines of Media and Armenia. And we have elſewhere ſhewn †, that the Scythians were the deſcendants of Magog, and not of Phaleg or Ragau. They were the ſons of Japhet and not of Shem, who divided the iſles of the gentiles (10). We ſhall therefore leave the Pelaſgians to their own founder, and find a much more likely one for the antient Greeks in the following note.

(E) 1. From the authority of Joſephus above quoted. 2. From the name itſelf of the patriarch, without the points, ſounding more properly Jon than Javan. 3. From the authority of Moſes, who ſays (11), that by theſe (the ſons of Japhet) were the iſles of the Gentiles divided; which, according to the genius of the Hebrew, means, not iſlands properly ſo called, but all maritime countries, at any diſtance from Paleſtine, eſpecially thoſe which are along the Mediterranean. 4. From that of the prophets (12), who call Græcia by the name of יון Jon, or, as pointed, Javan. According to which the Jews have all along to this day called the Greek tongue יונית Javanith.

All this is further confirmed by our author from the clear remains of Eliſha Javan's eldeſt ſon (13), which were ſtill to be found in that of Elis, one of the antient kingdoms of Peloponneſus.

(9) Phaleg l. ii. c. 14. † See before, Vol. v. p. 388.
(10) See Gen. x. ver. 2. ad 5. (11) Gen. x. 5.
(12) vid. int. al. Eſai. cap. ult. ver. 19. Dan. viii. 21. x. 20.
(13) Gen. x. 4.

It is true indeed, that among the Greeks themſelves; only the original Athenians and ſuch colonies as ſprang from them were called Iones, but then it is plain beyond exception, that other nations called all the inhabitants of Greece by that name; witneſs the teſtimony of Heſychius[k], and the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes[l], and thoſe paſſages of holy writ mentioned in the laſt note. We omit the names of ſeveral other people among the antient Greeks, which were ſuppoſed to have been the oldeſt of all, but which do not appear by far to have been the firſt peoplers of that country; ſuch were the Aones, Hyanthes, Leleges, Dryopi, Caucones, Jemmices, and others mentioned by Strabo[m], but which may be better ſuppoſed to have been reliques of the old Carians, who, Thucydides tells us, made frequent incurſions into Greece[n]. Iones deſcended from Javan.

If we look upon this infant ſtate of Greece with reſpect to its inhabitants, it appears, even by the confeſſion of their own writers, to have been one continued, uncultivated deſart, inhabited by ſavage creatures ſcarcely removed one degree from brutes; men living indifferently on every fruit, herb, or root, that came in their way, and lying either in the open fields, or at beſt ſheltering themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, in dens, clefts and hollow trees[o]. The firſt improvement they made to their way of living was exchanging their old food for the more wholeſome acorns, building themſelves huts to ſleep in, and covering their bodies with the ſkins of beaſts. All this it ſeems they were beholden to Pelaſgus abovementioned[p], whoſe memory was highly reverenced among them upon that account. But this reformation in their way of living wrought none upon their manners. On the contrary, they, who had no occaſion to fight for any thing but a hole to ſleep in, began now to envy and rob one another of theſe new acquiſitions. This in time put them under a neceſſity of joining themſelves into companies under ſome head, that they might either more ſafely plunder their neighbours, or preſerve what they had got. Laws they had none, except that of the ſtrongeſt arm; ſo that they only lived ſafeſt and moſt quietly, who inhabited the moſt craggy and barren ſpots of ground, whilſt thoſe, who were more pleaſantly or fruitfully ſeated, were continually liable to be diſpoſſeſſed The manners of the antient Greeks.

[k] Sub voce Ἰαονία. [l] Ap. Hind. Introduct. in hiſt. Græc. [m] Geogr. l. vii. [n] lib. i. [o] vid. Horat. Satir. & Pauſan. in Arcadic. [p] Id. ibid.

dispossessed by new invaders. Hence it was, that Greece for a long time had no settled inhabitants, but was in a continual fluctuation, the weakest being always sure to be turned out by the strongest. Their gigantic size and strength if we may believe Plutarch [q], added so much to their insolence and cruelty, that they seemed to glory in committing the greatest acts of violence and barbarity on those that unhappily fell into their hands.

THE case did not alter much for the better after they came to form themselves into regular societies, and build themselves towns and cities for safety. Attica seems the only place that was free from those incursions, because it was destitute of every thing that could invite a plundering enemy; but those cities fared worst which were situate on the sea-coasts, because they were in continual danger of being plundered either by sea or land; for pirates did not less infest all those seas, than the robbers did the land. And this was one main cause why most of the antient cities of Greece were built at some distance from the shore, but even in these, as all their safety consisted in the resistance they could make against an invader, so their inhabitants were under a necessity of going constantly armed, and to be ever on their guard.

Pirates and robbers.

ANOTHER mischief arising from these continual piracies and robberies was, that the far greater part of their land did lie uncultivated, so that men only planted and sowed as much as was barely necessary for their present support; and where there was such an universal neglect of agriculture, there could be as little room for any discoveries in other useful arts and trades at land, as in commerce and navigation at sea. Hence it is also, that whilst other antient nations, as the Jews, the Egyptians, Midianites, and Phœnicians, had improved them to a very great degree, as we have seen in their several histories, the Greeks alone seem to have been the only strangers to them; insomuch, that one may reasonably question, by Homer's making oxen the standard of the value of things, whether they knew the use of money even in his days. One art however, one would have expected them to have been very expert in, that of war, and the only one indeed they seemed to have had a value for; but even here, the very reverse may be inferred from what the same poet tells us, of

Neglect of agriculture.

Trades.

Art of war.

[q] In Theseo.

of ſome of his heroes putting whole ſquadrons of them to flight.

Arts and ſciences.

We ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel, that they had no letters till Cadmus brought them thither out of Phænicia, whoſe alphabet, conſiſting only of ſixteen letters, was not perfected into that of twenty-four till many centuries after him. It was from him likewiſe that they learned arithmetic, navigation, and commerce; as for other ſciences, they continued much longer ſtrangers to them; and it was not till ſome of their great men began to travel into Egypt and other kingdoms, and the Celtes made their frequent incurſions into Greece †, that they began to have ſome knowledge and reliſh for them. We are indeed told, that Orpheus, Muſæus and ſome others, who went into the firſt of thoſe countries much earlier, did bring a great deal ofthe Egyptian divinity and religious rites from thence [r]. But as for aſtronomy, geometry, philoſophy, and magic, they were fetched long after, the firſt from Babylon, the next from Egypt, and the laſt from Perſia [s]; ſo ignorant we find them of the firſt of theſe ſciences, that they knew of no other way of dividing the day than by dark and light, or time of ſleeping and waking, nor the years, but by the time of ſowing and reaping.

Their government.

Their government was ſtill more rude and barbarous; every city, and almoſt every village or obſcure town, was a petty tyranny, governed by a head, to whom nevertheleſs they gave the name of king. Hence that vaſt number of ſmall inconſiderable kingdoms with which this country ſwarmed, and of the greateſt part of which we know little elſe than their names, and that of one or ſometimes two of their petty monarchs, which are occaſionally mentioned in the hiſtory of thoſe of more note, into which they were afterwards blended either by alliances or conqueſt.

Laws.

Laws, at leaſt a written body of them, we do not find they had till the times of the Athenian Archons; till then all depended on the will aud the definitive ſentence of their kings; only in dubious and important caſes, it was uſual for them to conſult ſome oracle, of which they had variety; the two moſt famous were that of Jupiter at Dodona

† See before, Vol. v. p. 408. [r] Herodot. l. i. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. l. i. [s] Vid. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græc.

dona and that of Apollo at Delphi, ſituated on the hill Parnaſſus. (F).

THEIR

(F) It will doubtleſs be expected, that we ſhould ſay at leaſt ſo much of theſe oracles as may enable our readers to frame an idea of them, ſince they were eſteemed of ſuch concern, that ſcarce any public affairs were tranſacted (or hardly any private ones, if the perſons were in circumſtances to pay for it) without conſulting ſome of them; but as a particular account of them all would carry us too far, we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort deſcription of that of Delphi, as it was the moſt celebrated and frequented of any, either in Greece or in any other part of the world, not only on account of its antiquity, contending even with that of Jupiter at Dodona, but becauſe Apollo was ſuppoſed more peculiarly to preſide over, and to inſpire men with the knowledge of futurity. Upon this account alſo it was eſteemed to outdo all others in the clearneſs and certainty of its anſwers; and by the great concourſe of people who reſorted to and enriched it with preſents, it did likewiſe outſhine all the reſt in ſplendor and wealth.

Its foundation, origin and magnificence, ſhall be ſeen in its proper place: here we ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort account of the manner in which it was wont to be conſulted and delivered, and by way of ſpecimen to the reſt; as for thoſe of other countries, or other deities, the reader may, if he pleaſe, ſee them in our learned biſhop Potter's Grecian archæology.

1ſt, Thoſe who conſulted the oracle were to offer ſome conſiderable preſent to the god. 2dly, They offered alſo ſome ſacrifices to him, and according as theſe carried a good or bad omen, ſo the Pythoneſs conſented or refuſed to conſult the deity. 3dly, The queſtion to be aſked was be couched in as few words as poſſible. We omit ſome other circumſtances of leſs moment, and which varied according to time and place, the quality of the perſons conſulting, and the nature of the queſtion to be aſked.

2. The time for conſulting the oracle was only one month in the year, and that was in the ſpring; the ſeventh day of that month was called Apollo's birth-day, becauſe originally the Pythoneſs gave no anſwers but on that day, ſo that they came ſo thick to her, that they were forced to lengthen the time; in latter ages it came to be once a month (1).

3. The perſon who delivered the anſwer was to be a woman. They were originally to be virgins, but, one of them having been deflowered, they came at length to make choice of women above fifty years of age, that in caſe the ſame misfortune ſhould happen to them, their ſhame might be out of danger of being diſcovered by pregnancy. Yet even theſe they obliged to go apparelled

(1) Plutarch. Græc. Quæſt. 9.

THEIR religion was ſtill worſe than all the reſt, being little elſe than a corruption, if we may be allowed that word, of the Egyptian theology, brought thither at firſt Religion.

apparelled like virgins, but in a plain and homely dreſs, that they might give no temptation to their cuſtomers.

Pythia, the name that was given to the woman that delivered the oracle, is variouſly derived, by ſome, in memory of the ſerpent Pytho killed by Apollo, by others otherwiſe; but moſt probably from Pytho, which was but another name for Delphi, the place where this oracle was given, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

When all the previous ceremonies had been performed on the enquirer's part, this Pythia, having waſhed herſelf in the fountain Caſtalis at the foot of Parnaſſus, and ſhaken the laurel-tree that grew by it, ſhe crowned herſelf with a garland of thoſe leaves, and ſometimes alſo did eat ſome of them; and then aſcended the celebrated Tripod or Tripus, and ſitting down upon it waited for the impulſe of the god.

What kind of machine this wonderful Tripod was, is variouſly canvaſſed, and to as little purpoſe. Some take it to have been a braſs pot filled with duſt, through which a miraculous vapour was conveyed into the belly of the Pythoneſs, and thence came out at her mouth; others ſay, it was filled with pebbles, by the agitation of whom ſhe conceived the mind of the deity; others ſay, that it was large enough for her to plunge herſelf into; but the moſt probable opinion is, that it was a table or ſeat on which ſhe either leaned or ſat (3).

It was called Tripod becauſe it had three feet, alluding, according to ſome, to the three great celeſtial circles, viz. the two tropics, and the equinoctial line; but more probably, if they had any original meaning, from the three periods of time, paſt, preſent and future. They had more than one of theſe Tripods. The moſt antient of them was that which the people of that country cauſed to be ſet over the mouth of the miraculous cave, after they had found out its prophetic power. The next is ſaid to have been wrought by Vulcan, and preſented to Apollo by Pelops king of the Eleans; but the moſt famous one was that which the fiſhermen drew up with their nets, and, being adjudged by the oracle to the worthieſt of the ſeven wiſe men who flouriſhed then in Greece, and through modeſty refuſed by him, was dedicated to this Delphic Apollo. The two firſt appear to have been of braſs, and the laſt was of gold; ſome think alſo, there were likewiſe more than one Pythia at the ſame time, but without

(2) Lyſiſtr. Scholiaſt. in Ariſtoph. ap. Potter Archæolog. l. ii. c. 9. (3) Cœl. Rhodig. lect. antiq. l. viii. c. 15. ap. eund.

by Cecrops, an Egyptian exile and founder of the Attic monarchy, who, according to Pauſanias, did firſt introduce the worſhip of Jupiter into his new kingdom. Orpheus, Dædalus, and Melampus, went and fetched new ſupplies of Egyptic idolatry and ſuperſtition; and Greece was ſoon after without any good foundation (4); however, when ſhe, who officiated as ſuch, had received the divine afflatus into her belly, from whence ſhe was called εγγαστριμυθος and ςερνομαντις, ſhe began ſometimes to ſwell, foam at the mouth, tear her hair and fleſh, like one in the ſtrongeſt phrenſy, at other times her ſpirit moved her more gently. Sometimes the paroxyſm has been ſo terrible, that it hath ſcared away the prieſts as well as the conſulters, and one of them is ſaid to have died by the violence of it (5). Some add, that a dragon or ſerpent has been ſeen to return the anſwer from under the Tripod, and that the Pythia was once killed by him.

The anſwer was returned viva voce, and in hexameter or heroic verſe. Pauſanias attributes this form of anſwering to the famed Phœmonoe the firſt Delphic Pythia. But the hymn of Beou, a Delphic lady, attributes it to Olen, who with his Hyperboreans inſtituted this oracle, and changed their ruſtic proſe into the ſmooth and heroic verſe.

But though this oracle was the moſt famed for the clearneſs and truth of its anſwers, inſomuch, that it was often applied to, to explain the more intricate ones of other places, yet was it not without its ambiguities, ſo as to be eaſily applicable to the event, let it fall which way it would. Herodotus gives us ſome inſtances of this kind of amphibolious anſwers given to Crœſus, of which that unfortunate king, a munificent votary to the Delphic god, juſtly complains, as having more than once or twice miſled him to his ruin (6).

The reader may ſee a number of other inſtances of the ſame nature in Pauſanias (7), beſides thoſe which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel, and which, though fulfilled contrary to the meaning and expectation of the conſulters, yet ſeemed to be directed by ſome foreſeeing being, becauſe they ſtill anſwered the prediction, though in a different ſenſe. Of this nature was that which forewarned Epaminondas to beware of what the Greeks called the Pelagos; by which he underſtanding it to mean the ſea which they called πελαγος, forbore to go into any ſhip or galley, whereas it was the Mantinean wood of that name, of which the oracle bid him beware. Much after the

(4) Vener. de divinat. (5) Vid. Plutarch. de defect. Orac. (6) lib. i. (7) In Arcad. Vid. & eund. in Phoc. & Potter ubi ſupra.

after furniſhed with a number of deities, ſuited to the taſte of their brutal votaries, and with a ſanction and precedent for every unſocial and unnatural vice. To this deſperate and univerſal degeneracy of the Grecian nation it is, that we have ventured in a former note to aſcribe in ſome meaſure all the fabulous accounts, which the poets have given us concerning the birth, extraction, and extravagant exploits of thoſe famous heroes, who beſtowed ſo much pains and time to reform and aboliſh it. Of this number were Minos, Hercules, Theſeus and many more, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel, ſome of whom cleared the ſeas, others the land, of that peſtilent race, and others, laſtly, by wholeſome laws, by the introduction of commerce, arts, and ſciences, laid the happy foundations for that politeneſs and grandeur, for which they were ſo juſtly famed in after-ages.

THIS fabulous epoch, as it includes all that the poets have ſung and hiſtorians recorded, concerning the foundation of all the antient Grecian monarchies, the exploits of the Grecian heroes, their wars and other tranſactions from the end of the Trojan war and upwards, to the foundation of the Sicyonian kingdom the moſt antient of all, amounts to 905 years, that is from A. M. 1915. when Ægialeus is ſaid to have laid the foundation of his kingdom, to the deſtruction of Troy, A. M. 2820. (G) [t]. But as under

The chronology of this epoch.
Year of the flood, 910.
Before Chriſt, 2089

[t] Vid. Uſſer. Ann. ſub utroque an. ex Caſtor. ap Euſeb. Chronic.

the ſame nature is the Carthaginian general ſaid to have been deceived, when he was told by another oracle that he ſhould be buried in Libya; from which he concluded, that after having beaten the Romans he ſhould return and die in his own country, whereas the oracle meant the town of Libyſſa in Bithynia, but according to our author called by the Nicomedians Libya, in which he died.

It was for this reaſon, that theſe predictions, attributed by the Heathens to ſome godhead, were by the primitive fathers aſcribed to the devil, who, though uncapable to dive into futurity, yet could give a greater gueſs into it than any mortal; but we leave the diſquiſition of ſuch queſtions to divines, as well as the times and cauſes of theſe oracles ceaſing in the heathen world, though this laſt we may perhaps touch upon, when we come to reſume the ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory.

(G) We need not tell our readers, that this chronology is far enough from being unqueſtionable; thoſe who have read Sir Iſaac

der this period are contained the hiſtories of the ſeveral following manarchies; 1. That of Sicyon abovementioned: 2. Of Argos and Mycenæ: 3. Attica 4. Bœotia; 5. Arcadia: 6. Theſſaly: 7. Corinth: 8. Sparta, and ſome others, from their foundation to their either becoming incorporate with others, or to their ſeverally reſolving themſelves into commonwealths; this laſt circumſtance will oblige us both to extend it beyond what is properly called the fabulous and heroic epocha down to the times of their reſpective change of government, and to give a fuller chronology of each kingdom under each diſtinct head.

OTHER meterial tranſactions under this period are chiefly thoſe that follow, the Ogygian and Deucalion floods; the murder committed by the daughters of Danaus on their huſbands; the labours of Hercules; the unfortunate adventures of Œdipus; the Argonautic expedition; and the wars of Minos and Theſeus; the exploits and adventures of Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Atlas; thoſe of Perſeus and Bellerophon; the rapes of Io, Europa, and Helena; the war of the Epigoni or ſeven champions againſt Thebes; the Trojan war, ſpoken of in a former chapter; the fatal end of the greateſt part of the Grecian chiefs; the infamous exploits of the gods; and in a word, all the heroic deeds of their pretended offspring, in ſuppreſſing robbers and

Iſaac Newton on this ſubject will eaſily agree with him, that the reigns of the ſeveral kings of Sicyon, Argos, &c. are ſpun out to an unnatural length, they amounting one with another to thirty-five and forty years apiece, which is almoſt double the time that thoſe of Judah and Iſrael reigned.

It is alſo not unlikely, that the foundation of the Sicyonian kingdom is vaſtly antedated, and that the eleven or twelve kings whom they pretend to have reigned between Apis and Epaphus or Epopeus, whom our author thinks to have been two names for the ſame perſon, were only feigned, and interlarded here to add the greater antiquity to that kingdom. We are told, that it began 232 years before the time of Inachus, or 1313 years before the firſt Olympiad (8); but what certainly can there be in a tradition of ſuch a length;

The ſame fault may be ſuppoſed to run through the whole chronology of the other kingdoms belonging to this epoch, ſince their foundation is likewiſe previous to the Olympiads, before which all computation of time is dark, precarious, and, in many inſtances, notoriouſly falſe.

(8) Caſtor ap. Euſeb. Chron. Vid. Newt. Chronol.

and pyrates, pulling down tyrants, protecting the oppreſſed, and for forming the Greek nation by degrees from anarchy, cruelty, and barbariſm, into a polite, warlike, and glorious people.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of Sicyon.

SICYON has the firſt place in this dark province of antiquity, both as being older than all the reſt, and becauſe it boaſts a ſucceſſion of twenty-ſix kings, whoſe ſeveral reigns makes up an epoch of nine-hundred and ſixty years and upwards. Its original name was Ægiala, given to it by Ægialeus, the ſuppoſed founder and firſt monarch of it. Whether the whole kingdom, or only its metropolis, were called by that name, is not certain; but it exchanged it afterwards for that of Apia, from Apis the 4th king from Ægialeus, and in proceſs of time it had that of Sicyon given to it, which was that of their 19th monarch, who reigned about 40 years after its ſuppoſed foundation, and from that time, not only the kingdom, but the whole peninſula of Peloponneſus, was called Sicyonia, until its diſſolution, and even beyond it [a]. Names.

THIS little kingdom was ſituate on the north part of Peloponneſus, ſince called the bay of Corinth. It had the province of Achaia on the weſt, and the Iſthmus which joins the peninſula to the continent of Greece on the eaſt. What its extent was cannot be known. The capital of it is ſuppoſed to have been ſituate upon the river Aſopus in about thirty-eight degrees and a half of north latitude, and twenty-three degrees and a half of eaſt longitude, having the bay of Corinth on the north, the reſt of the Peloponneſus on the other three points [b]. Situation.

ITS territory was rich, abounding with corn, vines, olive-trees, and other commodities, beſides ſome iron mines. It was in proceſs of time very much adorned, by Sicyon and his ſucceſſors, with temples, altars, monuments and Natural and artificial rarities.

[a] Stephan. de Urb. Strab. [b] Strab. Mela & al.

ſtatues, of all their gods and antient monarchs. It would be juſtly eſteemed the antienteſt mornarchy in the world, not excepting even thoſe of Egypt and Aſſyria, were it true, that its founder lived about 150 years after the flood, that is about 200 years before Noah's death, as ſome have computed it from Euſebius, who affirms this monarchy to have been founded 1313 years before the firſt olympiad [c].

Chronology. But that miſtake has been rectified by other chronologers, who make him contemporary with Terah Abraham's father, and to have began his reign about the year of the world 1915, or even later about A. M. 2236 [d], which brings it ſomewhat lower than the year of the flood 900; beſides it is not improbable, as Sir Iſaac Newton obſerves, that chronologers have ſplit Apis Epaphus (the 4th in deſcent from Ægialeus) into two kings, and between them have inſerted eleven or twelve feigned names of kings who did nothing, and thereby have made its founder Ægialeus 300 years older than his brother Phoroneus [e], the ſon of Inachus and founder of Phoronium, ſince called Argos. The truth is, we know nothing of theſe princes, but their names and the years they are affirmed to have reigned. The ſame indeed may be ſaid of the greateſt part of their ſucceſſors. We meet with no memorable action or conqueſt performed by any of them during the long ſpace of 960 years; though this epocha, dark and remote as it is, is ſo fruitful of the moſt ſurprizing exploits in moſt other contemporary kingdoms. However, we ſhall here ſubjoin a liſt of thoſe twenty-ſix monarchs with the length of their reigns, as we find it tranſmitted to us.

[c] Heyl. ex Euſeb. Chronic.
[d] Uſſer. Rawleigh & al.
[e] Newt. Chronol. introd. p. 6.

Kings

Kings of Sicyon.

		Reigned Years.			Reigned Years.
1	Ægialeus	52	14	Marathus	30
2	Europs	45	15	Æchyræus	55
3	Telchin or Selchin	20	16	Corax	30
4	Apis	25	17	Epopæus	35
5	Thelxion or Thelaſion	52	18	Laomedon	40
			19	Sicyon	45
6	Ægirus	34	20	Polybus	40
7	Eurymachus al. Thurimachus	45	21	Inachus or Ianiſchus	42
8	Leucippus	53	22	Phœſtus	8
9	Moſſapius	47	23	Adraſtus	4
10	Peratus	46	24	Polyphides	31
11	Plemneus	48	25	Pelaſgus	20
12	Orthopelis	63	26	Zeuxippus	32
13	Marathon	30			
				In all years	962

THERE is little elſe to be found in hiſtory worth notice concerning theſe monarchs, beſides what we hinted above, Thoſe that are the moſt remarkable in the liſt are, 1. Ægialeus the founder; 2. Apis, from whom the country was called Apia; 3. Ægirus, the ſuppoſed founder of the antient city of Ægira, ſituate on a high and almoſt inacceſſible hill; once the capital of Achaia properly ſo called, and now ſuppoſed to be the ſmall village of Hylocaſtro; 4. Marathon, of whom the famous fields ofMarathon had probably their name; 5. Epopæus, who built a ſtately temple to Minerva and adorned it with his own trophies; 6. Sicyon from whom the whole country and peninſula took the name of Sicyonia. He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have either built, or at laſt enlarged, the metropolis of the kingdom, and to have called it by his own name.

AFTER the death of Zeuxippus the laſt king in the liſt, that ſtate is ſaid to have been governed by the prieſts of Apollo Carneus, five of whom held the ſovereignty only during one year each; after which Amphictyon held it nine years ſucceſſively, and Charidemus the laſt of them

continued

continued in it eighteen years [f]. After this hierarchy had laſted thirty two years the Heraclidæ, who were by that time returned into Peloponneſus, became maſters of it, or, according to Pauſanias, the kingdom was incorporated with the Dores, and became ſubject to that of Argos [g], the next antient kingdom to that of Sicyon.

[f] Euſeb. Chron. [g] In Corinth.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of the antient kingdom of Argos.

WE have already hinted in the laſt ſection, that not the kingdom only of Sicyon, but the whole Peloponneſus, was called Ægiale and Apia from the firſt and fourth kings of it. There were likewiſe two kings of the ſame name in Argos; the one the younger ſon of Inachus the founder of the kingdom, and the other the ſon of Phornutus the elder brother of Ægialeus [a]. Hence theſe two have been confounded with thoſe of Sicyon, and their kingdom thought to have been of as antient, if not of older, date than the Sicyonian, and the country to have received their name not from the Sicyonian, but from the Argive monarch. In ſo dark a diſpute we can only ſay, that the Argive Ægialeus being only a younger brother, and it not appearing that he reigned at all there, ſeeing his brother Phornutus left the kingdom to his own ſon, it is not ſo likely, that the country ſhould receive its name from him as from that of Sicyon. However, the kingdom ſoon changed its name for that of Argolis from Argos, the ſon of Jupiter by Niobe, who was ſiſter to Apis, upon whom the kingdom devolved, becauſe Apis died without iſſue. It was alſo called Hippium and Hippoboton from the neighbouring paſtures, in which Neptune is ſaid to have fed his horſes [b], or rather from an excellent breed of horſes which that country was famed for.

THIS

[a] Apollodor. l. ii. c. 1. Vid. Hind. hiſt. Greec. [b] Pauſan. in Corinth.

THIS kingdom is ſituate on the north-eaſt ſide of Peloponneſus, ſurrounded on the eaſt by the two bays of Saron, now Golfo de Neapoli, and of Argos, and has the kingdom of Sicyon or Achaia Propria and Arcadia on the north and weſt, and that of Laconia on the ſouth. What its antients limits were is hard to ſay; but it is very much enlarged by ſome of its monarchs, ſo that it extended itſelf from eaſt to weſt from 23 deg. 40 min. to 24 deg. 50 min. eaſt longitude, or about ſeventy miles, and north and ſouth from 37 deg. and a half to 38 deg. 20 min. north latitude, or about fifty miles. Situation and extent.

ITS chief river is the Inachus, ſo called from the founder of this kingdom. It empties itſelf into the bay of Argos, now called Golfo de Engia, near the port Aſine. On this river was ſituate the metropolis, called alſo Inachus from its founder and fourth monarch, and famous among other things for the death of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who, having forced an entrance into it, was knocked on the head with a tile flung by an old woman from the top of a houſe. Here was alſo the brazen tower, in which Danae, being confined by her father, was deflowered by Jupiter. It was likewiſe much enriched by its trade, and particularly that of a fine breed of Horſes bred about its territory, from which the name of Hippium was given to it. 2. Next to Argos was Mycenæ, which became in proceſs of time the ſeat of the kingdom, and is celebrated by Horace for her riches, as her rival Argos was for her horſes. 3. Træzen. once the royal ſeat of Pitteus the grand father of Theſeus, 4. Nemea, famous for the Nemean games, ſuppoſed to have been inſtituted there in memory of Hercules's killing a lion which infeſted that neighbourhood or, as others will have it, in the memory of the ſon of Lycurgus king of the country about Nemea, who had been killed by a ſerpent, whilſt his nurſe Hyſipyle went to ſhew the Argives to a ſpring of water. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more fully of this adventure in the ſequel. 5. Epidaurus, in which ſtood the ſo famed temple of Æſculapius, reſorted to from moſt parts of Europe and Aſia for the cure of all diſtempers. 6. Nauplia, ſo called from its founder Nauplius king of Ebena, and for its excellent ſituation and harbour, whence it had the name of Nauplia Navale, now Neapolis, from which the gulf on which it is ſituate hath its modern name [d]. Natural and artificial rarities.

THE

[c] Steph. de Urb. [d] Mela, Heyl. Cluver.

Goverment. THE government of Argos, and afterwards of Mycenæ, continued altogether monarchical from its firſt foundation to its eſtabliſhing itſelf into a downright democracy. Pauſanias indeed obſerves, that the Argives were extremely jealous of their liberties, and were ever endeavouring to encroach upon the royal prerogative. However, they did not wholly clip it till after a long ſucceſſion of princes; the Heraclidæ, who were of the family of Perſeus, recovered the kingdom from that of Pelops, about eighty years after the taking of Troy, or about forty years before its becoming a commonwealth; for it was during that ſpace that they gained ſo much ground upon their kings, that they left them little elſe than the bare name; but by what laws they were antiently governed, or by whom they were enacted, and how far theſe monarchs were tied by them, is what we will not venture to ſay.

Year of the flood, 1143. Before Chriſt 1856. The chronology of Argos.

THIS kingdom, Euſebius tells us out of Caſtor [e], was founded 1080 years before the firſt olympiad, that is, according to Uſher, in the year of the world 2148, ſo that Inachus the founder of it was contemporary with Abraham, and with Thurimachus the 7th king of Sicyon. It continued under the name of the Argolic kingdom till the reign of Acriſius the 14th king of it, who transferred the ſeat of it to Mycenæ a city of his own founding, about the year of the world 2700 and about the year 550 of its foundation, from which time that part of it continued to be called the kingdom of Mycenæ, till the diſſolution which happened about the year 2920, when the Heraclidæ made themſelves maſters again both of this and of the whole peninſula, after it had ſtood upwards of 770 years, and under the government of twenty one monarchs. The Argolic kingdom, properly ſo called, retained likewiſe its own kings after this diviſion until the Heraclidæ, whoſe family had been ſet aſide by that of Euryſtheus, the implacable enemy of Hercules and all his race, above an age before. Theſe dividing the peninſula into three kingdoms, that of Argos had not continued above forty years, before Meltas there laſt king, having made a puſh to recover the royal prerogative, which was dwindled by that time to the loweſt pitch, loſt both his kingdom and life, after which the Argive government was changed into a democracy.

A Liſt

[e] Chronic.

A List of the kings of Argos before its Translation to Mycenæ.

1 Inachus
2 Phoroneus
3 Apis
4 Argus
5 Pirasus, al. Criasus
6 Phorbas
7 Triophas
8 Crotopus
9 Sthenelus
10 Danaus
11 Lynceus
12 Abas
13 Prœtus
14 Acrisius
15 Perseus

Founder of the kingdom of Mycenæ.

16 Talaon
17 Adrastus
18 Ægialeus
19 Diomedes

Kings of Mycenæ.

1 Perseus
2 Eurystheus
3 Atreus and Thyestes
4 Agamemnon
5 Ægisthus
6 Orestes
7 Tisamenus al. Penthilus

Kings of the Heraclidæ at Argos, after they had recovered Peloponnesus and divided it into three kingdoms.

1 Temenus
2 Cisus
3 Lacidaus
4 Meltas

1. Inachus, the supposed son of Oceanus and Tethys (A), is affirmed to have been the founder of this kingdom. He married his sister Melissa, by whom he had two sons, Phoroneus and Ægialeus; he is supposed to be the father of Io, and therefore the Greeks are sometimes called from him Inachi. Inachus.

2. Phoroneus

(A) Or rather because he came thither by sea. We have had occasion in a former chapter to take notice of this extravagant vanity in the descendents of those first founders of kingdoms of raising them such fabulous genealogies, in order to disguise the obscurity of their origin, by ascribing it to some god, to the sea, rivers, nymphs, and such like extraordinary progenitors. We shall refer the reader to the caution we gave them there concerning these miraculous offsprings †.

† Vid sup. Vol. v. p. 482. sub. fin. not.

Phoroneus. 2. PHORONEUS ſucceeded his father, enlarged his territories, and gathered the people who were before diſperſed about the country into one city, which was called from him Phoronium [f], he is ſaid to have a ſon, by the nymph Laodice, named Apis; and a daughter named Niobe, who became the firſt paramour of the luſtful god Jupiter, by whom ſhe had a ſon named Argos. From Phoroneus, his ſuppoſed ſiſter Io, is ſometimes called Phoronis by the poets. [g].

Apis. 3. APIS ſucceeded his father, but governing too tyrannically, a faction was formed againſt him, which was upheld by Thekim or Thelxion king of Sicyon (B), to whoſe treachery he was ſacrificed. Some affirm, that he fled into Egypt, where he taught that people the manuring of land, upon which account he was worſhipped under the title of Serapis and in the form of an ox. We have already obſerved in the hiſtory of that kingdom †, that Serapis was worſhipped under a human form, bearing a buſhel on its head. As for their Apis, though he was indeed worſhipped under the form of an ox, yet it doth not appear that he was of Argolic extraction. We meet with ſeveral of that name, one in Sicyon, one in Argos, and this in Egypt; all of them ſo confounded by Mythologiſts, that we can gather nothing certain concerning them.

Argos. 4. ARGOS, the ſon of Jupiter and Niobe, ſucceeded him; he is ſuppoſed to have been the founder of the capital city, and to have called it and the whole kingdom by his name [h]. He is ſaid to have been a promoter of agriculture, altogether neglected by the Grecians before his reign, who came from that time to be called Argivi from him.

Criaſus. 5. CRIASUS, by others called Piraſus, the ſon of Argos.

Phr.boas 6. PHORBAS, the ſon of Criaſus, ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with Atlas and Prometheus.

7. TRIOPAS

[f] Pauſan. in Corinth. [g] Horat. & al. † See before, Vol. I. p. 552. 554. [h] Apollod. l. ii. c. 1.

(B) This ſhews how little dependence there is on the writings of this epocha, ſince even this laſt reigned according to Euſebius's chronology, near 100 years before Inachus the founder of the Argolic kingdom, unleſs they have miſtook him for Peratus, who flouriſhed about the latter end of Apis's reign.

7. TRIOPAS the ſon of Phorbas, whoſe brother, named alſo Phorbas, ſettled himſelf in the iſland of Rhodes. Triopas.

8. CROTOPUS, in whoſe times the Argives felt the dire effects of Apollo's anger on the following occaſion: that God had had a private amour with Pſamathe the king's daughter; and ſhe to conceal the fruit of it from her father, went and hid it among the ruſhes, where it was devoured by the king's hounds. Apollo, to puniſh the Argives for this crime, ſent the monſter, or fury, Pene, who ſnatched their children from their mothers boſoms, and deſtroyed them. This monſter being killed at length by Cœrebus, Apollo ſent them a grievous peſtilence. Cœrebus, having conſulted the oracle how his anger might be appeaſed, was forbid to return to Argos, and directed to take a tripod in his hand, and to build a temple to that god whereever it chanced to drop from him, which he accordingly did. Crotopus.

9. STHENELUS, ſon of Crotopus, reigned ſixteen years, after which he, or as others think, his ſon Geleanor, was outed the kingdom by Danaus an Egyptian. Sthenelus.

10. DANAUS had been driven out of Egypt by his brother Ægyptus, for refuſing to marry his fifty daughters to the fifty ſons of his brother. His pretence for refuſing the marriage was, that he had been forewarned by the oracle, that he ſhould be killed by a ſon-in-law. Being therefore expelled Egypt, he came to Argos, where he laid claim to that kingdom, as being deſcended from Epaphus the ſon of Io, who, as he hinted above, was the daughter of Inachus. Both he and Sthenelus agreed to have their title decided by the people, and upon the ſecond meeting of the aſſembly, a wolf came and killed a bull, who was graſing among a herd of cows, under the very walls of the city. The people who beheld it, took it for a fatal omen againſt the preſent poſſeſſor. Sthenelus was ſuppoſed to be meant by the bull, and Danaus by the wolf, becauſe he was a ſtranger. Upon this he was immediately proclaimed king. [i] Danaus.

As ſoon as Ægyptus heard of this election, he reſolved to prevent his marrying his fifty daughters to neighbouring princes, and ſtrenghthening himſelf by ſo many alliances againſt him. He raiſed a powerful army, and ſent it with his fifty ſons at the head of it, againſt the new king of Argos; and theſe reduced him to ſuch extremity, that he was

[i] Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

was forced to grant them his daughters in marriage. But he had taken care to make them promise to stab their husbands on the very first night of their nuptials, which they all punctually performed, except one named Hypermnestra, who privately conveyed her bridegroom Lynceus to Lyrcæa, a town not far from the metropolis. Danaus was no sooner apprised of her disobedience, than he would have put her to death for it; but she was honourably acquitted by the more humane Argives, was again received into favour, and Lynceus declared his heir and successor. As for his other forty-nine daughters, they are feigned to have been condemned to an endless punishment in hell for their inhuman treachery, being forced to draw out water with buckets, bored with innumerable holes, and never to be filled (C).

Lynceus. II. LYNCEUS, the son of Ægyptus, expelled his father-in-law out of his kingdom, and reigned in his stead. In commemoration of his wife's having saved his life, and of the Argives having acquitted her, they dedicated a statue to Venus, and the Argives instituted a feast in memory of the signal Hypermnestra had given to her husband of his being out of danger, and called it the feast of Flambeaus.

Abas. 12. ABAS was the son of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, and father of Prœtus and Acrisius, by Ocalea the daughter of Mantineus. These two sons, who were twins, are said to have struggled together in their mother's womb, a sure presage of that more fatal struggle they had for the kingdom when they came to manhood. They are reported to have been the two first who made use of targets in the battles they fought against each other [k].

13. PROETUS

[k] Pausan. in Argolic. Apollod. l. 2. c. 2.

(C) This fable, some mythologists interpret of their being doomed to fill the cisterns of the citadel, which Danaus built at Argos, with water, and probably also those of the city, which, according to the description an antient geographer gives us of it (1), seems to have wanted a considerable supply of that element. For though it be built upon the river Inachus, yet by reason of its nearness to the gulf, it is more than probable, that the waters of it were too brackish to be drank.

(1) Strab. Geog. l. viii.

13. PROETUS found means to ſtep firſt upon the throne, and held it about ſeventeen years. It was in ſome part of this time, that Bellerophon king of Corinth, having committed manſlaughter, came to Argos to be expiated by Prœtus, whoſe queen Stenobæa, being charmed with the beauty of that prince, ſollicited him often in vain to an unlawful commerce; and at length, to be revenged of his continency, did privately accuſe him to her huſband of having attempted her chaſtity. Prœtus, not ſuſpecting the truth of the accuſation, ſent immediately the young Corinthian prince to his father-in-law Jobates, with letters, in which he deſired him to make away with the innocent ſtranger. Jobates ſent him upon ſeveral dangerous expeditions, from which, notwithſtanding, Bellerophon came off victorious, as we ſhall ſee when when we come to ſpeak of the kings of Corinth [l]. In the mean time Prœtus met with ſomething to turn his thoughts another way; his kingdom was invaded by his brother Acriſius, who, proving too ſtrong for him, forced him to fly to his father-in-law Jobates king of Lycia. Theſe two ſoon returned into Argos with an army, took the city of Tyrins, and obliged Acriſius to agree to a treaty, by which Prœtus had Tyrins, and other maritime, and Acriſius Argis and the inland towns [m]. Prœtus had forty-three daughters by his wife Stenobæa, or, as ſhe is called by Homer, Antæa; and they, with the reſt of the women of that country, were ſeized with a diſtemper which they called the fury of Bacchus; but were cured by an excellent phyſician and ſoothſayer, who had one of the daughters given him in marriage, with a third part of the kingdom, as a reward for his ſkill. Melampus, that was the phyſician's name, obtained another daughter, and another third of the kingdom for his brother Bias; but Prœtus had, ſoon after this partition, a ſon named Megapenthes, who ſucceeded him in the other third called Tyrins; but it is likely, that theſe three were again re-united, and made a new kingdom of Argos after the death of thoſe philoſophers, as we ſhall ſee after we have ended the hiſtory of the kings of Mycenæ, whoſe part from that time makes the moſt conſiderable figure. Prœtus.

14. ACRISIUS, on the other hand, had a daughter by his wife Eurydice called Danae, and had been forewarned by Acriſius king of Mycena.

[l] Idem, ibid. Ovid. Metam. &c. Apollod. ubi ſupra.

[m] Pauſan ubi ſupra.

by the oracle, that ſhe would have a ſon, by whom he ſhould be killed. To prevent therefore that young princeſs having any converſation with mankind, he cauſed her to be cloſe confined in a ſtrong braſen tower, and under ſuch ſtrict watch, that ſhe might in all likelihood have been out of danger of fulfilling the oracle, had not Jupiter melted himſelf, as the poets feign, into a golden ſhower, which ſliding through the tiles into her lap, eluded all her father's caution [n] (D).

THE fruit of theſe ſtolen embraces was Perſeus, who was no ſooner born, than Acriſius ordered him and his mother to be put into a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea; but Jupiter took care to convey them ſafe to Seriphus, where Dictys, the brother of Polydectes king of that iſland, brought Perſeus up as his own ſon. By that time he was grown up, the king was fallen in love with his mother, and would have offered violence to her, had not her ſon prevented it. The king, highly provoked at this oppoſition, and reſolved to be at once revenged and rid of him, ſent him into Africa to fetch the famous Gorgon, Meduſa's head, not doubting, but the attempt would coſt him his life. But to his ſurpriſe he ſaw the young prince return with the Gorgon (E), and crowned with a two-fold ſucceſs, having in that expedition ſaved Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus king of Joppe a maritime town in Phœni-

[n] Apollod. ib. c. 4.

(D) This golden ſhower ſeems to have been only ſome conſiderable bribe to thoſe who guarded the tower. Some think, that it was her uncle Prœtus who found means to corrupt them, and to get admittance to her.

(E) It is not improbable, that, according to the account an antient writer gives us (2) of this expedition, Meduſa had ſucceeded her father Phorcas in his kingdom, which was ſituate along the lake Tritonis, and that ſhe was a Virago, who for want of other employment, was much uſed to hunting and to fight with her African ſubjects; and that Perſeus, coming upon her in the dead of the night with the choiceſt forces of Peloponneſus, ſurpriſed and beheaded her, and carried her head away into Greece, to be admired for its extraordinary beauty (3). The reader may ſee what has been ſaid of it by the judicious author laſt quoted.

(2) Vid. Pauſ. in Argol. Apollod. l. ii. paſſ. Diodor. Sical. Bibl. l. iv. & al. (3) Pauſan. ubi ſupra & Corinth. Ch. xxi.

Phœnicia, from being devoured by a whale (F); in recompence of which ſervice ſhe was given to him in marriage.

At his return into Seriphus, he thought on nothing but how to be revenged on the luſtful and inhoſpitable king. Here he found that his mother and Dictys had been forced to run into a ſanctuary, to ſkreen themſelves from his brutiſh violence, and, as the fable goes on, having turned him and all his accomplices into ſtones at the ſight of the Gorgon, ſet up Dictys upon the throne. From thence he went, with his mother Danae and his wife Andromeda, into Argos; but Acriſius, frightened at the news of his being alive and having performed ſuch noble exploits, had retired into Lariſſa, a city of Pelaſgia ſituate on the river Peneus, whoſe king Tantalus having ſoon after cauſed ſome funeral games to be celebrated in honour of his deceaſed father, Perſeus came thither among a great concourſe of Grecian princes, and by an unfortunate caſt of the diſk (G) which fell upon Acriſius's foot, who was there preſent, killed him, and unwittingly fulfilled the oracle upon him [o].

15. Perseus, though next heir to the kingdom of Ar- Perſeus.
gos in right of Danae his mother, yet choſe to exchange it with his couſin Megapenthes for that ſmall one of Tyrins which had been left to him by his father Prœtus, rather than to return to Argos after this unhappy death of his grand-father. Some affirm, that Perſeus reſtored his grand-father to his throne, after he had been driven out of it by his brother; but that is inconſiſtent with their dividing the kingdom by treaty. However after this exchange with Megapenthes, Perſeus went and built the city of Mycenæ, and made it the ſeat of the kingdom. That of Ar-

[o] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. ubi ſupra.

(F) This whale is ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe than a ſhip ſo called, into which Phœnix had ſeduced her in order to carry her away (4).

(G) The diſk was a round piece of iron, lead, braſs, or ſtone, with a hole in the middle, with which the gameſters uſed to exerciſe their ſtrength and ſkill. He who could throw it fartheſt won the prize (5).

(4) Conon. Narrat. 40. Roſſ. Myſtag. Poetic. Hind. Hiſt. Greec. (5) Potter. Archæolog. Vol. I. Ch. 21. p. 443.

gos was therefore ſaid to have been tranſlated thither, beeauſe this new metropolis became in a ſhort time more populous and opulent than the other. After Acriſius's death, the kingdom being thus divided into ſeveral pieces and among different families, Perſeus, having reigned about eighteen years in that of Tyrins, left it to his ſon Alcæus, and he to Amphitryon, by whoſe wife Alcmena Jupiter is ſaid to have begot Hercules, and to have lengthened that amorous night as long as three to add the more ſtrength to the child [p]. In the mean time Amphitryon, having unawares killedElectryon,who was both his uncle and father-in-law, was forced to fly to Thebes. Here the child Hercules began to give ſuch early proofs of his courage, extraordinary ſtrength, and fierceneſs, that he was ſent to be brought up among ſome ſhepherds, where he killed a lion before he was eighteen years of age [q] (H).

Euryſtheus. 16. EURYSTHEUS the ſon of Sthenelus, who was come to the crown of Mycenæ, or, as others have it, ſucceeded his father, began to look upon that young hero with a jealous eye. His title to the crown, as being the reputed ſon of Amphitryon his couſin-german, made him fear, leſt he ſhould in time find means to diſpoſſeſs him of it. His fear and hatred of him ſoon grew to ſuch a height, that he left no

[p] Id. ibid. Diodor. Biblioth. hiſt. l. iv. [q] Apollod. ibid.

(H) We have already obſerved, that there were many fabulous heroes of this name. Diodorus and Euſebius mention three: Diodorus aſcribes all theſe fabulous actions to the youngeſt who was the ſon of Alcmena (6). Servius ſpeaks of four, and Varro of forty-four; but the moſt remarkable of theſe are the ſix mentioned by Tully; as follows (7):

The firſt begot by the moſt antient Jupiter and Lyſito, who contended with Apollo for the tripod.

The ſecond, the ſon of Nile and an Egyptian, was the inventor of the Phrygian characters.

The third was a native of Crete (and the ſon of the Celtic Jupiter): he was one of theIdæiDactyli,orCuretes of mount Ida.

The fourth was the ſon of the ſecond Jupiter and Aſteria ſiſter to Latona, and father of Carthago; he was worſhipped by the Tyrians.

The fifth was the Indian Belus. And

The ſixth was this Hercules, the ſuppoſed ſon of Amphitryon, but begot by the third Jupiter upon Alcmena.

(6) Hiſt. l. iv. (7) De Natur. Deor. lib. iii.

no way untried to be rid of him. Hercules, who was not inſenſible of it, becauſe he was ever engaging him upon ſome deſperate expedition, went to conſult the oracle, and being anſwered, that it was the pleaſure of the gods that he ſhould ſerve Euryſtheus twelve years, was caſt into ſo deep a melancholy, that it turned at length into a furious madneſs, during which, among other deſperate deeds, he put away his wife Megara, and murdered all the children he had by her, which are ſuppoſed to have been twelve, becauſe the king impoſed the ſame number of labours upon him, as an expiation for their murder, after he had recovered his ſenſes [r]. Theſe labours being for the moſt part fabulous, and ſome of them, as we have obſerved more than once, being probably ſtolen from the hiſtory of Sampſon and other Hebrew worthies, we ſhall give them in the margin, that they may not interrupt the thread of our hiſtory of this kingdom, with which but few of them have an immediate connexion (I).

17. ATREUS the ſon of Pelops, and grandſon of Tantalus king of Lydia, aſcended the throne of Mycenæ, af- Atreus,

[r] Diodor. Apollodor. ubi ſupra.

(I) The firſt labour impoſed upon him was the killing of a lion in Nemea a wood of Achaia; whoſe hide was proof againſt any weapon, ſo that he was forced to ſeize him by the throat and ſtrangle him; in memory of which he afterwards wore his ſkin about his ſhoulders.

In the ſecond he killed the Hydra, a monſter with two heads, one of which was no ſooner cut off, than two ſprung up in its room.

In the third he brought the Erymanthian boar alive upon his ſhoulders at the ſight of which the king is ſaid to have been ſo frighted, that he ran and hid himſelf in a brazen hogſhead. It was likewiſe in this expedition that he overcame the famous Centaurs (8),

In his fourth he caught a hart with golden horns and of prodigious ſwiftneſs.

In his fifth labour he was commanded to cleanſe Augeas's ſtable in one day, which he did by turning the river Alpheus into it.

In the ſixth he chaſed away the miſchievous birds of the lake Stymphalis, who are feigned to have lived upon human

(8) Vid. Pauſan. in Arcadic. c. 22.

ter the death of Euryſtheus who left no iſſue. As for the line of Perſeus it only ſubſiſted in Hercules. Atreus is always joined with his brother Thyeſtes as partner of the kingdom. Theſe two are juſtly branded, the one for his inceſt

fleſh, and to have been at length deſtroyed by Hercules's arrows, or, according to others, to have been only ſcared away from thence (9).

His ſeventh was to fetch a famous bull from the iſle of Crete, with which Paſiphae the wife of Minos is ſaid to have fallen in love. In this expedition, having helped Jupiter to overcome the Titanick giants, he reconciled Prometheus to him, and looſed him from mount Caucaſus.

The eighth was to fetch the mares of Diomedes out of Thrace, which were tied with iron chains to brazen mangers, and were fed with the fleſh of the ſtrangers that paſſed by that way. Hercules firſt threw their inhuman maſter to be devoured by them, and then brought the mares to Euryſtheus, who dedicated them to Juno. Their breed is ſaid to have continued till Alexander's time. Betwixt this and his next taſk he is ſuppoſed to have gone upon the Argonautic expedition, of which we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

In his ninth he fetched away the girdle of the queen of the Amazons; and

In the tenth the oxen of Geryon out of Iberia or Spain in the furtheſt parts of which he erected his two pillars as the utmoſt limits of the then known world. Theſe ten labours he atchieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is likewiſe affirmed to have killed Antæus, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who, when weary with wreſtling or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. *Pliny* makes him the founder of Tangier. Hercules overcame him in wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him the tyrant Buſiris in his way through Egypt. This bloody man uſed to ſacrifice all his gueſts and ſtrangers upon his altars, and deſigning to have done the ſame by Hercules, was ſlain by him together with all his attendants.

His two laſt taſks were fetching Cerberus out of hell, and the Heſperian golden apples kept by a dragon, which laſt is interpreted to have been ſome fine herd of cattle kept by ſome ſtout man, and brought out of Africa to the king. As to his other exploits they will be mentioned in their proper place.

(9) Apollod. l. ii. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.

inceſt, and the other for his horrid murders. Thyeſtes for defiling his brother's wife; and Atreus for murdering his brother's ſons and feaſting him with their fleſh (K).

It was in his reign that the Heraclidæ, for ſo were called the ſons and deſcendants of Hercules, came under the conduct of their champion Hyllus the ſon of Hercules, and claimed the kingdom of Mycenæ, from which they had been driven by Euryſtheus. The controverſy was to be decided by ſingle combat and under theſe conditions, that if Hyllus killed Euchemus, who had undertook to be champion for Atreus, then this laſt ſhould relinquiſh his kingdom to the Heraclidæ; and if Hyllus was killed, they were to depart immediately, and not return into Peloponneſus till fifty years were expired. It happened, that Hyllus was killed by his antagoniſt, ſo that Atreus obliged them to leave the kingdom. Some of the Heraclidæ went to Tricorinthus, and others to Dorus, to whoſe father Hercules had left the region of Heſtiæotis in truſt for them, and demanded it of him, upon which they were incorporated with the Dores. Their grandmother Alcmena, diſappearing about this time, as ſhe was returning to Thebes, had divine honours inſtituted and paid to her [s]. Atreus was ſoon after their departure killed by Ægyptus, and ſucceeded by his own ſon.

18. Agamemnon, who was reckoned at that time the wealthieſt and moſt powerful potentate in all Greece. His dominion extended not only through a conſiderable part of Peloponneſus, but alſo to ſeveral neighbouring iſlands. So that having a larger fleet, and a greater number of ſea-ports, his commerce and revenue exceeded that of his contemporary kings. This was the main reaſon of his being choſen general of the Trojan expedition for the recovery of Helena his brother Menalaus's wife. Agamemnon.

[s] Pauſan. Apollod. ubi ſupra & al.

(K) The poets feign, that the ſun went back at the ſight of this horrid feaſt. As for Thyeſtes, he went to conſult Apollo how he might be revenged on his brother, and was anſwered, that if he would lie with his own daughter Pelopeia, he would beget a ſon that ſhould murder both Atreus and his ſon Agamemnon. He did ſo, and Ægiſthus, the fruit of this ſecond inceſt, fulfilled the prophecy.

THE ſucceſs of that expedition, the ſacrifice of Iphigenia, and other circumſtances relating to this prince, have been ſeen in a former chapter †. After taking of that city, beſides ſeveral other jars which happened between the allied monarchs, about the parting of the booty, the diſpoſition of their forces, and the like, a fatal quarrel aroſe between Agamemnon, and his brother. The latter was for ſailing homewards out of hand, and ther other for ſtaying, to ſacrifice to Minerva. The conſequence was, that they parted in great anger. Agamemnon having weathered ſeveral ſtorms, which the goddeſs Pallas, as the poets feign, had ſent both to him and his confederates during their return homewards, arrived at laſt at Mycenæ, where he was murdered by his couſin-german Ægiſthus and his wife Clytemneſtra, who during his abſence had contracted an unlawful amour together.

Ægiſthus. 19. ÆGISTHUS was the ſon of Thyeſtes, begot on his daughter Pelopeia by the advice of the oracle mentioned in the laſt note. His mother to conceal the foulneſs of her pregnancy, expoſed him in the woods, where a ſhepherd finding him, nurſed him with goats milk, from which he was called Ægiſthus. The unlawful commerce he had afterwards with Clytemneſtra, during Agamemnon's abſence, made them both fear leſt they ſhould fall a ſacrifice to the reſentment of that prince; and the oracle had pronounced him the murderer of both him and his father. The two guilty lovers were therefore ſoon determined to the fact, and having murdered Agamemnon ſeized upon the kingdom and held it about ten years, but both he and his paramour was at length murdered by Oreſtes Agamemnon's ſon.

Oreſtes. 20. ORESTES, who was but a child when his father was killed, had been privately conveyed to Strophius in Phocis by Electra his ſiſter; but as ſoon as he was come to riper years, he returned to Mycenæ, and having murdered the uſurper and his own mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and of that of Argos, whoſe throne was become in a manner vacant by the flight of Diomedes into Italy, after his return from the ſiege of Troy. The occaſion of this flight we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the remaining kings of Argos, after its being parted

† See before, Vol. V. p. 550. & ſeq.

parted from that of Mycenæ. Oreſtes ran raving mad ſoon after the guilt of his parricide, or, as the poets feigned, was tormented for it by furies. Being again reſtored to his ſenſes, and vexed to find that Hermione, his uncle Menelaus's daughter, whom her grandfather Tyndareus had promiſed to him in marriage, had been eſpouſed to Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles, he went and killed him in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and married Hermione, by whom he got alſo the kingdom of Sparta*.

WITH Oreſtes we may mention here his faithful and conſtant friend Pylades the ſon of Strophius, with whom he had been brought up. Theſe two are famed for having been ſo like each other in face, ſhape, temper and affection, that they ſeemed to have had but one ſoul, and were not to be diſtinguiſhed from one another. Inſomuch, that when Thoas king of Taurica would have put Oreſtes to death, they both affirming to be the ſame perſon, and both ready to die each for his friend, the king could not poſſibly find out which was the right perſon, but admired their extraordinary friendſhip, which was indeed ſuch, that it paſſed into a proverb.

21. PENTHILUS, or according to others Tiſamenus, ſucceeded his father Oreſtes in both kingdoms; but in leſs than three years he was killed in a battle which he fought againſt the Achæi, whom he had driven from Argos and Mycenæ, and had reduced to the neceſſity of driving the Ionians out of Ægialea into Attica. After his death the Heraclidæ, who had already got the greateſt part of Peloponneſus, made themſelves maſters of theſe two kingdoms alſo, which they held until the conqueſt of that peninſula by the Macedonians †. Penthiſus.

AETER the parting of the kingdoms of Mycenæ and Argos, and of the latter into three parts, as we have ſeen above; we find Adraſtus the ſon of Talaon and Eurynome reigning in Argos, and deſcending from Perſeus. This valiant prince married his two daughters, the one to Polynices prince of Thebes, and the other to Tydeus, upon the following accident. Theſe two princes were come to Argos, the former to beg the kings aſſiſtance againſt his brother Eteocles, who had deprived him of his yearly Adraſtus in Argos.

* Apolod. † Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

yearly ſhare in the government, and the latter was fled thither from Calydonia for man-ſlaughter. Theſe two happened to have a ſquabble in ſome of the out-buildings of the palace, which alarmed Adraſtus, and forced him to come and enquire the occaſion of the diſturbance. He had formerly been adviſed by the oracle to give his two daughters, the one to a lion, and the other to a boar, and had been doubtleſs very much puzled to find out the meaning of it; but at his coming out he found, to his joy and ſurprize, an agreeable ſolution of it. Polynices bore a lion, and Tydeus a boar upon his ſhield, upon which he immediately gave his daughters to them, Argia to the former, and Deipyle to the latter, whoſe ſon ſucceeded him afterwards in the kingdom.

Soon after this, being reſolved to aſſiſt Polynices, he raiſed a good army, and procured the beſt commanders he could to accompany him. Among thoſe was one Amphiaraus, a good officer and great ſoothſayer, whom he had in vain attempted to gain, till Polynices bethought himſelf of the following ſtratagem. They offered to make his wife Eriphyle umpire whether he ſhould go or not, and having bribed her before-hand with a coſtly bracelet, ſhe decided in the affirmative; upon which Amphiaraus, who foreſaw that none of the chief officers would eſcape except the king, and thinking on nothing but how to be revenged on his faithleſs wife, left ſtrict charge with his two ſons before he departed, that, as ſoon as they were come of age, they ſhould kill her, and make war againſt the king of Thebes [u].

Adrastus, marching with his army through the wood of Nemea, met with a woman carrying a child in her arms. This was the unfortunate daughter of Thoas king of Lemnos, whom ſhe had ſaved, when the reſt of the Lemnian women had killed by one conſent all the males of that iſland, with an intent to turn Amazons. For this her filial piety, they had ſold her to pyrates, who brought her to Lycurgus king of the country about Nemea, whoſe ſon Archemorus, or as others call him Opheltes, ſhe was nurſing, and had then in her arms. The Argives deſired her to direct them to ſome water, and ſhe laying down the boy went to ſhew them a fountain. At her return, finding that the child had been killed by a ſerpent, ſhe went and hid

[u] Diodor. Bibl. l. iv. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5.

hid herſelf for fear of her maſter's anger, and Amphiaraus ſent her ſons word ſoon after where their mother was. The Argives killed the ſerpent, and, in memory of the dead child, they are ſaid to have inſtituted the games called Nemean, in which Adraſtus won the race by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe Arion. Tydeus got the prize at whirlbats, Polynices at wreſtling, Amphiaraus at running and quoits, Parthenopæus at ſhooting, and Laodicus at darting [w].

FROM the Nemean woods they went and encamped at the foot of Cithæron, a famed hill among the poets, among other things for the infamous revels which the prieſteſſes of Bacchus, to whom the hill was conſecrated, uſed to keep there. Here they ſent Tydeus to Thebes, to demand of Eteocles the performance of the contract between Polynices and him. Upon his refuſal, Tydeus, deſirous partly to ſhew his own courage, and partly to try that of the Thebans, gave ſeveral challenges to their moſt noted champions, in which he ſtill came off conqueror. The Thebans, envious of his ſucceſs, ſent fifty of their choiceſt men to way-lay him in his return to Cithæron, who were all killed except one, whom he ſent back to Thebes to acquaint Eteocles with his courage and ſucceſs. The Argives on the other hand hearing what had paſſed, reſolved upon the ſiege of the city; the ill ſucceſs of which we ſhall ſee in its proper place. All that need be ſaid here is, that Adraſtus owed his eſcape to the ſwiftneſs of his horſe, and Amphiaraus is ſaid to have been ſwallowed up alive by the earth, together with his chariot and horſes, near the river Iſmene, or perhaps drowned together in that river. The other five generals did likewiſe loſe their lives, ſo that it proved even as Amphiaraus had foreſeen, that Adraſtus alone ſhould ſurvive that expedition; and even he was forced to take refuge at the altar of mercy of the Athenians, and to beg their aſſiſtance, that the Argives might at leaſt be enabled to recover the dead bodies of their ſoldiers and ſubjects, which the Thebans refuſed to deliver up. The Athenians readily granted his requeſt, and forced the Thebans into a compliance with it, after which we hear no more of him.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon Ægialeus, who, about ten years after the defeat before Thebes, entered into a confederacy with Diomedes, the ſon of his brother-in-law Tydeus Ægialeus.

[w] Id. ibid.

Tydeus, and with the five ſons of the other generals, who had loſt their lives in that expedition, to revenge their deaths upon the Thebans, and if poſſible to level that city with the ground. Thence theſe ſeven captains were called Epigoni. The oracle being conſulted promiſed them ſucceſs, provided they choſe Alcmœon the ſon of Amphiaraus their general. They did ſo, and came off victorious accordingly, as we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

Diomedes. AFTER this, Diomedes, the ſon of Tydeus the ſon-in-law of Adraſtus, who was alſo king of Ætolia, came to the crown of Argos in right of his wife, and was the laſt king of it. After his ſucceſsful enterprize againſt Thebes, he liſted himſelf in that againſt Troy, and was one of that ſmall number of princes which returned ſafe home. Upon his arrival at Argos, he found that his wife Ægiale, whom Venus had plagued with a furor uteri, in revenge of the wound which he had given her at the ſiege of Troy, had entertained a criminal familiarity with Cometes the ſon of Sthenelus, one of the heroes that went to the ſiege of Troy. When ſhe found that her huſband had diſcovered her intrigue, ſhe attempted to kill him, but he firſt retired to the temple of Juno, and thence into Apulia, then a ſmall kingdom in Italy. Here he found Daunus the king of it ſtraitly beſieged, who promiſed him part of his kingdom if he could beat his enemies. Diomedes did it with ſucceſs, and built a city there, which he called Argos Hippim, whence in proceſs of time it changed its name into Argyrippa. He was afterwards killed by Daunus, and according to the poetic fiction, his companions, who greatly lamented his death, were turned into ſwans, or birds very much like them.

IN the mean time the Heraclidæ, ſince their firſt expulſion out of Peloponneſus by Euryſtheus king of Argos, had made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to regain it. The firſt, as we have ſeen, was in Atreus's time under Hyllus; another under his ſon Clæodeus; a third under his grandſon Ariſtomachus. This laſt prince left three ſons, Temenus; Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, who, when they came of age, conſulted the oracle concerning the ſucceſs of a new invaſion, and received this ambiguous anſwer, that it would ſucceed if they went by the way of Stenygrus; but they thinking the narrow paſſage of the Iſthmus to be meant by it,

it, invaded it by that way, and Ariſtomachus loſt the battle and his life in the attempt [x].

THE Pythoneſs, being upbraided with it by his ſons, made anſwer, that their anceſtors had brought their misfortunes upon themſelves by miſtaking her words. Thus when Hyllus was bid to wait for the third fruit, the oracle meant the third generation, and not, as he miſtook it, the third crop; and that now by Stenygrus was not meant the neck of land, but the deep ſea on the right hand of the peninſula. Upon this anſwer they went to build a navy at Ætolia, ſince called upon that account Naupactus. During their ſtay here, Ariſtodemus the youngeſt of the three was killed by lightening, and left two twins, Euryſthenes and Procles. Soon after this a more ſevere misfortune befel them, for their fleet was deſtroyed, and their army laboured under a grievous famine. The oracle was applied to afreſh, and anſwered, that Apollo had ſent thoſe plagues upon them, becauſe they had murdered his prophet Carnus. There had indeed been ſuch a man among them whom Hippotes killed, becauſe he took him to be ſome magician who came to delude the army; to expiate which crime, he was ordered by the oracle to be baniſhed ten years.

THE Heraclidæ were alſo promiſed better ſucceſs, provided they put themſelves under the command of a general that had three eyes, but where to find ſuch a one was the difficulty; at length they met an Ætolian named Oxylus, who was returning from Peloponneſus into his own country, which he had been forced to fly a year before for the unfortunate murder of his brother. This man and the horſe, or mule, he rode upon, having but three eyes between them, was immediately ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, upon which they choſe him for their general, and promiſed him the country of Elis as a recompence [y]. They then gave out, that they were going to enter the peninſula at the Iſthmus, which drew all the Peloponneſian forces thither, and ſailing up the Stenygrus, as the oracle had directed them, landed their forces at Molycrium without any oppoſition.

THREE of the kingdoms of Peloponneſus they challenged as their undoubted right, namely Argos, Mycenæ, and

[x] Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & ſeq. Pauſan. in Bœotic. [y] Apollod. ubi ſupra. c. viii.

and Lacedemon (L). The first of these they got with some difficulty, and Tisamenus the king of it was either killed [z], or escaped by flight [a]. Mycenæ they conquered with the sword, and expelled all the Nestorian family, who went and settled at Athens, where Alcmœon and Pœon became the heads of two considerable families in that city †. As for Lacedemon, Sparta being betrayed to them by one Philonomus [b], they entered it with the sound of the flute, which instrument became much in vogue, as it was thought both to inspire the soldiers with courage, and to keep them in their ranks [c]. They also kept their promise with their three-eyed general, who being descended from Ætolus had a right to the country of Elis, from which the latter had been banished by Salmoneus king of the Ephei, who were now in possession of it. These agreed with the Heraclidæ, that the pretensions of Oxylus should be decided by single combat, according to the Grecian custom, and the Ephean champion being killed, Elis was restored to its right owner. After these successes the three brothers, having raised three altars to Jupiter Patrius, resolved to divide their conquest by lot. Cresphontes is supposed by some juggle to have made the kingdom of Mycenæ, the richest and most fruitful of the three, to fall to his share. Temenus had Argos, and Lacedemon was divided between Eurysthenes and Procles the sons of Aristodemus [d], as shall be seen in its place.

Temenus at Argos.

TEMENUS, now fixed in Argos, betrayed such an extraordinary fondness for his son-in-law Deiphontes, who was descended from Ctesiphus the son of Hercules by Dejanira, that his other sons, who had reason to fear he would appoint him his successor, hired the Titans to murder

[z] Pausan. Eliac. Strab. Geogr. lib. x. [a] Apollod. ubi supra. † Pausan. Argol. [b] Pausan. ubi supra. Strab. lib. x. [c] Id. l. viii. [d] Polyæn. Stratagem. Vid. Hind. hist. Græc. lib. ii.

(L) The first of these was their right, as being the descendants of Perseus; whereas the then king Tisamenus, who was of the race of Pelops, had no right to the crown. Mycenæ and Lacedemon they claimed in right of Hercules, who, having conquered them, had left the first to Nestor, and the last to Tyndareus, in trust for his own children (3).

der their father. Temenus being dead, our author tells us, the army, abhorring the parricides, ſet the crown upon Deiphontes and his wife [e] but Pauſanias tells us, that it fell to his eldeſt ſon Ciſus.

HOWEVER that be, from this time the royal prerogative began to loſe ground very faſt, as we obſerved before. To Ciſus ſucceeded Lacidamus, who had little elſe than the title of a king. His ſon Meltas, impatient of ſuch reſtraint, endeavoured when it was too late, to reſtore it to its antient dignity, but the people were by that time grown ſo powerful and headſtrong, that as ſoon as they found out his deſign, they put an effectual ſtop to it and a final end to the kingly power, reducing the government into a downright democracy, and condemning their unhappy prince to death [f].

THE kingdom of Mycenæ, or Meſſenia, was not much longer lived. For though theſe two did outvie that of Sparta by far at firſt, yet the latter ſoon grew to ſuch a height of power and ſplendor, as both to eclipſe and overpower them in the wars which they had afterwards with them. To avoid repetitions we ſhall defer the further account of them till we come to ſpeak of Sparta. All that need be added here is, that Creſphontes, who, as we obſerved before, had juggled himſelf into Mycenæ, ſoon loſt his new-gotton kingdom and his life, being murdered by the nobles with two of his ſons, for his extraordinary largeſſes to the people. His third ſon Ægyptus, or rather Ægytus fled to Cypſelus king of Arcadia, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide, and when of age obtained his aſſiſtance to regain his kingdom, killed the uſurper of it, and by wiſely dividing his favours and largeſſes between the nobles and the people gained the affections of both to ſuch a degree, that the kings, who had till then been called Heraclidæ, were from thenceforth called Ægytidæ in honour of him [g]. But this popular liberality, though now ſo ſucceſsful, proved fatal to the regal dignity; the ſubjects grew daily more and more encroaching, and the kings more tenacious of their prerogative, till it ended in the exciſion of monarchy and a total change of government.

[e] Polyæn. ubi ſupra. Apoll. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Meſſentic. [f] Apollod. ubi ſupra. [g] Vid. Pauſan. in Meſſenic.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The History of the antient kingdom of Attica.

Geography. ATTICA was ſituate along the north coaſt of the gulph of Saron, bounded on the weſt by Megara and part of Bæotia, on the north by the Euripic gulph, now Stretto de negro ponte, and on the eaſt by the Ægean ſea. It reached in length from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, about ſixty miles, that is from 24 deg. 40 min. to 25 deg. 41 min. eaſt longitude. Its breadth from north to ſouth, where it was broadeſt, was about fifty-ſix miles, and decreaſing as it came nearer to the ſea [a].

Natural and Artificial rarities. THE ſoil is naturally barren and craggy, and made fertile chiefly by the indefatigable induſtry of the people; hence it was, that it often enjoyed a profound quietneſs, when other more fruitful countries were expoſed to frequent incurſions. So that having above all others preſerved its antient inhabitants, gave riſe to their extravagant notion, that they, like inſects, were the ſpontaneous product of the ſoil, and as a badge of it, Thucydides tells us, they wore a golden graſhopper in the curls of their hair. However, they were much more advantageouſly ſituated for commerce, having ſeveral good ports, the chief of which was that of Pyræus, whoſe haven diſtant from Athens the metropolis of Attica about two miles, had a communication with it by a channel, guarded on each ſide with two ſtrong walls, reaching from the one to the other, for the ſecurity of the merchandiſe that went up to the capital. It had moreover a wide harbour capable of containing above 100 ſhips [b]. There were ſome other

Cities. ports and cities of note in this kingdom, the chief of which next to Athens was Eleuſis, on the ſame gulph, and near the coaſts of Megara, upon which account it had been once ſo ſtrongly fortified that it was reckoned impregnable

[a] Mela, Cluver. Byzant. & al. [b] Thucydid. l. ii.

ble (A). 2. Rhamnus, famed for the temple of Amphiaraus, and the ſtatue of Nemeſis (B). But the largeſt and moſt opulent was the metropolis, called at firſt Cecropia from Cecrops the founder of it; but afterwards Athens, from the goddeſs Minerva (C), whom the Greeks called Athene, and to whom that city was dedicated, and in whoſe honour were inſtituted the yearly games called Panathenæa. It was chiefly famed, beſides for its ſtrength, beauty and opulence; 1. For the inviolable faith of its citizens, whence Fides Attica became a common proverb; 2. For being the nurſery of the beſt ſcholars and orators, choiceſt wits, and greateſt philoſophers; and 3. For having produced the greateſt number of brave generals of any city in the world, Rome not excepted, upon all which accounts it was juſtly eſteemed one of the eyes of Greece [c]. Athens.

The chief river in this kingdom is the Aſopus, which flowing from the lake Copais, through Bœotia and Attica, and ſplitting itſelf into two ſtreams, which divide the famous plains of Marathon, empties itſelf into the Ægean ſea.

The

[c] Juſtin. lib. ii. c. 6. Pauſan. it Attic.

(A) This city is ſaid to have been built by one Eleuſius, who having entertained Ceres there, when ſhe went in ſearch of her daughter, ſhe taught him agriculture as an acknowledgment for his hoſpitality. Hence that goddeſs is ſometimes called Eleuſina by the poets (1).

(B) The goddeſs of Juſtice, called alſo Rhamnuſia from this town where her temple ſtood (2).

(C) The occaſion of it, as the ſtory goes, is, that Cecrops not knowing what name to give to this new built city, an olive-tree and a fountain of water, or, as others have it, a horſe, appeared. The oracle being conſulted, anſwered, that Neptune and Minerva were contending for the honour of naming it, that the olive was the gift of Minerva, and the fountain (or horſe, that of Neptune; and that that which they eſteemed the moſt beneficial to mankind ſhould adjudge the prize to the giver. The men and the women being aſſembled to give their judgment, the former gave it for the god, but the women, who were more in number, gave it for the goddeſs, and the city was called from her Athene. Neptune in revenge of the affront, drowned their territories about it, and the men to appeaſe

(1) Vid. Steph. de urb. in voc. (2) Id Plutarch. &c.

Government. THE government from its firſt foundation to the Archontes, continued altogether monarchical, under a ſucceſſion of ſeventeen kings. What is moſt remarkable of all is, that they did not reduce it, like other kingdoms, into a commonwealth, and out of a diſlike to the regal dignity, but rather changed only the name of it, out of a deep reſpect to the laſt monarch, who bore the title of king. For this glorious prince, having generouſly ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his ſubjects, the grateful Athenians reſolved, that no man from thenceforth ſhould bear the title of king, and gave that of Archon to his ſon and ſucceſſor, which continued during ten ſucceſſions. So that the only difference between the kingly and the Archontic government was, that the former deſcended by inheritance, and the latter by election, and that theſe were accountable to the people whenever it was required.

Riches. THE riches of this kingdom, occaſioned by its great commerce and frugality, are ſaid to have amounted to 1200 (Attic) talents a year [d]; this vaſt income gave them a conſiderable ſuperiority over all their neighbours, not only as it enabled them to keep a greater army and navy than they,

Coin. but alſo as they could make uſe of it to gain any other ſtates to their ſide; and as their coin was commonly ſtamped with the figure of an ox, hence was the phraſe ſo frequent among the Greeks, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen [†]. Hence alſo came the common proverb, Bovem habet in lingua, when a man was thought bribed to ſpeak contrary to his own ſentiments.

Chronology. THIS kingdom is generally allowed to have been founded by Cecrops an Egyptian, who brought hither a colony

[d] Thucydid. ubi ſupra. [†] Vid. Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.

peaſe his anger paſt three votes againſt the women, the one, that they ſhould not be called Athenians, but Atticans; the ſecond, that they ſhould have no vote in public matters; and laſtly, that no children ſhould thenceforth bear their mother's name. The poets have embelliſhed this ſtory after their way, by pretending, that thoſe deities did viſibly contend for thoſe places, as they did alſo for ſeveral others, and that either Jupiter, or themſelves, left the arbitration of the diſpute to ſome proper judges. We ſhall meet with ſome further inſtances of this kind of contention in the ſequel (3).

(3) Apollod. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Attica.

lony of Saits[e], a people who lived upon one of the mouths of the Nile called Saiticum, about the year of the world 2448, and of the flood 1443, or, according to Eusebius's chronology, 780 years before the first olympiad (D). It continued under its monarchs 487 years, according to the same chronology, during which time it doth not appear that the Athenians felt any grievances, that could induce them to exchange that form of government for any other. The Archontic government which followed, though made elective by their law, yet continued in the family of their last king 312 years longer, that is till the year of the

[e] Diodor. Sic. lib. i.

(D) Some authors, who make Ogyges to have been king of Attica at that time in which it was destroyed by the deluge which bears his name (4), place the foundation of this kingdom still further off, namely 200 years earlier. Who this Ogyges was, is not easy to guess: Some make him an Egyptian, and some an Arcadian: Some think he reigned in Attica, and others at Thebes. Under this uncertainty we chuse to date the foundation of the kingdom from Cecrops, who, if Ogyges had really reigned there, may at least be reckoned the restorer of it, and the person from whom the succession of Attic princes is derived.

We must own, however, that according to this supposition of his being the first founder of the kingdom, those of Thebes and Sparta will stand foremost in point of antiquity, though in no other respect; but this is not worth inverting the order we gave them at first in our plan of this work.

This Cecrops is feigned by the poets to have been partly man and partly serpent or dragon that is, according to Justin (5), because he was the first that coupled male and female in matrimony, or, according to Demosthenes and the rest of the vain Grecians, because he had the wisdom of a man and the strength of a dragon, or came a dragon or barbarian out of Egypt and polished himself into a man in Greece; but more probably, either as he was the first institutor of marriage, or because he understood the Egyptian and Greek tongues. Some authors have, though without any foundation, affirmed him to have been drowned in the Red-Sea with Pharoah's host in whose time he lived (6),

(4) De hoc vid. Hellanic. Castor Thal. Polyhist. Euseb. & al. Apollod. l. ii. (5) lib. ii. c. vi. (6) Euseb. Chron. vid. Polyhist. Rawleigh. Heyl. & al.

world 3252, and of the flood 2247, from this time to that of receiving the government into a common-wealth, A. M. 3412, there elapsed 160 years. The whole duration then of this government from Cecrops to Solon amounts to 960 years.

The antient Kings of Athens.

1	Cecrops	10	Theseus
2	Cranaus	11	Mneſtheus
3	Amphictyon	12	Demophon
4	Erichtonius	13	Oxyntes
5	Pandion	14	Amphydas
6	Erectheus	15	Thymætes al. Thymedes
7	Cecrops II.	16	Melanth
8	Pandion II.	17	Codrus
9	Ægeus		

The Names of the thirteen Archons who succeeded these kings were

1	Medon		Codrus.
2	Accaſtus		Medon.
3	Archyppus		Accaſtus.
4	Therſippus		Archyppus.
5	Phorbas		Therſippus.
6	Megacles		Phorbas.
7	Diagnetus	the ſon of	Megacles.
8	Phereclus		Diagnetus.
9	Auritthon		Phereclus.
10	Theſpiæus		Auritthon.
11	Agameſtor		Theſpiæus.
12	Æſchylus		Agameſtor.
13	Alcmæon		Æſchylus.

Cecrops. 1. CECROPS built the city of Athens, as we ſaid before, married the daughter of Actæus, ſuppoſed to have been king of Attica before him, and in right of her laid the foundation of a new monarchy. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who deified Jupiter, and ordained ſacrifices to be offered to him [f] as the ſupreme deity. He is likewiſe affirmed to have been the firſt who ſet up altars and idols,

[f] Pauſan. in Attic.

idols, offered ſacrifices, and inſtituted marriage among the Grecians, who before his time, it ſeems, lived promiſcuouſly, and coupled as their fancy led them. Pauſanias tells us, that he forbad ſacrificing any living creatures to the gods, or any ſort of offerings, except a kind of forked or horned cakes, called by the Athenians Palanous, and in Greek Βους, which ſignifies likewiſe an ox. This led Euſebius into the miſtake which we find in the firſt book of his chronicle, where he affirms, that Cecrops was the firſt who ſacrificed an ox to Jupiter; whereas that creature, ſo eſteemed by the Athenians on account of its ſerviceableneſs in agriculture, was not ſacrificed by them till the time of Erectheus, who offered one to Jupiter Polieus, or protector of the city; and then, Pauſanias tells us, that the prieſt who knocked it down, being ſeized with horror at the fact, flung his hatchet down and fled out of Attica. From Cecrops the Athenians affected to call themſelves Cecropidæ during the five following reigns, after which they changed it for that of Erecthydæ, in honour of Erectheus their ſixth monarch. Cecrops reigned fifty years, according to Euſebius and St. Jerom, and left only three daughters, viz. Herſe, Aglauros, and Pandroſos, of whom we ſhall ſpeak in a following note. As for his ſon Eryſicthon, he died before his father. So that after Cecrops's death, Cranaus, one of the wealthieſt citizens of Athens and in the greateſt credit, found means to aſcend the Attic throne, probably by the marriage of one of his daughters.

2. Cranaus. CRANAUS enjoyed the kingdom about ten years, during which time having unfortunately married one of his daughters named Attis to Amphictyon the ſon of Deucalion, he was by him dethroned and forced to retire into the city of Lamprea, where he led a private life to the laſt, and where the Lampreans ſhewed his tomb. From his daughter Attis the country, till then called Actæa, took the name of Attica.

Amphictyon. AMPHICTYON (E), after he had reigned about ten, or, according to the laſt quoted authors, twelve years, was on himſelf depoſed, and outed by

(E) Not that Amphictyon who was the firſt inſtitutor of the court of the Amphictyons or common council of Greece, but his uncle.

Erichthonius. 4. ERICTHONIUS, who was the reputed ſon of Vulcan and Tethys (F). He is ſaid to have been the firſt inventor of coaches, being lame of his feet; he reigned fifty years.

Pandion. 5. PANDION, the ſon of Erichthonius, and father of Progne and Philomela; whoſe hard fate, ſo famous among the poets, is ſuppoſed to have broke his heart after he had reigned about forty years.

Erectheus. 6. ERECTHEUS, Pandion's ſon, was reckoned the moſt powerful prince of his time; wherefore Boreas king of Thrace, who ſought his alliance, demanded his daughter Orithia in marriage, and being denied carried her away by force. Erectheus, after he had reigned fifty years, was unfortunately killed in a battle againſt the Eleuſians. He left ſeveral ſons, who equally contended for the kingdom, and at length agreed to refer the deciſion to their brother-in-law Xuthus, who adjudged the kingdom to Cecrops who was the eldeſt. For this the other two brothers bore Xuthus ſuch ill-will, that they forced him to fly their country, whither he had taken refuge when driven from Theſſaly by his brethren.

Cecrops II. 7. CECROPS II. the eldeſt ſon of Erectheus: this prince is generally allowed to have been the firſt who gathered the people into twelve towns, who had till then lived in houſes and cottages, ſcattered here and there without order or regular diſtance; but he was, after forty years reign, outed the kingdom by his two diſcontented brethren Metion and Pandorus, and forced to fly into Ægialea, and died there.

Pandion II. 8. PANDION II. the ſon of Cecrops II. was likewiſe driven out of Athens by the ſons of his uncle Metion who took the adminiſtration for ſome time. Pandion fled into Megara,

[z] Apollod. l. iii. c. 3.

(F) He is feigned by the poets to have ſprung ex ſpermate Vulcani in terram delapſo, by the aſſiſtance of Minerva who alſo brought him up. The fable adds, that ſhe having one day laid the child in a covered coffer, gave it in charge to Cecrops's three daughters, with expreſs orders not to open it upon any account. Pandroſos obeyed the goddeſs; but her two ſiſters, more curious than ſhe, having ventured to open it, were immediately taken with ſuch a phrenſy, or, according to the fabulous phraſe, ſo tormented with furies, that they flung themſelves down the ſteepeſt place of the citadel, and ended their lives.

Megara, where Pylas then reigning gave him his daughter Pelia, and afterwards made him his ſucceſſor. During his abode there he had four ſons, with whom he came into Athens (G), whence he expelled the ſons of Metion, and after he had reigned a ſhort time, either left the kingdom among his four ſons, or they agreed to divide it among themſelves after his death; notwithſtanding which the royal dignity did in effect remain with the eldeſt [h] Ægeus.

Ægeus. 9. ÆGEUS, when he came to the crown, finding himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, becauſe he could get no children by his wives, and ſometimes inſulted by his brother Pallas, who by that time had got no leſs than fifty ſons beſides daughters, went to conſult the Delphic oracle, and was anſwered, that he muſt forbear the uſe of women till his return into Athens [i]. This puzzling anſwer forced him to apply himſelf to Pittheus king of Trœzen, who was then famed for his extraordinary wiſdom and ſkill in expounding oracles, where this prince eaſily prevailed with him to lie with his daughter Æthra whom he got with child. As none but theſe three were privy to the ſecret, Ægeus before his return to Athens, hid a ſword and a pair of ſhoes under a ſtone long enough to cover them, and left orders with the princeſs, that if the child proved a boy, ſhe ſhould ſend him to Athens with thoſe tokens, as ſoon as he was able to lift up the ſtone. He charged her moreover to uſe all imaginable ſecrecy, leſt the ſons of his brother Pallas, getting knowledge of it, ſhould way-lay and murder him in his way to Athens.

ÆTHRA being ſoon after delivered of a ſon, Pittheus gave out, that Neptune was the father of it; and when he was ſixteen years old, ſhe brought him to the ſtone,

[h] Pauſan. Apollod. ubi ſupra. [i] Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.

(G) It is indeed much more likely, that he never returned into Athens, but that after his ſons were grown up, he ſent them to recover that kingdom from the Metionidæ, ſo that having all ſhared alike the danger, they thought it reaſonable to ſhare alike in the conqueſt.

The ſpace therefore of twenty-five years, allowed by chronologiſts (7) to their father's reign, ſeems rather deſigned to mark the interval of the interregnum or uſurpation, from Cecrops's expulſion to his grandſon Ægeus's reign.

(7) Pauſan. Apoll. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Theſ.

which ſhe ſaw him lift up with eaſe, upon which ſhe diſcovered to him the whole ſecret of his parentage, bade him take up the ſword and ſhoes, and prepare himſelf to go to his father. Both ſhe and Pittheus, however, adviſed him to go by ſea, alledging, that ſince Hercules's departure, who had been the great ſcourge of robbers and banditti, the roads were again ſo infeſted with them, that it was extremely hazardous to travel by land. Theſeus, this was the young prince's name, who had by that time ſhewed uncommon marks of courage and ſtrength, no ſooner heard Hercules named upon ſuch an occaſion, than he was fired with a deſire to imitate ſo noble a pattern; ſo that all their intreaties could not diſſuade him from taking his journey by land. The exploits which he performed in his way to Athens, having no connection with either his father's reign or his own, may be beſt ſeen in the margin (H).

WHILST Theſeus was ſtill at Trœzen, his father laboured under no ſmall perplexities from his ſubjects and his haughty brother; and an accident happened which had almoſt driven him to diſpair. Androgeus, the ſon of Minos

(H) His firſt encounter after he left Trœzen was with Periphetes the ſon of Vulcan, ſirnamed alſo Corynetes, or Club-bearer, from the club he uſed to fight with, whom he ſlew in ſingle combat, and afterwards carried his club with him. The next he overcame was Sinnis the ſon of Polyphemon, ſirnamed Pityocamptes, from his bending the heads of two tall pines and tying paſſengers between the oppoſite branches, which by their ſudden return, did tear them in pieces: him Theſeus put to the ſame death.

His next exploit was killing the fierce Cromyonian ſow called Phœa, which others take to have been a female robber of that name, infamous for theſts, murders, and lewdneſs.

Sciron a famous robber, who uſed to throw paſſengers down a ſteep rock after he had made them waſh his feet; fell the next victim to his valour. Having next ſignalized himſelf in the Eleuſian games by killing Cercyon a famous Arcadian wreſtler, he went to Termione, where he killed Damaſtes, otherwiſe called Procruſtes, by diſtending his limbs to the length of his bed, as he uſed to do to thoſe who unhappily fell into his hands.

Laſtly, He went and fetched the famed bull of Marathon and brought him alive to Athens, where he ſacrificed him to Apollo (8).

(8) Philochor. ap. Hind. Hiſt. Græc. lib. i.

nos king of Crete, who was come to Athens to be present at one of their feasts, had unhappily contracted such an intimacy with the fifty sons of Pallas, that the jealous old king, fearing some fatal consequences from it, had caused that prince to be privately murdered. Others say, that the young prince, having undertaken to encounter the Marathonian bull, was killed by it. However that be, Minos, having received the news of his son's death and made several vain attempts to revenge it on the Athenians, prayed to the gods to do it for him; upon which the Athenians were punished with pestilence, famine, and several other plagues; and were told by the oracle, that they must expect no relief, till they were reconciled to the Cretan king. Minos, resolving to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed a yearly tribute upon them of seven young men and seven young virgins, whom he condemned to be devoured by the Minotaur (I), during the space of seven [k], or, according to others, nine years [l]; these unhappy victims were to be drawn by lot, and what heightened the people's murmurs was, that Ægeus, the cause of these misfortunes, being childless, was the only person who was exempt from the punishment.

It was now the third time that Minos had sent his bloody messengers to exact the tribute, when Theseus, having performed all those glorious exploits abovementioned, was

[k]. Diodor. ubi supra. [l]. Plutarch ubi supra.

(I) Feigned by the poets to have been half man and half bull, and begot by a bull upon Pasiphae Minos's queen; and who as soon as born was by the king's order thrown into a labyrinth and fed with human flesh; but more reasonably supposed to have been a man of great strength and ferocity, and upon that account to have been firnamed Taurus or Bull. He seems also to have been in great power at the Cretan court, either for his constant victories at the games which Minos had instituted in the memory of his son, or for some other exploits, or perhaps rather for his fierce and cruel nature; upon which account it may be reasonably supposed, that all the Athenian captives in particular were given to him by that exasperated prince, to be used with uncommon severity. For we are told (9), that he was grown to such a height of insolence and cruelty, that he was by this time become odious to the whole kingdom, and not unlikely to the king also, upon his being suspected to have too great a familiarity with the queen.

(9) Plutarch, ubi supra.

was arrived at his father's capital. The unfortunate king, who had received some years before into his court the famous enchantress Medea, in her flight from Corinth, and had been deluded with hopes, that she would renew his age, and make him capable of getting children, had by that time been also prevailed upon to marry her. Theseus, whose birth was a secret to every one there, was soon discovered by Medea, who conceived such jealousy of him, by reason of his noble exploits, that she easily filled her weak husband with fears, and persuaded him to invite the young stranger and to poison him in a glass of wine. As soon as they were sat at table, Theseus, willing to give his father an agreeable surprise, did happily draw his sword, as if he designed to help himself with it, which the old king no sooner saw, than he hasted to throw down the poisoned draught, and embracing his son, owned him for such before all the court. This declaration, and the known valour of Theseus, did so quash the sanguine hopes of Pallas and his sons, that they broke out in open rebellion, but were soon after discomfited by him.

After this Theseus, who resolved at any rate to deliver his father's country from the bloody Cretan tribute, having encouraged his old father with hopes of killing the Minotaur, went and willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims, and embarking with them in one ship, he gave the pilot two sails, the one black to sail by, and the other white, to be hoisted up at their return in case he came off victorious. At their arrival at Crete he offered himself to Minos, and demanded the liberty to fight the Minotaur, or rather his champion Taurus, in single combat, which the king did the more readily grant, because he had some just reason to suspect, that his queen, a woman of no singular chastity, had some criminal commerce with him. Thesus after this had all the success he could wish: He killed his enemy, released all the Athenian captives, prevailed upon Minos to remit the tribute, and obtained his daughter Ariadne in marriage, not indeed with her father's consent; but she, having been an eye witness of his valour and address in the late fight, conceived such a passion for him, that she resolved to run away with him. He left her, however, in the isle of Naxos: and some add, that, after the conquest of the Minotaur, Minos fell in love with Peribea, one of the seven virgins

which

which Theſeus had brought with him, and would have detained her. Theſeus ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, which ſo exaſperated the Cretan king, that, among other ill language which he gave him, he told him, that he was not the ſon of Neptune, unleſs he would fetch his ring which he then flung into the ſea. Theſeus immediately plunged after it, and brought up with the ring a golden crown which Amphitrite had put upon his head. Minos, however, would not be pacified without Peribea, and Theſeus, ſtill perſiſting in his denial, was by his order caſt into the labyrinth, in which the Minotaur uſed to be kept; but he ſtayed not long there, before Ariadne furniſhed him with a clue by the help of which he extricated himſelf out of it, and ſetting out with his fleet for Athens, left Ariadne behind at the iſland above-mentioned, where Bacchus fell in love with her and carried her off, whilſt Theſeus ſailed homewards towards Athens. Unfortunately for them and for Ægeus, their extraordinary joy for their late ſucceſs made them forget to diſplay the white flag in token of victory, as had been agreed; and the old king, who went from time to time to eſpie them from a high rock, obſerving the ſhip afar off ſtill hanging out its ſable colours, doubted not, but that his ſon had like the reſt fallen a victim to the Minotaur; and, in a fit of ſudden diſpair, threw himſelf into the ſea, which from him was ſince called the Ægean ſea; ſo that when Theſeus landed at Athens, he found the city divided between grief, for Ægeus's death, and joy, for the ſafe return of his valiant ſon and ſucceſſor. Ægeus reigned forty years.

10. THESEUS was of too active and warlike a temper, and too fond of imitating the great Hercules, to ſpend his time in the civil affairs of his kingdom; ſo that he began, upon his firſt acceſſion to it, to think how to diveſt himſelf of that care, that he might the better indulge his military genius. To this end he began with gathering all the people of Attica into the old and new town, which he incorporated into one city. After this he diveſted himſelf of all his regal power, excepting only the title of king, the command of the army, and the guardianſhip of their laws. The reſt he committed to proper magiſtrates, choſen out of three different orders of the people, which he divided into nobles, huſbandmen, and artificers. The firſt he inveſted with the power of interpreting and executing the laws and regulating all things that related to religion, Theſeus.

religion. The other two choſe their inferior magiſtrates from among themſelves, to take care of whatever related to their ſeparate orders: ſo that the kingdom was in ſome meaſure reduced to a commonwealth, in which the king had the greateſt poſt; the nobles were next to him in honour and authority; the huſbandmen had the greateſt profit; and the artiſts excelled them in number. He inſtituted two annual feſtivals, the Panathenæa, in memory of the Athenians being now united into one, and that called the Metoecia, beſides the famous Iſthmian games in honour of Neptune, which we have mentioned formerly, and were ſo called from the Iſthmus in which they were celebrated. All theſe were chiefly deſigned to draw a concourſe of ſtrangers thither, and, as a further encouragement for them to come and ſettle there, he endowed them with the privilege of natives. He likewiſe aboliſhed all their diſtinct courts of judicature, and built one common council-hall called Prytaneum, a ſumptuous building which ſtood for many ages [m]. We obſerved before, that the Athenian money was ſtamped with an ox; this coin was ſuppoſed to have had that figure, either in memory of Theſeus's killing the bull of Marathon, or the Minotaur, or perhaps to recommend agriculture to the people, to which the ox was moſt ſubſervient.

AFTER he had thus new-modelled the government, his next care was to join the kingdom of Megara to his own, in right of his grandfather Pandion the ſecond, who had ſucceeded Pylus his father-in-law, as we have ſeen above. It was then, that Theſeus erected that famous pillar in the Iſthmus, which ſhewed the limits of the two countries which met there, and which had this inſcription on the one ſide, This is not Peloponneſus but Ionia; and on the other, This is Peloponneſus not Ionia. What we read concerning his two expeditions againſt the Amazons, is ſo blended with fable, ſo differently related [n] and ſo uncertain, that we ſhall give it in a ſhort note, becauſe they do not appear upon the whole to have an immediate relation to the kingdom of Athens (K).

SOMETIME

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vid. & Thucydid. l. ii. [n] Conf. Herodot, Plutarch & Meurs. in Theſ. Juſtin, l. ii. c. 4.

(K) The firſt expedition was only undertaken in favour of Hercules, whoſe companion in all ſuch exploits Theſeus always affected

SOMETIME after theſe expeditions, Theſeus contracted an intimacy with Pirithous the ſon of Ixion, and, being invited to his nuptials, helped him to kill a great number of Centaurs, or rather Theſſalian horſemen, as we ſhall ſee in the ſeque!, who in their cups had offered violence to their female gueſts; and drove the reſt out of the country. Theſe two went from thence to Sparta, and ſtole away the famed Helena out of the temple of Diana Ortia, where ſhe happened to be dancing °. This princeſs was the reputed daughter of Jupiter by Leda, the wife of Tyndarus king of Œbalia in Peloponneſus; and though then but nine years old was already famed for the greateſt beauty in the world; inſomuch, that though Theſeus was then, as is reckoned above fifty years old, yet could not his virtue be proof againſt her charms. However variouſly the time, and place, and circumſtances of this rape are reported, we have followed Plutarch's account of it as the moſt allowed. According to him the two raviſhers were purſued as far as Tegea; but they happily made their eſcape out of Peloponneſus, and thinking themſelves now ſecure of their prey, they agreed to caſt lots for her, upon condition, that he to whoſe lot ſhe fell ſhould help the other in getting ſome other celebrated beauty in lieu of her; and fortune having declared for Theſeus, he aſſiſted his companion in the like attempt upon Proſerpina, daugh-

ter

° Plutarch. ubi. ſupra. Apollod. Pauſan. in Attic.

affected to be. As a reward therefore for his aſſiſtance, that victorious hero gave him Antiope one of the Amazonian queens whom he had taken priſoner. Juſtin ſays, Hippolyte the other queen, aud that Hercules kept Antiope for himſelf.

However, this gave occaſion to a ſecond expedition, in which ſome affirm, that the Amazons made a deſcent into Attica to recover their loſt queen, having with them beſides their own forces a powerful ſupply of horſemen obtained from Sagillus king of Scythia, with his ſon Panaſagorus at their head, who did afterwards upon ſome miſunderſtanding withdraw his troops and left them in the lurch. Others ſay, that Theſeus went and attacked them near the Caſpian ſea: however, they all agree, that he gained the victory over them, and that in one of theſe two expeditions he took the queen Hippolyte, whom he afterwards married. After this the Amazons were forced to clap up a peace with the Athenians, and theſe, either in memory of this or of their late victory, erected a pillar near the temple of Tellus Olympia.

ter of Aidoneus king of the Molossi in Epirus, who being the next beauty to Helena was guarded by the dog Cerberus, and was not to be won but by the death of that monster. However, when the king understood that they designed to steal her away, he threw Pirithous to be torn in pieces by Cerberus, and Theseus into prison, from which he was afterwards released at the intercession of Hercules.

During his absence Mnestheus, the son of Peteus grandchild of Erechtheus, had taken care to ingratiate himself so far with the nobles and commons, that when he returned he found them very cold towards him. Soon after this, the war, which Castor and Pollux waged against him, for the recovery of their sister Helena, raised a more powerful faction against him: and as soon as the two brothers were got to the gates of the city, Mnestheus harangued the citizens, and told them, that, since their quarrel was only against Theseus, their safest way was to open their gates to them, and Theseus, finding it impossible to resist the torrent, conveyed himself and family away privately, after he had pronounced a solemn curse against his faithless subjects, which did not go unheard (L). His design was to have sailed into Crete, and to have obtained either a succour or sanctuary there from Deucalion the son of Minos and his now brother-in-law (M); but he was unfortu-

(L) The ungrateful Athenians, who expressed more joy for their new king than grief for their old one, were in process of time made so sensible of the effects of his curse, that to appease his ghost they appointed solemn sacrifices and divine honours to be paid to him. The place where he pronounced his dire imprecation against them was from thence-forth called Aratherion, or the place of cursing (10).

(M) Theseus had a son by the Amazonian queen named Hippolytus, and having soon after married Phœdra, the sister of Deucalion the son and successor of Minos, by whom he had two sons, he sent Hippolytus to be brought up by his mother Æthra queen of Trœzen; but he coming afterwards to be present at some Athenian games, Phœdra fell in love with him, and having sollicited him in vain to a compliance, in a fit of resentment accused him to Theseus of having made an attempt upon her. The fable says, that Theseus prayed to Neptune to punish him by some violent death, and that as Hippolytus was riding along the sea-shore, Neptune sent two sea-calves who frightened the horses

(10) Plutarch. in Thes.

unfortunately caſt by a tempeſt upon the iſland of Scyros. Here he was at firſt kindly received by king Lycomedes, but was ſoon after killed by a fall from a high mountain, in the 40th year of his reign. Some ſay, that he was decoyed thither by that king, who, either out of fear of him, or, as is moſt likely, at the inſtigation of his Athenian rival, threw him headlong down that precipice, tho' others ſay, that, that place being his uſual walk after ſupper, his foot unfortunately ſlipt in the dark. We omit for brevity's ſake many other famous exploits of this renowned hero, which the reader may more fully find in Plutarch's life of him. All we ſhall add here is, that the Athenians did ſometime after dedicate a temple to him, and that Cimon, the famous ſon of Miltiades, did raze the whole iſland of Scyros in revenge of his death, and carried his bones to Athens, after he had, by the advice of the oracle, been at a great deal of pains to find them out.

Mneſtheus.

II. MNESTHEUS or Meneſtheus was the ſon of Peteus, and great grandſon of Erectheus the ſixth king of Athens, and conſequently had a better right to the crown than Theſeus, whoſe father was uncertain, and who was at beſt but the ſon of Ægeus, and this but the adopted ſon of Pandion, as we have ſeen above. Whilſt therefore Theſeus was either purſuing his amours, or was impriſoned for the rape of Proſerpine, it was eaſy for his rival to perſuade the Athenians to raiſe him to the throne. What gave him another lift to it was, that Caſtor and Pollux, taking the advantage of Theſeus's confinement, came and beſieged Aphidne a town in Attica, where he had ſent his mother and his wife Helena; and theſe two heroes, having taken and reſcued their ſiſter out of revenge to her raviſher helped his competitor to mount the throne.

MENESTHEUS, being thus choſen, was in no great care about the ſons of Theſeus, but dreaded his known valour, in caſe he ſhould ever get into his dominions again. To prevent which, he prevailed ſo far upon the Athenians, what with gifts and careſſes, that they would not ſuffer him to come into Attica. And as ſoon as he heard, that he

was

horſes, overturned the chariot, and tore him in pieces. The poets add, that the luſtful queen hanged herſelf for grief, but as for Hippolytus, Diana, being taken with his chaſtity, and pitying the ſad fate it had brought upon him, prevailed upon Æſculapius to reſtore him to life, to be a companion of her diverſions.

was retired into the island of Scyros, he prevailed on Lycomedes to dispatch him by the stratagem we lately mentioned. Menestheus reigned twenty-four years, and was one of the chiefs that went to the siege of Troy, where having lost his life, the kingdom of Athens returned again to the Thesean line.

Demophon. 12 DEMOPHON, one of the sons of Theseus by Phœdra, succeeded him both in the kingdom and in the command of the Athenian forces that were before Troy. He was one of those that came back safe from that siege: in his return he landed in Thrace, where Phyllis, king Lycurgus's daughter, entertained him for some time both at bed and board. Upon his departure he promised to return to her, but broke his word and her heart. In his reign was erected the famous court of the Ephetæ, consisting originally of fifty Athenians and as many Argivi, for trying of wilful murders and lying in wait to kill. The occasion of erecting this court, and of the Argives being admitted to sit judges in it, was as follows: Agamemnon, others say Diomedes, returning with his forces from Troy, was driven one night into an Athenian port called Phalerus, and thinking themselves in an enemy's country, began their usual trade of ravaging and plundering, upon which the surprised Athenians fell upon them and killed a considerable number of them. On the morrow they found the palladium upon the ground among the slain, by which they knew that they were their friends the Argives. The oracle, having been consulted, ordered them to give the slain an honourable burial in the place where they fell, to build a temple upon it, and dedicate it to Minerva, and set up the palladium in it. Immediately after this it was ordered, that this court should be erected to try all cases of murder, manslaughter, and chancemedly. It consisted of fifty members, who were to be above fifty years old, men of sense and known probity, and had power of life and death. Upon its first setting up, Agamemnon insisted that there should be an equal number of Athenians and Argives to sit in it; the Athenians readily granted it. Demophon submitted himself afterwards to be tried by this court, for having unfortunately killed one of his subjects by the turn of his horse, as he was coming from Troy. It subsisted a considerable time in the same form; but Draco, one of their Archons, new-modelled it, excluded the Argives out of it, and made it consist of

fifty-one

fifty-one Athenians, who were all to be turned of fifty years of age [p]. Demophon reigned thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his son, or, according to others, his brother.

13. OXYNTES, who reigned twelve years, and left the crown to his son. Oxyntes.

14. APHYDAS, who was murdered by Thymœtes in the first year of his reign. Aphydas.

15. THYMOETES, the bastard-son of Oxyntes, betrayed his base nature in many things besides the murder of Aphydas, by which he got the crown. We shall only mention the last instance of it which justly bereaved him of it. He had reigned about eight years, when Xanthus king of Bœotia had a contest with him about one of their frontier towns. Xanthus offered to decide the matter in single combat, and Thymœtes as cowardly declined it. It happened, that Melanthus, a noble Messenian who had been driven out of his country by the Heraclidœ, was come to Athens about this time, and offered to answer the chartel. Upon their very first onset Melanthus called to his adversary, and asked him why he brought a second along with him contrary to their articles, and whilst Xanthus turned about to see who followed him, he ran him through with his lance [q]. This victory, though it was more owing to his cunning than bravery, did so please the Athenians, that they not only deposed their pusillanimous king, who was the last of the line of Erechtheus, and set their Messenian champion upon the throne; but instituted a feast in memory of this action, and called it Apatheria from the stratagem that gave occasion to it [r]. Thymœtes.

16. MELANTHUS, as soon as he had mounted the throne, persuaded the Athenians to receive the banished Messenians and Nestoridæ, and after a reign of thirty-seven years left the kingdom to his worthy son Codrus [s]. Melanthus.

17. CODRUS reigned about twenty-one years, during which time the Dores and Heraclidæ had regained all Peloponnesus and were entering into Attica. Codrus was informed, that the oracle had promised them victory, provided they did not kill the king of the Athenians, and that they Codrus.

[p] Euseb. Chron. lib. i. [q] Vid. Frontin. Stratag. lib. ii. c. 5.
[r] Polyen. Stratag. l. i. c. 9. [s] Pausan. Achaic.

they had taken all proper precautions againſt it; but he who had reſolved to ſacrifice his life to the ſafety of his kingdom, took this method to elude them: he diſguiſed himſelf like a peaſant, went into their camp, fell a quarreling with ſome of the Dorian ſoldiers, from thence they went to blows, and he ceaſed not fighting till he was killed. On the morrow when they found who he was, they were ſo terrified, that they decamped without ſtriking a blow [t].

WITH Codrus ended the regal ſucceſſion and title of kings of Athens. His ſubjects conceived ſuch veneration for that magnanimus prince, that they eſteemed none worthy to bear the royal title after him, and therefore committed the management of the eſtates to elective magiſtrates, to whom they gave the title of Archons, and choſe Medon the eldeſt ſon of Codrus to that new dignity. His election, however, was oppoſed by his brother Nileus, who pretended, he could not ſubmit to Medon's authority, becauſe he was lame of one foot; but the oracle having confirmed it [u], all the Archons that ſucceeded him were from him ſurnamed Medontidæ, becauſe they were all choſen by ſucceſſion: ſo that the Athenian government continued in the family of Codrus under twelve perpetual Archontes, ſomewhat above the ſpace of two-hundred years.

THEIR names need not be repeated here, having added them to the liſt of the Athenian kings: neither ſhall we dwell upon the tranſactions which happened under each ſeveral archonſhip; this epocha having proved very unactive and barren, except that the people, always fond of a change, did ſhew from time to time their diſlike to that dignity being made perpetual, as having too near a reſemblance to monarchy, and giving its poſſeſſor too great a handle to tyrannize over them. They began to give ſome marks of their diſcontent under their firſt Archon. Attica had enjoyed ſo much quiet during a long ſeaſon, that it ſwarmed with exiles and foreigners, who flocked thither from other parts which were more haraſſed with wars, ſo that they were forced to diſcharge them in great multitudes upon the maritime coaſts of Leſſer Aſia. Upon the very firſt of theſe expeditions Nileus and the reſt of Codrus's ſons, who would not brook to be under their brother Medon, drew

[t] Juſt. ex Trog. l. ii. c. 6. [u] Caſtor. ap. Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

drew a great number of Athenians to them, joined with the Ionians and Thebans, and left Athens for Leſſer Aſia, where they diſperſed themſelves in different parts, and founded the twelve following cities, viz. Epheſus, Miletum, Priene, Colophon, Myus, Teos, Lebedos, Clazomenæ, Erithræ, Phocea, Chios in the iſle of that name, and Samos. Theſe were at firſt each under a petty prince, but being forced at length to join together, became afterwards very famous, as will be ſeen in due time.

THIS perpetual archonſhip, however, upheld itſelf ſo long, in ſpight of the people's diſlike to it, that it paſſed through thirteen hands, from Medon the ſon of Codrus to Alcmon the laſt who bore that dignity; but the people at length, impatient to put an end to it, took the advantage of his ſhort reign, which laſted but two years, to clip the power of it, and to reduce its duration to ten years; ſo that Charops the ſon of Eſchylus, was forced to accept of it upon thoſe terms or none. This change happened about the beginning of the ſeventh olympiad, and in the year of the world 3252, the year in which Hezekiah king of Judah was born. This new decennial dignity had ſcarce paſſed through four hands, before they began again to call for a freſh reduction of it; for Hippomenes the laſt of Codrus's line, in whoſe archonſhip this tumult happened, had ſcarce enjoyed it half its time, when his cruelties to the people, and more particularly to his ſon and daughter (N), cauſed him to be depoſed. However, they did not then gain their point; it continued ſtill through three different hands, till at length Eryxias the laſt of them, either dying, or being depoſed in the laſt year of his archonſhip, the Athenians appointed new Archontes to be choſen from among the moſt conſiderable citizens for birth, wealth and intereſt, and voted that dignity annual from henceforth. From that time their government dwindled into a downright democracy, which Solon did afterwards new-model and confirm as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

Year of the flood, 2247. Before Chriſt, 752.

(N) He cauſed his ſon to be torn in pieces by horſes for adultery, and his daughter he ſhut up with a horſe without food to be devoured alive, for having ſuffered herſelf to be debauched by a citizen. In memory of this barbarous puniſhment, Suidas (11) tells us, there was a place in the city called Ιππο-και-κυρης, Hippo-kai-Koyres, in memory of the horſe and the young lady.

(11) Sub voc. Ἱππομενης.

SECT. IV.

The history of the antient kingdoms of Bœotia and Thebes.

Antient names.

WE find two antient kingdoms called by the name of Bœotia, the one, and by far the more antient and considerable of the two, founded, or rather restored, by Cadmus, and named by him Bœotia from the ox which is said to have directed him to the place where he built the capital of his new kingdom, better known afterwards by the name of Thebes. The other was in Thessaly, and is said to have been founded by Bœotus, the son of Neptune, and brother of Æolus, by Arne the daughter of Æolus king of Æolis. This last having sent his daughter to Metapontium a city of Italy, she was there delivered of those two sons, the eldest of whom she called after her father's name Æolus; and he possessed himself of the islands in the Tyrrhenian, now Tuscan sea, and built the city of Lipara. Bœotus the younger son went to his grandfather and succeeded him in his kingdom, and called it by his own name, and the capital city Arne from his mother. All that we know of these is, that they held this settlement upwards of two hundred years, and that the Thessalians did expel them from it, and forced them to seek for a new one; upon which they came and possessed themselves of that country which had been till then called Cadmeis, and gave it the name of Bœotia. Diodorus and Homer tell us, that these Bœotians did signalize themselves at the Trojan war, and the latter adds, that five of Bœotus's grandsons, Peneleus, Leitus, Prothoenor, Arcesilaus, and Clonius, were the five chiefs who led their Bœotian troops thither.

ACCORDING therefore to Diodorus *, this last country, though founded into a kingdom, at least ever since the time of Cadmus, was not called Bœotia till the banished sons of Bœotus gave it that name, about three-hundred years after the building of Thebes; but the most current account,

* Bibl. lib. iv.

count, eſpecially among the poets, is, that this name had been given to it by Cadmus himſelf in memory of the ox, by whom he had been directed thither, according to the command of the oracle (A). However, it is owned, that it had had ſeveral other names, according to thoſe of its ſuppoſed founders; thoſe who aſcribed it to Ogyges called both it and its capital Ogygia; others called it Cadmeis from Cadmus, Aonia from Aon the ſon of Neptune, and Hyanthis from Hyas the ſon of Atlas; but the far greater part ſay, it was originally called Calydna from Calydnus, the firſt founder of the capital and kingdom; that province is now called Stramulippa, and Thebes its antient capital Stibes or Stives.

Geography. It bordered on the eaſt to Attica, and was in time joined to it, as we have ſeen in the laſt article, and was parted from it by the mountain Cithæron. On the north to the ſtreight Euripus, now called the Negroponte, ſaid to flow ſeven times in twenty-four hours, or rather according to Livy, ſuppoſed to do ſo, becauſe its tides are boiſterous and uncertain. On the weſt it had the kingdom of Phocis, and on the ſouth the gulph of Corinth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was 1 deg. 10. min. and near the ſame length from north to ſouth; but coming near to a point eaſtward [a]. Here is the large lake Copais about fourteen miles in length, and eight in breadth, out of which flow two conſiderable rivers, which water the far greater part of the country eaſtward. Theſe are the Aſopus, which divided the territories of Thebes from thoſe of the Plateans, and running through thoſe of Attica falls into the Ægean ſea; and the Iſmenus, which empties itſelf into the Euripus above-mentioned. The country is partly hilly, eſpecially Aonia properly ſo called; the reſt is low and flat, abounding with excellent paſturage; but whoſe air is ſo thick and foggy, that Horace thought it the occaſion of the inhabitants being ſuch famous dunces.

Natural rarities.

[a] Strab. Mel. & al.

(A) The fable goes, that Cadmus, tired with going in ſearch of his ſiſter Europa, whom Jupiter, in the ſhape of a bull, or, as is ſuppoſed, in a ſhip, which had a bull painted on the deck, had carried into Crete, was adviſed by the oracle of Delphos to follow the track of the firſt ox he ſaw, and where he reſted himſelf to build there the city of Thebes, which he did accordingly (1).

(1) Pauſan. in Bœot. & al.

Places of note.

PLACES of note in Bœotia were; 1. The Trophonian cave (B), and the oracle, ſaid to have been there given by Jupiter whence he was ſirnamed Trophoniius. 2. Theſpia, a town ſituate on the river of that name, and ſhadowed on the north by the famous Helicon, whence the muſes to which theſe were dedicated were called Theſpiades. 3. Aulis, a ſea-port on the Negropont, famous for being the place where the Grecian chiefs ſwore the deſtruction of Troy. 4. The famed ſtreights of the mountain Oeta, not above twenty-five feet in breadth, and commonly called the ſtreights of Thermopylœ from the hot waters of that neighhourhood; but the moſt famed place was the city of Thebes, ſituate near the river Iſmenus, and ſirnamed Heptapylos from its ſeven gates. It is generally allowed to have been founded by Cadmus, as we obſerved before, and to have been made by him the capital of the Bœotian kingdom, from which his ſucceſſors, who did adorn it with many ſtately temples, palaces, and other ſumptuous buildings, ſome of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention by and by, were alſo called kings of Thebes [b].

Laws and cuſtoms.

THE government was altogether monarchical like thoſe we have ſeen already, but perhaps more deſpotic here than in the reſt, and having no other laws than the king's will; ſome of whom governed more like tyrants than natural monarchs. We have nothing left of their antient cuſtoms, except what Plutarch tells us in his morals of their manner of introducing their new-married women into their new habitation. They were brought thither in a kind of chariot or cart, the axle-tree of which was immediately burnt, to give the bride to underſtand, that ſhe was fixed with her huſband for life, and muſt not expect to return to her parents.

Chronology.

The foundation of this antient kingdom we ſhall only date from the building or rebuilding of its metropolis by Cadmus, to avoid all the fables and uncertainties which preceded that period, and con-

Pauſan. in Bœot.

(B) So called from a old ſoothſayer, who inhabited it, and uſed to be conſulted as an oracle. No man was admitted into it, till after many waſhings, anointing, and the like ſuperſtitious preparations. It is added that thoſe who had once been in it, were never ſeen to laugh afterwards. Hence came the proverb, when a man was over melancholly, he has been in the Trophonian den.

concerning which, whether we make Ogyges or any other hero to have reigned in Bœotia, we cannot gather any light, from even what we have left, out of the fable writers. Even the times which elapſed between Cadmus and the celebrated war between the two contending ſons of Œdipus, and which is the moſt antient piece of hiſtory that we have of all Greece, are ſo ſtuffed with the vileſt and moſt abſurd fables of gods turned into ſatyrs and devils, and of men turned into monſters of cruelty and luſt, that we hope we ſhall be excuſed for ſkipping over all that has not ſome affinity with the hiſtory itſelf. The time in which chronologiſts place the rape of Europa being about the year of the world 2550 [c], and of the flood 1545, the rebuilding of Thebes may be ſuppoſed to have been within a very few years after. From thence to the time of its being totally deſtroyed by the Epigoni it had ſtood above 230 years, under the government of eleven kings, two whereof were not of the Cadmean race, but uſurpers. After this there reigned in Thebes two kings more of the race of OEdipus, and three of the race of Peneleus the great grandſon of Bœotus. Beſides theſe we find Homer mentioning Æetion as king of Thebes. We have ſpoken of him in another place †, and ſhall omit him here in our liſt, becauſe it doth not appear that he was of Cadmean race, nor is he mentioned by Pauſanias among the Theban kings, though he may have ſignalized himſelf in the defence of that city *

Of the flood 1545.

[c] Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

† Vol. V. p. 599. f.

* The authors of this hiſtory have inadvertently placed Æetion in the number of the kings of the Bœotian Thebes; whereas he was king of Thebes in Cilicia, and ſlain by Achilles in the Trojan war.

The Liſt of the kings of Thebes, according to our Author, is as follows:

1 Cadmus
2 Polydorus
3 Labdacus
4 Lajus
5 Amphion an uſurper
6 Zethus his brother
Lajus reſtored
7 Œdipus
8 Eteocles and
9 Polynices
10 Laodamas the ſon of Eteocles.
11 Therſander ſon of Polynices.
12 Tiſamenes
13 Autefion
14 Damaſichton
15 Ptolomeos
16 Xuthus

After this laſt the Thebans, grown weary of kingly government, reſolved themſelves into a commonwealth, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

CADMUS, according to the Greeks, was the ſon of Agenor king of Sidon, or, according to others, of Tyre; but according to the Sidonians his countrymen he was no more than the king's cook: theſe add, that his wife Hermione was likewiſe a mere minſtrel at court, with whom he ran away into Greece †. The former tells us, that his father, ſending him and his two brothers in queſt of Europa, had forbad them to return without her. Cadmus therefore, having ſought her far and long in vain, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, came into Bœotia, where, as we have ſeen above, he rebuilt this city, and laid the foundation of this new kingdom. He was at firſt oppoſed by the Hyantes and Aones, who were then in poſſeſſion of that territory: the former he overcame in fight and forced them to retire into Locris; but the latter he admitted, upon their ſubmitting themſelves to him, to continue there, and to be incorporated with his own people (C). Here he

† Vid. Athenæus. l. xiv. c. 22.

(C) Who and whence thoſe people were, whom Cadmus brought hither, is variouſly conjectured: ſome think, that he and they came from Thebais in Egypt (2) and that he therefore gave that name to his new metropolis. Others believe them to have been a colony of Phænicians; but we think Bochart's conjecture

(2) Vid. Uſſer. an. ſub. A. M. 2549.

he built the city of Thebes, and a citadel, which he called by his own name Cadmea [d], which name it retained many ages after.

THE fable adds, that when Cadmus married his wife Hermione, whom the poets make the daughter of Mars and Venus, the gods came to Cadmus and assisted at his wedding; and that he had by her one son named Polydorus and four daughters, Semele the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter (D), Ino, Autonoe, and Agave. After this the Enchelœ, who were at war with the Illyrians, being commanded by the oracle to chuse him their general, he left

[d] Pausan. ubi supra.

jecture (3) the most reasonable, that they were Canaanites driven out of their land by Joshua, whose time falls in with Cadmus exactly. Hence it is far from improbable, that this latter was of the family of the Cadmonites mentioned by Moses (4), who were the same with the Hivites, and were called Cadmonim, or Easterlings, because they inhabited mount Hermon the most eastern part of Canaan, from which the same author supposes Cadmus's wife to have been called Hermione or Harmonia.

The fable of these two being turned into serpents, he thinks to have sprung from their retaining their common name of Hivites, which in the Syriac signifies a serpent.

These conjectures are further confirmed by the name of his capital Thebes, for the above quoted book mentions a city of the same name in the land of Canaan (5), and written in the plural Θηβη by Josephus (6): this is therefore a much more probable etymon, than that of those who derive it from Theba the daughter of Prometheus (7).

(D) The reason why the poets make Cadmus grandfather to Bacchus, is generally thought to have been his bringing the extravagant rites of that god into Greece: for it is intirely contrary to the chronology of those who make Bacchus to be the same with Nimrod and of those who make him the son of Jupiter Ammon, since in either opinion he must have been vastly more antient (8).

However, Bacchus is feigned to have been the first who found out the use of wine, to have gone upon a three years expedition, at the head of an army of men and women into India, even to the utmost parts of it, and to have reduced and civilized the Barbarian inhabitants of those parts: and lastly, to have returned in triumph upon an elephant (9).

(3) Canaan. l. i. c. 19. See before, Vol. II. p. 339. & seq. (4) Gen. xv. 19. (5) c. ix 50. (6) Ant. l. v. c. 5. (7) Vid. Steph. Byzant. sub Thebæ. (8) Vid. Bochart. ubi supra. Ch. xviii. (9) Vid. Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv.

left Thebes to his ſon Polydorus, and headed them; and here it was, that he and his wife are feigned to have been turned into ſerpents (E), or, as ſome interpret it, to have degenerated from their priſtine civility into barbarians. In this place he begat another ſon, whom he either called Illyrius from the name of the Illyrians his new-conquered ſubjects, or elſe that people took their name from him.

Brings letters into Greece

CADMUS is univerſally allowed to have introduced the uſe of letters into Greece from Phœnicia. The Alphabet at firſt had but ſixteen letters, and was not compleated till a long time after. He alſo was the firſt that ſet up ſchools there: he taught them moreover trade and navigation, and braſs had the name of Cadmean given it in memory of his being the inventor of it, or rather of his introducing the uſe of it into thoſe parts [c].

CADMUS being retired to Illyrium, as we have ſeen, left the Theban government to his ſon Polydorus, in whoſe reign his great favourite and nephew, Pentheus the ſon of Echion by Agave, having had the inſolence to prophane the rites of Bacchus, was torn in pieces by his mother and ſiſters. Polydorus, whoſe ſon Labdacus was yet under age, when he found himſelf dying, committed the care of him and of the kingdom to Nyctеus, whoſe daughter Antiope (F), the greateſt beauty then in all Greece, being ſoon after carried off by Epopeus king of Sicyon, he was forced to leave the government and the young prince to his brother Lycus, whilſt he undertook a war againſt the raviſher of his daughter. He went ſoon after him at the head of his Theban troops, and a bloody fight enſued, in which

[c] Vid. Herodot. l. v.

(E) Another fable of him is, that having killed a great ſerpent, he ſtrowed the teeth of it upon the ground, which immediately became living men, and fell a fighting againſt each other till they were all killed except five: hence a dear-gotten victory came to be called Victoria Cadmea.

(F) This young princeſs, who was married to Zethus, is ſuppoſed to have been carried off by her own conſent, becauſe her dying father gave him orders to puniſh her, if ever he got her into his hands. But when he had got her, and found that ſhe was pregnant, he contented himſelf at firſt with divorcing her, though he was afterwards perſuaded by his next wife to clap her into a priſon, out of which ſhe was afterwards releaſed by her two ſons. (10).

(10) Pauſan. in Corinth. c. v.

which Nyctеus received a mortal wound and loſt the battle, upon which he cauſed himſelf to be brought back to Thebes, where he left once more his brother guardian of the king and kingdom, and gave him in charge to revenge his death on Epopeus, and to reſcue his daughter Antiope. In the mean time Epopeus, fluſhed with his victory (G), neglected a ſlight wound which he had received, and which gave him his death ſome time after, and put an end to the war. Lycus recovered his niece, and as ſhe was coming back to Thebes, ſhe fell in labour, and was delivered of two ſons, Amphion and Zethus (H), of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak by-and-by.

2. Labdacus, when of age, finding that Laomedon, who had ſucceeded Epopeus in Sicyon, was attacked by two powerful enemies, Archandes and Architeles, the ſons of Achæus, thought it proper time to demand his aunt Antiope to be reſtored; and Laomedon, though then aſſiſted by Sicyon, whom he had invited from Athens (I), yet choſe rather to deliver up that princeſs, than to exaſperate the Theban king by a refuſal *. We have ſeen what reception ſhe met with in a late note. Labdacus,

* Pauſan. in Corinth. ch. vi.

(G) He is ſaid to have built the temple of Minerva, as an acknowledgment for his late ſucceſs, and that when it was finiſhed, he prayed to the goddeſs, that if ſhe accepted of it, ſhe would ſhew ſome particular token of it, upon which they add, that an olive-tree grew up immediately before the gate of the temple (11).

(H) Theſe twins, Homer ſays (12), were begot, not by Epopeus, but by Jupiter, who fell in love with Antiope. Their firſt exploit was to murder Lycus and his wife, and to reſcue their mother out of her confinement. After this they ſeized on the government, and performed wonders in the building of the walls of that metropolis, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

Antiope is alſo called Nyctеis from her father Nyctеus, and the antient Samotic poet celebrates her in verſes to this purpoſe; That ſhe had Aſopus for her father; Epopeus and Jupiter for her gallants; and Amphion and Zethus for her ſons (13).

(I) Who, the Sicyonians ſay, was not the ſon of Marathon, the ſon of Epopeus, but of Metion the ſon of Erectheus (14). Heſiod makes him the ſon of Erectheus, and another of Pelops (15). We are all in the dark about it; the reader may ſee what we ſaid of him in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

(11) Id. ibid. (12) Odyſſ. l. ii. (13) Aſius ap. Pauſan. ubi. ſupra. (14) Id. ibid. (15) Ibyc. ap. eund.

cus, dying ſoon after, left his ſon Lajus and the government to the care of Lycus.

4. LAIUS being then very young, Amphion and his brother Zethus, taking the advantage of his minority, invaded the country at the head of a powerful army. Lycus having made it his firſt care to ſecure the perſon of the young prince, the only ſurviving one of the Cadmean race, went and gave battle to the invaders, and loſt the day. Amphion ſeized the Theban crown, and called its metropolis, or at leaſt the lower city, Thebes, in honour of Thebe their aunt by the mother's ſide (K), whilſt the upper city or citadel retained its antient name of Cadmea. It is to theſe two heroes that Homer attributes the incloſing and fortifying of the former with a famous ſtrong wall, with ſeven gates, and a number of ſtately towers at a convenient ſpace from each other, without which their valour could never have held that city long againſt the Theban forces (L). A grievous plague raged ſoon after, which deſtroyed great multitudes, and among the reſt Amphion and his family. His brother Zethus, who ſucceeded him, fell under other misfortunes; his only ſon was killed by his own mother, the grief of which ſhortened his days, and gave the Thebans an opportunity of ſetting Lajus again upon the throne.

LAJUS having married Jocaſta, or, as ſhe is called by others, Epicaſte, the daughter of Creon, was forewarned by Apollo's oracle, that if he had a ſon by her, he ſhould be killed by him. Œdipus, was the unhappy fruit of this mar-

(K) Some pretend, that ſhe was one of the three daughters of the river Aſopus, or rather of Aſopus the Phliaſian, from whom that river had its name: but the Bœotians affirm, that ſhe was the daughter of Aſopus the Bœotian, probably the ſame which was alſo called Nycteus the father of their mother Antiope, whom Aſius above quoted calls Aſopus.

(L) What the fable adds, concerning the miraculous effects of Amphion's lyre in the building of thoſe walls, is ſo well known, that we need not ſay any thing further about it, than that Amphion had firſt brought muſick into Greece, from Lydia, where he had learned it (16). and that it was ſo admired for its novelty and excellence, that he eaſily captivated the people to carry on that work, whilſt he diverted them with the muſick of his harp; aud probably alſo by his eloquence, which he was no leſs a maſter of, perſuaded that as yet barbarous and wild people to live ſociably and in community.

(16) Vid. Plin. lib. vii. c. lvi. Pauſan. in Bœotic. & al.

marriage, whom Lajus therefore gave to a ſhepherd to be ſlain (M); but he, moved with compaſſion, left him expoſed in a place, where he was ſoon after taken up by the herdſman of, and preſented to, Polybus king of Corinth, who healed his feet, and, from the ſwelling which the boring and anguiſh had left in them, called him Œdipus, and brought him up as his own [f]. When he came of age, and underſtood that he was not the ſon of the Corinthian king, he went to the oracle at Delphos to enquire after his parents, and at the ſame time Lajus led by his fate went likewiſe to enquire what was become of his ſon. They met at Phocis, and, ſome ſcuffle happening between them, Œdipus unwittingly killed his father and went to Thebes, where he married his mother Jocaſta, and obtained the kingdom by expounding the Sphinx's riddle (N). Eteocles and Polynices were the unhappy fruit of their inceſtuous embraces (O). Some add,

[f] Conf. Plutarch. in Theſ. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Apollod. l. iii. c. 5. & al.

(M) Or according to others to have his feet bored, and to be hung up by them to a tree, and to be devoured by the wild beaſts.

(N) This was a miſchievous monſter which infeſted the neighbourhood of Thebes, it had a face and body like a dog, and deſtroyed all the paſſengers that could not expound her riddle. Creon the father of Jocaſta ruled then at Thebes, and having conſulted the oracle, was anſwered that there would be no end of this miſchief till ſomebody gave her a ſolution; whereupon he cauſed it to be proclaimed through Greece, that the man that expounded it ſhould have Jocaſta to wife; and OEdipus proved the perſon who gained the fatal prize, and from that inceſtuous marriage had the two ſons who were the occaſion of this bloody war.

(O) This is at leaſt the account which all the antient poets, except Homer, have left us of it, probably to inhance the horror of that marriage, and to raiſe the greater compaſſion for that unhappy couple and their progeny; but Homer on the contrary, who introduces Ulyſſes, ſaying, that he had ſeen in hell the fair Epicaſte, who through imprudence had married her own ſon, who became at once the unhappy murderer of his father and huſband of his mother, makes him add, that the gods, by haſtening this prince's death, prevented the ſad effects of that inceſtuous marriage. For, as Pauſanius juſtly obſerves

add, that he had alſo two daughters by her, but others ſay they were by another woman.

As ſoon as Œdipus was appriſed, by a fatal train of calamities, of his parricide and inceſt, the horror of his guilt threw him into ſuch a fit of diſtraction, that he tore his own eyes out, and, having curſed his unhappy poſterity, was led by his daughter Antigone to Attica, where he took ſanctuary in Eumenides's grove, and ſoon after ended his miſerable life. As for Jocaſta, ſhe hanged herſelf for grief even before he left the kingdom.

His two ſons, after his departure, agreed, that each of them ſhould reign alternately one year, and then yield the government to the other; but Eteocles having refuſed to reſign after he had reigned his year, Polynices went to Argos, where having married Adraſtus's daughter, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, he engaged that prince to aſſiſt him in recovery of his right: theſe two came ſoon after with a powerful army, and beſieged Eteocles at the ſeven gates of his capital. Eteocles at the ſame time put himſelf in the beſt poſture of defence, and went and conſulted an old blind Theban ſouthſayer about the ſucceſs of the war; and was anſwered, that victory ſhould infallibly fall on his ſide, if Menecœus, the ſon of Creon and the laſt of the Cadmean race, would voluntarily ſacrifice himſelf to the god of war. The brave prince being informed of it, made no delay, but went to the gates of the city and ſacrificed his life to the ſafety of his country [g]. This did not, however, prevent hoſtilities being carried on with the utmoſt fury, and with ſuch terrible ſlaughter on both ſides, that it was at length agreed, that the contending princes ſhould decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, which they did with ſuch deſperate fury, that both fell by each other's ſword. The Argives ventured to give the Thebans a ſecond battle, wherein both ſides loſt ſeveral of their brave commanders, and ſuch a number of men, that though the latter got the victory, yet they were almoſt ruined by it.

[g] Id ibid. vid & Cicer. Stat. & al.

ſerves (17), how could they be ſaid to ſtop the courſe of that inceſt, if OEdipus had had four children by his mother?

He adds upon the authority of a poem, intitled, OEdipiad, or the adventures of OEdipus, that he had thoſe children by Euriganea the daughter of Hyperbas.

(17) In Bœotic. cap. vi.

it. A treaty was then expoſtulated by the Argive king for burying of their dead, but Creon, who had then taken the government upon him, was ſo exaſperated againſt them, that he not only abſolutely refuſed it, but cauſed the princeſs Antigone to be buried alive, becauſe ſhe had cauſed the body of her brother Polynices to be decently interred. For this cruel deed he was ſoon after killed by Theſeus, who came with an army againſt him, and obliged the Thebans to permit the Argives to bury their ſlain, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

In the mean time the ſons of thoſe ſeven generals, who fell before Thebes, reſolving to revenge themſelves on that city for the ill ſucceſs of the laſt expedition, entered into a confederacy, from which they were called Epigoni, and renewed the ſiege afreſh. Laodamus the ſon of Eteocles, who by this time came to age and had taken the government upon him, gave them a warm reception, and with his own hand killed Ægyaleus one of their chiefs. But being himſelf ſoon after killed, or forced to fly into Illyrium [h], the Thebans began to ſue for a treaty, and whilſt that was tranſacting, conveyed themſelves away with their families and effects by night, and went and built the town of Hæſtiœa, leaving Thebes to the mercy of the Epigoni. Some ſay, that theſe, being appriſed of their flight, plundered the city, and quite eraſed her walls. Others affirm, that Therſander Polynices's ſon diſſuaded them from it, recalled the fugitive citizens, and reigned over them; ſoon after which he led them to the Trojan war, and in the way ſignalized himſelf at Myſia, and was killed by Telephus. His ſon Teſamenes, being then too young to command the Theban forces, Peneleus was choſen their chief, and was alſo killed there by Eurypylus the ſon of Telepus. After his death Tiſamenes took the government upon him, and reigned peaceably enough, but the fates, which purſued the unfortunate offspring of Œdipus, did not prove ſo favourable to his ſon Autesion, who, we are told, was ſeized with ſuch a dreadful phrenſy, or, according to the poetic phraſe, was perſecuted by the furies to ſuch a degree, that he was forced by the oracle's advice to retire among the Dorians.

After his departure the Thebans raiſed Damaſichton, the grandſon of Peneleus, to the throne, who left it to his ſon

[h] Conf. Pauſan. Bœotic. & Apollod. l. iii. c. 7.

son Ptolomeos, and he was succeeded by Xanthus, who was the last who enjoyed the regal dignity in Thebes, and was treacherously killed by Melanthus in single combat, as we have seen in the history of Athens. After his death the Thebans, weary of a kingly government, resolved to put it into many hands, and to settle themselves into a commonwealth [i], as we shall see in the next chapter.

[i] Pausan. ubi supra.

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

AN

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TO THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

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MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and other TABLES.

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AN

UNIVERSAL

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CHAP. XVII.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of the ancient Kingdom of ARCADIA.

Names.

ARCADIA, ſo called from Arcas the ſon of Jupiter and Caliſto, was anciently called Pelaſgia, being inhabited by the ancient Pelaſgi, who boaſted themſelves to be deſcended from Pelaſgus their pretended founder, of whom we have ſpoken in a former ſection of this chapter †, as having been ſuppoſed by a late author to be the ſame with Peleg the ſon of Eber in ſcripture. The Pelaſgians did alſo ſurname him Autochton [a], which was a name the Grecians gave to thoſe whoſe original was not known. It is true, we find the Pelaſgians in ſeveral other parts of Greece, as was there obſerved; but their chief and primitive ſeat is generally

† See vol. v. ſect. i. par. 5.

[a] Xenoph. Strab. Mel. & al.

ſuppoſed to have been this of Arcadia, whoſe inhabitants are univerſally allowed the ancienteſt people in Greece, and boaſted themſelves to be older than the moon.

Geography. THIS country was ſituate in the heart of Peloponneſus (A), having Elis on the weſt, Argolis on eaſt, Laconia and Meſſenia on the ſouth, and Sicyon and Corinth on the north [b]. Its ground, which afforded excellent paſturage, made it famous for the vaſt number of herds it bred; for the tuneful ſtrains of its ſhepherds, who excelled all others in their paſtoral performances, and the ſweetneſs of their vocal and inſtrumental muſic; and for the extraordinary worſhip that was paid here to their god Pan. Here was alſo a famous temple of that deity in the city of Tegea, and another dedicated to Minerva in the city of Stymphalus, ſituate at the foot of a ridge of hills of that name.

Natural rarities. Here alſo bred upon the lake Stymphalis a kind of fowl, called from it the Stymphalian birds, which grew to ſuch a ſize and number, that they darkened the ſun-beams at noon-day, and terribly infeſted this territory, till they were all either killed or driven hence by Hercules, as we have ſeen elſewhere.

HERE was alſo the famed lake Phenaus, from which ſprings the river Styx, famous for the coldneſs of its water which chills them to death that drink it; it is alſo of ſuch corroſive nature that it will eat iron and braſs [c]. The poets feign it to be the river of hell, whoſe name is ſo ſacred among the gods, that if any of them broke his oath after he had ſworn by it, he was deprived of his deity, and of the uſe of Nectar for a hundred years.

THE Arcadians were at firſt a rude wild people, living in the woods and fields, and feeding indifferently on the product of the ground, till taught by Pelaſgus to build huts, to live ſociably, to exchange their common food for nuts, acorns, or beech-maſt (B), and to cloath themſelves with the

[b] Strab. D. Sicul. Pauſan. Mela, & al. [c] Idem ibid.

(A) The Arcadians were conſequently at a diſtance from the ſea, and accordingly Homer tells us, that they had neither ſhips, nor any knowledge of ſailing (1); ſo that when they are ſaid to have imbarked for the ſiege of Troy, we muſt underſtand it of Agamemnon's fleet, which tranſported them thither.

(B) Which kind of food, Pauſanias tells, they continued to live upon a long time after the death of their founder, inſomuch, that

(1) Iliad. lib. ii.

the ſkins of wild beaſts. They began afterwards to give themſelves up to feed cattle, invited to it by the fertility of their ſoil. But as this country abounded with excellent paſture grounds, ſo it was expoſed to continual incurſions from thoſe, who were either forced out of their own country, or were diſcontented with it. And this put them upon the neceſſity of exchanging the crook for the ſword, and to inure themſelves to ſome warlike diſcipline in their own defence, who would otherwiſe in all likelihood have preferred a paſtoral life to any other. Hence it was, that they, eſpecially the highlanders, became ſuch excellent ſoldiers, that their alliance was very much courted in all the wars between the other ſtates. They commonly uſed to come to the wars clad with the ſkins of wolves and bears, and carried either a little bundle of javelins, or a lance in their hands, which they uſed with a peculiar dexterity. Their very women became at length ſuch expert warriors, eſpecially in a defenſive war, that they have ſometimes proved the means of gaining a victory, when it was in all appearance wholly leaning on the other ſide: witneſs that famous expedition of the Lacedæmonians againſt Tegea, when, fluſhed by a dubious oracle, with hopes that they ſhould take that city, they brought with them chains to bind their future captives, but were in the heat of the battle diſcomfited by a party of women who had lain in ambuſh, and their king Charilaus with a great number of his men bound with thoſe very chains they had brought with them *. Having therefore ſuch brave females to defend their country in caſe of invaſion, they uſed to be hired as mercenaries by all their neighbouring ſtates, in the ſame manner as the Suizzers are now; and this made them ſome amends for their want of commerce, occaſioned by their diſtance from the ſea.

THIS extraordinary change in ſo rude a nation was as quick as it was ſurprizing. Lycaon the ſon of their founder, of whom we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the following note,

* Herodot. l. i. & Pauſan. in Arcad.

that the Lacedemonians conſulting the oracle about a war which they were going to wage againſt them, received this anſwer from the pythoneſs, that though Jupiter and the gods were on their ſide, yet could they expect no ſucceſs againſt a warlike people, whoſe chiefeſt dainties were the fruit of the beech (2).

(2) In Arcadic. ch. i.

improving what his father had done towards civilizing his ſubjects, by introducing the worſhip of Jupiter among them, though not with the ſame prudence that Cecrops had done among his Athenians (C). His ſons, of whom he had a conſiderable number, ſet themſelves on building each of them a city which they called by their own names, and which we ſhall mention in their proper places[d]. In theſe they gathered the people into bodies, and brought them ſtill nearer to a ſocial life; and in the next reign they began to ſow corn, make bread, ſpin wool, and to make themſelves garments of it [e]. Another author adds [f], that they learned the uſe of bees, honey, and milk, of rennet for making cheeſe, of oil, and ſome other conveniencies of life (D). Thus in four generations, the Arcadians, from being

[d] In Arcad. ch. iii. [e] Id. ibid. [f] Juſtin, ex Trog. l. xiii. c. 7.

(C) Cecrops, as we have ſeen in a former ſection, forbad the ſacrificing of any living creature, whereas Lycaon is reported to have ſacrificed a youth to him, for which the angry god changed him into a wolf.

The poets have improved this fable, which perhaps took its riſe only from the ſavage nature of that prince implyed in his name, λυκος, ſignifying a wolf: the account which Ovid gives of him is as follows;

Jupiter, deſirous to know whether wickedneſs of men anſwered the report he heard of it, in his travels came one night to Lycaon's palace, where having made himſelf known, the people were going to ſacrifice to him. Lycaon, not believing his gueſt to be what he gave out, attempted to murder him in the night, in order to undeceive the people. But having miſſed his blow, he killed and dreſſed a Moloſſian youth, whom he kept as a hoſtage, and ſet him before his gueſt to eat, for which the exaſperated god overthrew his palace with thunder and lightening, and turned his inhuman hoſt into a wolf.

(D) This laſt author ſays, that Ariſtæus, who taught the Arcadians all theſe things, was the ſon of Jupiter by Cyrene, a beautiful Theſſalian princeſs, whom that luſtful god carried off to the top of mount Pelion, and of whom he got four ſons, the three firſt of which ſettled in Theſſaly, and the other, viz. Ariſtæus, came and reigned in Arcadia. This ſtory, however, is contradicted by Pindar and Siculus, who affirm, that ſhe had but one ſon by Jupiter, namely Monius, who was alſo ſurnamed Agrius, as being a lover of hunting and feeding cattle; and Pauſanias ſays, that this Ariſtæus inſtructed Arcas the 4th king of the country, without taking any notice of his reigning there. We ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething more of this Cyrene, when we come to ſpeak of Theſſaly.

ing but one remove from wild beasts, became civilized, industrious, inured to society, husbandry, and a regular government. To all these we may add, that these advantages, which exposed them to frequent invasions from abroad, put them likewise upon the necessity of cultivating the martial arts, first in their own defence, and afterwards for interest and gain, whence they became such brave soldiers and expert warriors, as we observed they were. Hence it was, that most of the Grecian princes courted their alliance above that of any other nation; but especially the Messenians, with whom they seem to have maintained an inviolable friendship. But Hercules, of all the antient heroes, had the greatest confidence in them, insomuch, that we seldom find him ingaged in any extraordinary exploit without having some Arcadian forces to assist him. While they thus improved their martial genius, they did not forget to cultivate their pastoral life, for which they have been so highly celebrated by the poets above all other Grecians[g]. Arts and husbandry.

THEIR government, like that of all their neighbours, was at first altogether monarchical and arbitrary, yet by degrees the subjects began to claim something like a negative power, especially in matters of great moment, so that their kings could not well undertake any great affairs, such as a war, alliances, or foreign expeditions, without their consent. This may perhaps be one main reason why they continued longer under a monarchy than any other state of Greece; but this will be best seen in the next chapter. We shall confine ourselves here within our epoch, and to that series of kings which that nation pretended to be descended from Pelasgus their first founder, and which Pausanias has given us from their traditions and records. And herein if he differs sometimes from Apollodorus, Justin, and other ancient writers, we may suppose he had his reasons for so doing, and, if we except the remotest times which were wrapped up in inextricable darkness, the standing monuments of each country to direct and confirm his judgment. However, they were not always united under one king; for it sometimes happened, that the kingdom was divided by the father between his sons, and continued so, till want of issue, alliances, or some other circumstance united it again. Besides this, the several cities, built by the sons of Lycaon, seem to have been divided into cantons under their several chiefs; but whether always under Govern-ment.

[g] Apollod. D. Sicul. Pausan. &c.

one ſovereign or not, is not ſure. Hence it is, that we read of theſe cantons, as of ſeparate people, who made alliances, not only among themſelves, but with foreign ſtates, and ſignalized themſelves during ſeveral centuries under their reſpective names, ſuch as Tegeans, Trapæzans, Mantineans, Peretheans, and many more, which we ſhall give our readers in its proper place, to prevent their being miſtaken in the ſequel of the Grecian hiſtory for ſo many diſtinct people from the Arcadians.

THE ſucceſſion of the kings of Arcadia, who reigned from their founder to Ariſtocrates, who was murdered by his ſubjects for his treachery to the Meſſenians [h]; is as follows.

1 Pelaſgus	8 Aleus	14 Cypſelus	20 Æginetes
2 Lycaon	9 Lycurgus	15 Lajus	21 Polymeſtor
3 Nyctimus	10 Echemus	16 Bucolion	22 Echmis
4 Arcas	11 Agapenor	17 Phialius	23 Ariſtocrates I.
5 Clitor	12 Hippothous	18 Simus	24 Hicetas
6 Azan	13 Epytus II.	19 Pompus	25 Ariſtocrates II.
7 Epytus I.			

IT were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning. If Pelaſgus, the ſuppoſed founder of this monarchy, were the ſame with Phaleg or Peleg the ſon of Eber, in whoſe days the earth is ſaid to have been divided [i]; it muſt have begun at leaſt as early as Terah's time; but we hope we have ſufficiently confuted this opinion heretofore †, as well as the other conjecture of the ſame learned man, that Peleg was the father of the Scythians *. Thoſe who place the foundation of it about Moſes's time ſeem ſtill to have antedated it [k], neither would we venture to place it before the expulſion of the Canaanites out of their native land, at which time they were obliged to go in ſearch of ſome more peaceful habitations. But whether in Joſhua's time, or after it, were hard to determine. Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion, that Pelaſgus was cotemporary with Inachus, Cecrops I. Lelex, and other chiefs, who brought their colonies out of Egypt; according to him this was about 1120 years

[h] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. ch. ii. & ſeq. [i] Gen. x. 25. vid. & Stillingfl. Or. Sacr. l. iii. c. S. † See vol. i. p. 473. * Vol. v. p. 388. & ſeq. [k] Vid. int. al. Rawl. hiſt. of the world, l. ii. c. 6. ſect. 4.

years before Chriſt, but according to our chronology in the year of the flood 1443, or before Chriſt 1556, at which time we have placed the foundation of Athens by Cecrops. And it can hardly be ſuppoſed, that Pelaſgus could be of recenter date than he, if we conſider the rude beginnings of either kingdom, or the ſucceſſions of their kings; and that Pauſanias thinks, that Lycaon was cotemporary with the Athenian founder[1]. Upon this ſuppoſition therefore, that they began near about the ſame time, it will follow, that this of Arcadia laſted in the line of Pelaſgus about 880 years, that is till the year of the flood 2351, and firſt of the 28th olympiad, in which Ariſtocrates, II. and the laſt of that race, was ſtoned to death. This is the utmoſt we dare venture to advance concerning an epocha, whoſe beginning is ſo dark and remote. We ſhall in the next place ſubjoin what we find moſt material concerning theſe monarchs.

We have already ſaid all we know concerning Pelaſgus and his ſon Lycaon, except that this laſt built a city on the mountain Lycæas, and called it Lycoſura, cauſed Jupiter to be worſhipped there under the name of Jupiter Lycæus, and inſtituted the Lycæan games in honour of him. As for the cities which were built and peopled by his numerous iſſue, the reader may ſee them in the margin (E).

Among

[1] Arcad. c. i.

(E) Theſe cities were Pallantium built by Pallas, Oreſthaſium, by Oreſtheus, Phigalia by Phigaleus, afterwards called Phialia from Phialus the ſon of Bucolion, Trapezonte from Trapezeus, and ſo of the reſt, which were built by his other ſons Daceates, Macareus, Heliſſon, Acacus, (from whom this laſt tribe pretends Mercury has that ſurname in Homer which ſignifies without evil, implying, that the good he doth is without any mixture of ill) and Thochnus. Hypſus built Hypſuntes, Menelea, and Thyrea, Menalus, Tegeates, and Mantineus, the three cities of their name. The reſt of thoſe cantons, bearing their founders names, are the Cromians, Chariſians, Tricolones, Peretheans, Aſeatians, Lyceatians, Sumatians, Hereans, and Alipholians. Orchomenos the father of the Orchomenians, the richeſt canton of all in cattle, was the only one who did not call the city of his building by his own name, but by that of Methrydion †. The youngeſt of Lycaon's ſons called OEnotrius, inſtead of following the example of the reſt, obtained a ſum of money and forces from his brother Nyctimus,

† De his. Vid. St. Byzant. ſub. voc. & Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

Among ſo many ſons Lycaon had but one daughter named Caliſto, with whom Jupiter having had an intrigue, Juno turned her into a ſhe-bear, and Diana, to pleaſe that jealous goddeſs, ſhot her to death (F). Lycaon was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

3. Nyctimus, and he dying, we ſuppoſe childleſs, left the kingdom to

4. Arcas, the ſon of Caliſto by Jupiter, who gave his name to the kingdom; he it was whom we mentioned above for having introduced and improved huſbandry. He had three ſons, not by a mortal woman, if we believe the poets, but by a nymph called Erato (G), beſides a natural ſon he had before he married the nymph, and at his death divided his kingdom between them. Azan the eldeſt called his portion by his name Azania. Aphydas had the canton of Tegea, and Elatus had mount Cyllene (H), from which he went afterwards and ſettled in Phocis, and built a city which he called by his name.

5. Azan was ſucceeded by his only ſon

6. Clitor, who inſtituted funeral games in honour of his father, built a city which he called by his name, and was

mus, who ſucceeded Lycaon, ſailed into Italy, and ſettled there, and was the firſt who brought a colony from Greece thither (3). Hence that of Virgil:

Eſt locus Heſperiam Graii Cognomine dicunt,
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebæ (4),
OEnotrii coluere viri.

(F) The fable adds, that Mercury, out of compaſſion to the young princeſs, and by Jupiter's order, ſaved the infant ſhe was pregnant with, and placed the unhappy mother in heaven, where ſhe became a conſtellation, or, if you pleaſe, that conſtellation was called by her name in honour of her.

(G) Not the muſe of that name who preſides over matters of love; but a wood-nymph, ſuch as they call Dryades. Thoſe who inhabited the mountains were called Oreades; thoſe of the water Nereides; and thoſe of ſprings and rivers Naiades (5).

(H) Which name it did not receive till afterwards from Cyllen the ſon of Elatus. This is the ſame mountain on which Jupiter is ſaid to have begot Mercury on Maja the daughter of Atlas †.

(3) Pauſan. in Arcad. ch. iii. (4) Vid. Gedoyn. Not. in eund. ch. iii. (5) Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg. Pauſan. ubi ſupra c. iv.

† See vol. v. p. 432.

was the powerfulleſt prince of his time, but died childleſs; ſo that his ſhare of the Arcadian kingdom fell to

7. Epytus, eldeſt ſon of his brother Elatus, who was bit to death by a venomous ſerpent as he was hunting, and left the kingdom to his couſin

8. Aleus, the ſon of Aphydas. This prince made Tegea his metropolis, and built in it a temple to Minerva Alea. He had three ſons, Lycurgus, Amphidamus, and Cepheus; and a daughter named Auge, whom he condemned to be drowned for her criminal converſe with Hercules, during his abode at Tegea (I). He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon

9. Lycurgus, whoſe two ſons dying before him (K), he left the kingdom to Echemus, the great grandſon of Aleus.

10. Echemus aſſiſted Atreus the ſon of Pelops againſt the Heraclidæ, who firſt entered Peloponneſus with a powerful army, and with Hyllus the ſon of Hercules at their head. We have ſpoken of this expedition in a former ſection, and of the ſucceſs of Echemus againſt that champion whom he killed in ſingle combat, he left his kingdom to a ſon of Ancæus the ſon of Lycurgus, named

11. Aga-

(I) This princeſs having captivated the famous Hercules, whilſt he was at Tegea, was left with child by him, which her father no ſooner perceived, than he ordered her to be drowned, or, according to others, to be put into a cheſt with her child and flung into the ſea; ſhe was taken up about the mouth of the Caicus by Teuthras king of Myſia, who was ſo charmed with her beauty, that he married her, and brought up her ſon Telephus as his own, and made him his ſucceſſor (6).

Others ſay, that Aleus committed his daughter to Nauplius, to be drowned in the ſea, and that ſhe being delivered in her way to Nauplia, an Argolic port, ſhe left her child there, and that he, inſtead of drowning the mother, ſold her to Teuthras. The child was ſuckled by a deer, from which he was called Telephus, and when of age, having been directed by the oracle, who his parents were, went into Myſia, where he was adopted by his father-in-law (7).

(K) Theſe were Ancæus, who, being returned from the Argonautic expedition, was killed by the Calydonian wild boar, and Epochus, who was carried off by ſickneſs.

(6) Pauſan. ubi ſupra. (7) Apollod. l. ii. Diod. Sicul. l. iv. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

11. Agapenor, who commanded the Arcadian troops at the ſiege of Troy (L), and in his return thence, being, like the reſt of the ſurviving Grecian chiefs, toſſed about by contrary winds and tempeſts, was caſt at length upon the coaſts of Cyprus, and ſettled at Paphos, where he built a temple to Venus, who, till then, if we believe Pauſanias, was only worſhipped at the ſmall city of Golgos [m]. From him the kingdom paſſed to the line of Stymphalus the ſon of Elatus, who was the youngeſt ſon of Arcas.

12. Hippothous, the great grandſon of Stymphalus, was the perſon who ſucceeded him, of whom we have nothing memorable, except that he transferred the ſeat of the kingdom from Tegea the ancient metropolis to Trapeza; he was ſucceeded by his ſon

13. Epytus II. in whoſe days Oreſtes the ſon of Agamemnon, being warned by the oracle, retired into Arcadia, and died, and was buried in or near the city of Tegea [n] (M). Epytus was afterwards ſtruck blind for his pre-

[l] Arcad. c. ii. [m] Arcad. c. v. [n] Vid. Herodot. l. i. c. 66. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

(L) Moſt probably as an auxiliary hired by Agamemnon, by whoſe ſhips they were tranſported to and from that ſiege, as we obſerved in a former note.

(M) Herodotus tells us, that the Lacedæmonians, having proved unſucceſsful againſt the Arcadians, were told by the oracle, that they would continue ſo, till they had brought back the bones of that prince. The difficulty was to find them out, and here they were forced to conſult the oracle again, from which they received the following remarkable anſwer, as it is engliſhed by Littlebury.

In the Arcadian plain lies Tegea,
Where two impetuous winds are forced to blow;
Form reſiſts form, miſchief on miſchief ſtrikes;
Here mother earth keeps Agamemnon's ſon,
Carry him off, and be victorious.

The ſolution of this puzzling anſwer was afterwards accidentally found out by Liches, an eminent Spartan, who being one day at Tegea, and obſerving, with ſome attention, a ſmith working at his ſhop, was told by him, that in the ſinking of a well, he had found a coffin ſeven cubits long, and that having had the curioſity to open it, to ſee if the body anſwered the length of the coffin, he had found it exactly fitting, and had laid it again where he found it.

Liches,

preſumption in venturing into the temple of Neptune at Mantinea, and dying ſoon after it left the crown to his ſon

14. Cypſelus, in whoſe days Creſphontes, having by indirect means gotten the kingdom of Meſſenia, was murdered with two of his ſons. The third named Æpytus, by others Ægyptus, fled to Cypſelus, who was his grandfather by the mother's ſide (N), and by his aſſiſtance regained the Meſſenian kingdom, revenged his father's death, and killed the uſurper Polyphontes. We find nothing conſiderable during the reigns of his four next ſucceſſors, Lajus, Bucolion, Phialius, and Simus, except that in the time of this laſt, an ancient ſtatue of Ceres, ſurnamed the Black, was ſet on fire, which was looked upon as a preſage of that monarch's ſpeedy death, which happened accordingly ſoon after: he was ſucceeded by his ſon

19. Pompus. This prince, by the help of the Æginetæ, opened a commerce by land-carriage from his inland towns to the ſea-port of Cyllene, to and from which the merchandizes uſed to be conveyed upon mules. This trade proved ſo beneficial to the kingdom, that in gratitude to thoſe iſlanders Pompus called his ſon and ſucceſſor by their name Æginetes. This laſt was ſucceeded by his ſon

21. Polymeſtor, in whoſe days happened that fierce invaſion we ſpoke of at the beginning of this ſection, in which

Liches, comparing the place he was in and the anſwer of the oracle, did eaſily conceive, that by the ſmith's bellows were meant the two winds, by the hammer and anvil the two contending forms, and by the double miſchief thoſe which are cauſed by iron; upon which, having acquainted the Spartans with this diſcovery, it was agreed, that he ſhould be baniſhed for ſome fictitious crime, that he might be the leſs ſuſpected, and return to Tegea, which he did accordingly, and having with ſome difficulty hired the ſmith's incloſure, did privately dig up the bones, and carry them away to Sparta (8).

(N) About the beginning of his reign the Dorian fleet having invaded Peloponneſus, not by the iſthmus of Corinth, as they had done three generations before, for want of taking the right meaning of the oracle; but by landing above the cape of Rhion, Cypſelus was forced to make an alliance with Creſphontes, and to give him his daughter in marriage, to help him to make head againſt them, in conſideration of which, his ſon helped Æpytus to regain his father's kingdom (9).

(8) Herodot. l. iv. c. 66. (9) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

which the Lacedæmonians, being come againſt Tegea, were diſcomfited by the help of the Arcadian women, and both they and their king Charilaus bound with the chains they had brought for the Tegeans: however, Charilaus was ſoon after releaſed, upon his oath and promiſe, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould not fight againſt them any more. The chains were afterwards hung up as trophies in the temple of Minerva Haliea, where they ſtill continued in Herodotus's time [o]. Polymeſtor was ſucceeded by his brother

22. Echmis, who aſſiſted the Meſſenians, the old and conſtant allies of the Arcadians, againſt the Lacedæmonians, and was ſucceeded by his own ſon

23. Ariſtocrates I. This prince, among other wicked actions, being fallen in love with a young virgin, prieſteſs of Diana Hymnia, a deity highly reverenced by the Arcadians, and having in vain tried to debauch her, went and raviſhed her at the very altar of the goddeſs. For this fact he was ſtoned to death by his ſubjects, who, to prevent the like ſacrilegious attempts for the future, ordained, that from thenceforth none but married women ſhould be admitted to the prieſtly function.

We know nothing concerning his ſon Hicetas, except that he was father to

25. Ariſtocrates II. the laſt of the royal line of Cypſelus, and with whom we ſhall cloſe this ſection; he was ſtoned to death by his own ſubjects for his treachery to the Meſſenians his allies, whom he betrayed to the Spartans, with whom they were at war. We ſhall ſee the ſequel of it in the next chapter: and all that we ſhall add here is, that the Arcadians, not content with his death, caſt his body out of their territories, left it expoſed without burial, and, to perpetuate his infamy, erected a pillar in a grove of mount Lycæus, on which they cauſed an inſcription to be ingraved, the purport of which you may read in the margin (O), as we find it engliſhed by Mr. Hind in his Grecian hiſtory [p].

SECT.

[o] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [p] p. 167. Vid. & Pauſan. ubi ſupra, & in Meſſenic.

(O) The baſe betrayer of Meſſene's ſtate
Has met at length a well-deſerved fate.
In vain perfidious traitors juſtice ſhun;
Hail, mighty Jove! ſave the Arcadian throne.

SECT. VI.

The History of the ancient kingdom of Thessaly, *with a short account of that of* Phocis.

THESSALY is supposed to have received its name from Thessalus [a], the father [b], or, according to others [c], the son, of Græcus, an ancient king of an obscure village, from whom the Greeks are said to have been descended [d]. It was also anciently called Æmonia, either from the famous mountain of that name, or from the daughter of Deucalion, or perhaps rather from Æmon the son of Chlorus, the father of Thessalus and grandson of Pelasgus [e]. From this last it was also called Pelasgia, and Pyrrhæa from Pyrrha Deucalion's wife; but it was most commonly known by that of Thessaly, as it is now by that of Janna. Name.

It was anciently divided into four districts, or perhaps kingdoms. Thessaliotis, Istiœotis, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis. Deucalion was king of this last when the deluge which goes by his name happened, which destroyed all the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring countries, except only such as happily escaped into the high mountains of Thessaliotis, and Deucalion and his wife, who were carried in an ark upon the waters nine days and nights, and rested at length upon Parnassus, from which they are feigned to have repeopled the country by throwing of stones behind them [f]. However, the name of Thessaly and Thessalians in time prevailed, and came to signify all the four parts. Sometimes it included Magnesia and Phthiotis, and sometimes not; sometimes it was joined with Macedonia, and sometimes severed from it, and again rejoined to it [g]. Division.

Thessaly, properly so called, had on the east the provinces of Magnesia and Phthia abovementioned, and these two were bounded by the Ægean sea. On the west it had Illyricum and Epirus, now Albania; on the north Macedonia and Mygdonia, and on the south Grecia Propria. Situation and extent.

[a] Steph. Byzant. sub voce Θεσσα. [b] Eusеb. Chronic. vid. & not. Scalig in eund. [c] Vid. Byzant. sub voce Γραικος. [d] Id. ibid. & Cluver. lib. iv. c. 8. [e] Byzant. sub voce Αιμον. [f] Ovid. Metam. init. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. [g] Cluver. ubi supra. Mela, l. ii. c. 3, & 4.

pria. It extended from weſt to eaſt about 1 deg. 20 min. that is, from 24 deg. 10 min. to 25 and a half eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth, from 39 deg. 50 min. to about 41 deg. north latitude.

It was famous for its twenty-four hills, the moſt remarkable of which were thoſe that follow:

Natural rarities. 1. Olympus, celebrated among the poets for its extraordinary height: 2. Othrys, where king Pirithous reigned over the Lapithæ: 3. Pelion: 4. Oſſa, which with Nephele were, according to the fable, inhabited by Centaurs, who were afterwards killed or driven away by Hercules, for their luſtful attempt upon the women that aſſiſted at Pirithous's nuptials. Here were alſo the plains of Pharſalia, and the delightful valley of Tempea, about ſix miles in length and five in breadth, ſo pleaſantly ſituate between the mountains of Oſſa, Pelion, and Olympus, ſo beautified with nature's gifts, and watered by the river Peneus, which ran through the midſt of it, that it was reckoned the garden of the muſes. On the ſouth borders of Theſſaly were ſeated the Dolopes and Myrmidons (A), whom Achilles led to the Trojan war.

Rivers. The whole kingdom of Theſſaly was very pleaſant and fruitful, being watered by ſeveral great rivers which run quite acroſs the country. The chiefeſt of them are the Peneus abovementioned, the Aliacmon, Erigon, and Axius; all which empty themſelves into the Ægean ſea by the gulph of Theſſalonica, anciently called Sinus Thermaicus. This country ſeems alſo to have been above others productive of poiſonous weeds and drugs. Hence Plautus makes uſe of the word Theſſalus to expreſs a poiſonous thing; but upon the whole it was ſo fruitful and delicious a country, that, like many others of the ſame rich nature, it was ſeldom free from foreign invaſions from ſome neighbouring nation or other.

Cities of note. Cities of note were; 1. Lariſſa, famed for giving birth

(A) The latter were ſo called from μυρμηξ a piſmire, not, as the poets feign, becauſe Æacus the ſon of Jupiter, ſeeing his country diſpeopled by a grievous plague, obtained a freſh ſupply of ſubjects from his father, by turning ants into men; but becauſe, as Strabo ſays, this people were very excellent in cultivating the ground, and imitated the piſmires in their diligence and œconomy, or took the hint of digging, tilling, and other huſbandry from that inſect.

birth to Achilles, called from thence Lariſſeus (B). Its ſituation was excellent, being near the gulph above-mentioned, and upon the river Peneus near the foot of Olympus, and at one end of the valley of Tempea: 2. Demetrias, ſituate on the Sinus Pelaſgicus, now Golfo dell Armiro, and ſtrongly fortified by art and nature: 3. Pegaſa on the ſame gulph, famous for being the place where the ſhip Argo was built, which carried the Argonauts to their famed expedition of the golden fleece, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by. Pythion, celebrated for the Pythian games, which were inſtituted here in honour of Apollo, and, as ſome ſay, in memory of his killing the ſerpent Python (C). The metropolis of Theſſaly was, according to Heliodorus [h], called Hypatha, and ſituated near the Sinus Malaicus, now Golfo de Ziton, and at a ſmall diſtance from mount Oeta, upon which Hercules ended his life, after he had put on the poiſoned ſhirt.

Theſſaly was famous, among other things, for ſuch an extraordinary breed of oxen, that Neleus king of Pylus refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to Melampus king of Tiryas, except he procured him ſome of them, which he ſoon after did by the help of his brother Bias

[h] Hiſt. Æthiop. ap. Heylin.

(B) Others ſay, that he was born at Phthia, eſpecially the poets. This difference might be owing either to the nearneſs of thoſe two places, or perhaps to his being born in the one, and making his reſidence in the other.

(C) We have already ſpoken of ſome others inſtituted upon particular accounts, and celebrated in ſeveral parts of Greece. The four moſt conſiderable were, the Iſthmian, the Olympic, the Nemean, and the Pythonian; theſe made four annual meetings for all the Grecians, who reſorted to thoſe places in great number, but which were ſtill much more eſteemed for the concourſe of the nobleſt and greateſt youths, who came to ſignalize themſelves there, ſome for their ſtrength, others for their activity, courage, wit, learning, and other valuable accompliſhments.

The prize, which was given to the victors at theſe Pythian games, was originally a garland of oaken boughs, which was afterwards changed into one of laurel. The reader may ſee a fuller account of all theſe games in Potter's antiquities (1).

(1) ch. xxi. & ſeq.

Rarities. Bias (D) [i]. What fine horſes they bred, and how expert they were in the uſe and management of that noble creature, we need not tell our readers, ſince the fiction of the centaurs (E) is allowed to have taken its origin from them [k]. This fable, however, reflects no leſs a brand upon them for their brutiſh incontinency, than it commends them for their ſkill in horſemanſhip. The attempt which they made upon the women at the nuptials of their neighbours, by Pirithous king of the Lapithæ, mentioned a little higher, is a pregnant proof of the one, and the hiſtory of their wars with other nations afford us a conſtant proof of the latter, ſo that in ſpight of their debauchery they have ſtill ſhewed themſelves a warlike nation, and as ſuch their alliance, as well as aſſiſtance, eſpecially that of their cavalry, was ever highly courted by contending powers. And indeed, if we conſider how liable the pleaſantneſs and fertility of their country made them to foreign invaſions, it will be no wonder they ſhould be ſo well inured to the trade of war. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that any thing, but their extraordinary valour, could have ſaved them from being ſwallowed up by ſome of their neighbours, conſidering

[i] Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c. xxxvi. [k] Oſor. Serv. Vattabl. & al.

(D) we have already ſpoken of theſe two brothers in a former ſection, and ſhewn how they came to their ſhare of the Argolic kingdom *. Our author adds, that Bias, to oblige his brother, having undertaken to fetch the oxen from Theſſaly, was caught in the attempt, and flung into priſon. But being a famous diviner, he plied his arts ſo well with Iphiclus the owner of them, by foretelling many ſurprizing events to him, that he obtained them as a recompence of his extraordinary ſkill. Bias brought them to Melampus, who preſented them to Neleus, and he left them to Neſtor, who cauſed them to be kept in a ſtable under ground, which was ſtill to be ſeen in our author's time.

(E) The centaurs were fabled to have the upper part of their bodies, that is, from the navel upwards, like a man, and from thence downwards like a horſe, and to have been the monſtrous offspring of Ixion, when he embraced a cloud inſtead of Juno. The ground of this ſtory was, that theſe people did manage their horſes ſo well, that they were ſuppoſed by other nations, to be but one creature with them, and as the moſt famous of them dwelt in a canton called in Greek Νεφελη, which ſignifies a cloud; hence came the fable of their being begotten of Ixion on a cloud.

* Sect. iii. of the preceding volume. c. de his vid. & Pauſan. in Meſſenic. ch. xxxviii.

ing, that their ſcanty territories conſiſted only of four ſmall kingdoms or diſtricts, as often disjointed from each other under different princes, as united together under one.

For this reaſon we ſhall not pretend to give here a liſt of their kings, much leſs of thoſe petty tyrants, who reigned, ſome over one or more, others over all the four diſtricts; but ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning what we find moſt remarkable under any of them, during this fabulous and heroic epocha (F). At the head of all muſt be placed the celebrated Argonautic expedition, which happened in the reign of Pelias king of Theſſaly about the year of the world 2720, or a hundred years before the taking of Troy. We do not, however, pretend, to ſettle this epoch with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop Uſher, without entering into the difference between Sir Iſaac Newton and him. The occaſion of this expedition was as follows:

Year of the Flood, 1714. Year before Chriſt, 1285.

Æson, the third in deſcent from Æolus, being either worn out with age or weary of government, whilſt his ſon Jaſon, whom he had by Polymela, or according to others by Alcimede, was yet very young, appointed Pelias, his brother by the mother-ſide, guardian of the kingdom till his ſon came of age. Pelias on the other hand, who had reſolved to ſecure the government to himſelf, ſent to conſult the oracle about it, and was bid to beware of the man that had but one ſhoe. It happened ſome time after, that, as he was ſacrificing to Neptune, he called his nephew to him, who was on the other ſide of a rivulet, and Jaſon, making more haſte than good ſpeed to croſs the brook, dropped one of his ſhoes, and gave him occaſion to think, that he was the perſon pointed at by the oracle. He then aſked him what courſe he would take with a perſon of whom the oracle had bid him beware, Argonautic expedition.

(F) Among the fabulous exploits of the gods we muſt not omit the rape of Cyrene a beautiful virgin, daughter to Hyſeus king of Theſſaly, by Jupiter, who conveyed her from the mountain of Pelion to that of Cyra, upon which Battus, ſo called from his ſtammering, ſettled a colony, and built a city which he called by the name of that princeſs, after which he is ſaid to have recovered the free uſe of his ſpeech, as the oracle had obſcurely foretold (2). There is alſo a fountain of the ſame name near that city, which was dedicated to Apollo (3).

(2) Juſtin l. xiii. c. 7. (3) Pauſan. in Lacon.

and Jaſon readily anſwered, that he would ſend him to Colchis in ſearch of the Golden Fleece (G). His uncle took him at his word, and ſent him immediately upon that enterprize [l]. Jaſon made no difficulty to obey, and haveing engaged a conſiderable number of young noblemen, the flower of all Greece, to this expedition; he procured a ſhip to be built for his purpoſe at Pegaſa, by one Argus, from whom he called it Argos, and hence he and his gallant company were called Argonautæ.

THESE adventurers, after many ſtrange difficulties and exploits, which the reader will find in the margin (H), arrived

[l] lib. i.

(G) This fabulous fleece was then in poſſeſſion of Æetes king of Colchis, a country lying between the Euxine ſea and Iberia, and now called Mengrelia. It then had ſome conſiderable mines of gold which gave riſe to the fable of the fleece. The country abounding alſo with poiſonous drugs and plants, which Medea, king Æetes's daughter, knew how to prepare and make uſe of; the poets thought fit to turn her into an enchantreſs. The fable adds, that the fleece was hung upon a large oak in the grove of Mars, and was guarded by a dragon who never ſlept.

(H) The firſt place they touched at was the iſland of Lemnos in the Ægean ſea, inhabited by female warriors, who, though they had killed their huſbands in order to lead an Amazonian life, yet were ſo charmed with theſe brave youths, that they took them to their beds. They ſailed next to the country of the Deliones, where they were kindly received by their king Cyzicus, but looſeing from thence in the night, and being driven back by contrary winds, they were miſtaken for Pelaſgians, with whom they were then at war. A fierce engagement enſued, in which Cyzicus and a great number of his men were killed on the ſpot. The return of day-light having diſcovered the unhappy miſtake, they only ſtayed to bury the dead, and ſailed to Myſia, a country in Aſia Minor near the Helleſpont †.

Here Hercules plying his oar with more might than ſkill, unluckily broke it, and whilſt he was gone into the wood to cut himſelf a new one, Hylas, his beloved boy, was ſtolen by a nymph, as he was drinking at a fountain, ſo that whilſt he and his brother-in-law's ſon Polyphemus went in ſearch of him, the Argonautæ left them behind and ſailed into Bithynia.

Here Amycus the ſon of Neptune, king of the country, a man of prodigious ſtrength, having obliged them, as he did all ſtrange comers, to fight with him at hurlebats, was killed by Pollux one of

† See vol. v. ch. xiv. ſect. 2. par. 2.

arrived at length at the land of Colchis, where the golden fleece was kept. They went immediately to the metropolis, where Jaſon acquainted Æetes king of the country with Pelias's command, and demanded the fleece of him. Æetes promiſed to deliver it to him, provided he could yoke together, by his own ſingle ſtrength, two fierce and terrible bulls (which had braſen hoofs, and breathed out fire and flame, and had been preſented to him by Vulcan), and plow the ground with them, ſowing it with the dragon's teeth which Minerva had given him, and were the remainder of thoſe which Cadmus had ſown at Thebes [m].

[m] Id. ibid. Vid. Hind. ubi ſupra, l. i.

of the Argonautic heroes. The Berbraces ſeeing their king fallen would ſoon have revenged his death on the victor, had not his brave companions reſcued him from the danger, after which they ſailed immediately to Salmydeſſus a city in Thrace, where they conſulted the famous blind ſoothſayer Phinæus, concerning the ſucceſs of their expedition.

This perſon, who, according to the fable, was continually infeſted with Harpyes, a monſtrous kind of bird with womens faces and foul long claws, who devoured one part of his proviſions, and poiſoned the reſt with the ſtench they left upon it, promiſed to direct them ſafely to Colchis, provided they would rid him of that infectious vermin, which they accordingly did. He then, among other directions, bid them beware of the Simplegades, two rocks, or, according to others, two iſlands, about half a league diſtant from the ſtraits of Boſphorus, and ſo near together, that at a diſtance they ſeem to run againſt each other, and which, the poets ſay, were often puſhed ſo cloſe by the force of the winds, that they ſhut up the paſſage. He therefore adviſed them to let a pigeon through it, and not to attempt the ſtraight, unleſs they ſaw him got ſafe to the other ſide; they followed his advice with ſome ſucceſs, the pigeon having loſt only one part of his tail, and the ſhip received a ſmall bruiſe on its hinder part.

From this ſtraight they ſailed to the mouth of the river Parthenius, and were honourably received by Lycus king of that country. Here Idmon, the ſon of Apollo and Aſteria, and a ſouthſayer of their company, was killed by a wild boar. Typhis their pilot did likewiſe die here, and was ſucceeded by Ancæus. At length, having croſſed the river Thermodon and mount Caucaſus, they arrived ſafe at Colchis, which was the end of their journey *.

* Apollon. Argonaut. l. ii. Apollod. l. i. Vid. Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

JASON, perplexed how to perform theſe conditions, was happily relieved by Medea the king's daughter, who was fallen in love with him. She promiſed him, that if he would marry her ſhe would aſſiſt him in it, and he had no ſooner agreed to it, than ſhe gave him a medicine, with which having anointed his body and armour, he was to be proof againſt the violence of the bulls, or, according to others, ſhe taught him how to tame thoſe fierce creatures, ſo as to be able to yoke and make uſe of them. She told him moreover, that the teeth which he was to ſow would preſently ſpring up into armed men, which would infallibly deſtroy him, unleſs he raiſed an immediate diſſenſion among them by throwing ſtones at them, during which he might eaſily cut them off. Jaſon, having ſucceſsfully performed the taſk, went and demanded the fleece according to Æetes's promiſe, whilſt he, inſtead of delivering it, was contriving how to deſtroy him and his company and burn their ſhip. To prevent this miſchief, Medea went, and by her inchantments caſt the watchful dragon into a deep ſleep, ſtole the fleece and brought it to her lover, who took her, and, at her deſire, alſo her brother Abſyrtus, into his ſhip, and ſailed away immediately with his companions. Æetes, who was ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery, purſued immediately after them, which when ſhe perceived, ſhe cut her brother in pieces, and ſcattered his mangled limbs about, in hopes to ſtop his further purſuit, as it actually did. For the diſconſolate king, ſurprized at her unnatural barbarity, ſtayed to gather up the fragments of his ſon's body, and buried them in a place called from thence Tomi, and in the mean time ſhe and the Argonauts eſcaped into Theſſaly, not without having firſt felt the effects of Jupiter's anger for the murder of Abſyrtus (I), and after having ſpent four whole months in this expedition.

DURING

(I) The fable adds, that Jove having purſued the Argonauts with dreadful ſtorms, and caſt them upon unknown coaſts, the ſhip Argos, to their great ſurpriſe, ſpake to them, and aſſured them, that that god would never be appeaſed, till they were cleanſed from their murder by Circe, a famed ſorcereſs, ſuppoſed to have been the daughter of Sol by the nymph Perſe, who lived in the iſland of Æea. They had no ſooner obeyed this miraculous order, than, ſailing by the coaſts of the Syrens, they were delivered from the danger of their inchanting muſic, by the more harming

DURING his abſence, Pelias, who never expected his return from Colchis, had taken ſome means to cut off his father, in order to fix the kingdom upon himſelf and his ſon Acaſtus, and the old king, being appriſed of his plots, had poiſoned himſelf by drinking a draught of bulls blood. His queen likewiſe, oppreſſed with grief for his death, and the ſuppoſed loſs of her ſon and kingdom, had hanged herſelf, ſo that Pelias now thought himſelf ſecure on his throne, when, contrary to his expectation, Jaſon returned ſucceſsful and victorious, and brought the fleece to him (K). However, he had ſo well ſtrengthened himſelf in it,

charming voice of Orpheus. Thence they ſailed between Scylla and Charybdis, invironed with the fire and ſmoke, which ſeemed to iſſue out of thoſe and the neighbouring rocks. They were, however, delivered from this danger alſo, by Tethys and the Nereids at Juno's command, and came at length to Corcyra the iſland of the Phæaces, where Alcinous then reigned. Here they were overtaken by the Colchians, whom Æetes had ſent in purſuit of them. Theſe went immediately to the king, and demanded Medea to be delivered to them, which he promiſed to do, in caſe ſhe was not already married to Jaſon. But his queen being appriſed of this promiſe, went and married them privately and out of hand, ſo that the Colchians, being forbid to return home without her, were forced to ſettle in this iſland, whilſt the Argonauts ſailed towards Crete.

Here Medea was again forced to make uſe of her inchantments to deliver the ſhip from being ſunk by the ſtones, which Talus, a man of braſs and the preſent of Vulcan to Minos, then king of that iſland, threw at it. This extraordinary man is feigned to have had one continued vein from his neck to his heel, the end of which was cloſed with a braſen pin; hence they pretend, that Medea, under pretence of making him immortal, only plucked out the pin and let out all his blood; others ſay, ſhe poiſoned him with ſome deadly potion. From Crete they came to Ægina, an iſland inhabited by the Myrmidons, whom they were forced to fight to get a ſupply of freſh water. Hence ſailing by Eubæa and Locris, they arrived at length at Jolcos, the place where they firſt ſet out *.

(K) We have obſerved already in a former note, that by this golden fleece was underſtood ſome mines in the country of Colchis. Theſe are ſuppoſed by ſome mythologiſts to have been contiguous to ſome of thoſe torrents which fall from the neighbourhood

* Id. ibid. vid. & Pauſan. Paſſ.

that Jaſon, brave and well accompanied as he was, did not dare undertake any thing againſt him openly. Medea was forced to have recourſe to her magic to be revenged on the tyrant, and, as ſome ſay, reſtored Jaſon's father to life. After this ſhe perſuaded Pelias's daughters to boil their old father, on pretence ſhe would reſtore him to life and youthful vigor, but upon her non-performance Acaſtus mounted the throne, and, having performed his father's funeral obſequies, baniſhed Jaſon and his wife from Theſſaly, who went and dwelt at Corinth, where we ſhall find them again in the next ſection.

ACASTUS is famed for having been a great hunter, and for the incontinency of his wife Hippolyta, or, as ſhe is called by others. Cretheis; which proved fatal to him. She was in love with Peleus the ſon of Cacus, and had ſolicited him in vain for ſome time, till, inraged at length at his conſtant refuſal, ſhe accuſed him to her huſband for having made ſome attempts upon her honour. Acaſtus, believing her and endeavouring to kill Peleus, was himſelf and his unchaſte wife ſlain by him.

THE next Theſſalian prince, both in time and fame, was the celebrated Achilles, the ſon of Peleus and Tethys the goddeſs of the ſea. This hero was king of Phthia, one of the four provinces of Theſſaly, and is feigned to have been dipped by his mother in the river Styx (L) when he was a child, and to have become invulnerable by it in every part, except the heel by which ſhe held him. After this ſhe ſent him to be brought up by the centaur Chiron, where he learned muſic, arms, and the riding of the great horſe. Being afterwards warned by the oracle, that if he went

bourhood of mount Caucaſus, and to have brought down with them ſome quantities of gold duſt, which the inhabitants ſaved by ſetting fleeces of wool acroſs ſome of the narrow paſſages of thoſe currents. This is indeed the moſt rational account that can be given of that matter, which the fabulous poets afterwards diſguiſed after their cuſtom, and embelliſhed with the ſtories of dragons, braſen bulls, dreadful ſeas, dangerous paſſages, and many ſuch difficulties which attended the ſearch after that precious metal.

As for the account which Suidas gives of it, that it was a parchment book made of ſheeps-ſkin, and in which was written the whole ſecret of tranſmuting all metals into gold: it ſcarcely deſerves to be mentioned.

(L) We have already ſpoken of this river in the hiſtory of Arcadia.

went to the Trojan war he ſhould meet with his death there, ſhe diſpatched him privately in woman's apparel to Lycomedes king of Scyrus, an iſland in the Ægean ſea and one of the Cyclades, where, among other exploits, he debauched Dejanira one of the king's daughters, by whom he begot the celebrated Pyrrhus, afterwards king of Epirus. This tranſaction, as Pauſanias obſerves, ſeems to have been deſignedly omitted by Homer as unworthy of his hero, though it has been preſerved by all the other poets.

In the mean time, the Grecian chiefs being likewiſe forewarned by an old prophecy, that their enterpriſe againſt Troy would prove unſucceſsful, unleſs they had Achilles with them, Ulyſſes undertook to find him out, and to bring him to that war, which he accordingly did. Tethys, finding that her ſon was determined to prefer a glorious death before the walls of Troy to an inglorious immortality, prevailed upon Vulcan to make him an unpenetrable armour, with which he went at the head of his bold Myrmidons to the fatal ſiege. Here he forbore acting for ſome time, upon a pique he had taken againſt Agamemnon on account of a beautiful female captive; but his reſentment being at length ſwallowed up in the death of his dear friend Patroclus, who had been killed by Hector, Achilles thenceforth ſought nothing but to revenge it, which he ſoon after did. Hector was not only ſlain, but moſt barbarouſly uſed by him after his death, he having cauſed his body to be tied to his chariot, and dragged thrice round the walls of Troy. This inhumanity did not go long unpuniſhed, and Priam having redeemed his ſon's ſhattered remains at an exceſſive price, Paris, another of his ſons, ſoon after ſhot Achilles in the heel, the only place in which he was not invulnerable *.

The two moſt memorable things, which the Theſſalians are ſince recorded for, are, their driving the Bœotians from their country of Arne a ſmall territory in Theſſaly, ſo called from its metropolis built by Bœotus, the ſon of Neptune by Arne, the daughter of Æolus (M) the ſecond

* See vol. v. ch. xiii. at the latter end.

(M) This Æolus finding his daughter pregnant, is ſaid to have ſent her to Metapontium, a city in Italy (4), where ſhe was delivered of two ſons Æolus and Bœotus, the former of whom poſſeſſed

(4) Id. ſub voc. Μεταπονται.

cond of that name, who was the ſon of Hyppotes and grandſon of Mimas king of Æolis; and their conſtant wars againſt the Phocians. The former of theſe happened, according to Thucydides, ſixty years after the taking of Troy, and about a hundred after their firſt ſettlement in that territory; when the Bœotians, being driven thence, went and poſſeſſed themſelves of a country then named Cadmeis, and called it by their name Bœotia. We have elſewhere ſpoken of that country, and given another etymology of it, to which we refer the reader.

As for their wars with the Phocians (N), it is not eaſy to gueſs at the true ground of them, only we find, that there was an irreconcileable hatred intailed between thoſe two nations, which proved a conſtant ſource of freſh and bloody encounters, in which the Theſſalians, though ſuperior in ſtrength, eſpecially on account of their cavalry, were very often worſted by the policy of their enemies, witneſs thoſe ſtatues of Apollo, Minerva, Diana, and other trophies, which, Pauſanias tells us, they ſet up, both on their borders and at the temple of Delphos, in memory of their ſignal victories over them. The truth is, the kingdom of Phocis was very mountainous, and the avenues to it very rugged, ſo that the Theſſalians, who ſeem ſtill to have been the aggreſſors, could receive but little benefit from their horſe. On the contrary, the ſame author gives us a remarkable inſtance, in which it even proved detrimental to them. We ſhall give it our readers pretty near in his own words [n]. 'The Phocians having got intelligence, that

[l] Lib. i. [m] In Phocid. c. xiii. [n] Ibid. c. 1. Vid. & Herodot. l. i. & viii. Juſtin. Diod. & al.

ſeſſed himſelf afterwards of the iſles in the Tyrrhenian ſea, ſince called by his own name Æolides, in one of which he built the city Lipara. Bœotus went to Æolis to his grandfather and ſucceeded him in his kingdom, calling the country Arne from his mother, whilſt his people retained that of Bœotians from him (5).

(N) The Phocians were a people who inhabited that tract of land, which lies between the ſouth border of Theſſaly and the iſthmus of Corinth. It ſeems therefore, that this their neighbourhood was a conſtant ſource of their wars, whatever other motives there might be for their invincible hatred. We ſhall give a fuller account of this warlike nation in the cloſe of this ſection.

(5) D. Sicul. c. 4.

that the Theſſalians were invading them by the road of Hyampolis (a city ſituate near the mount Parnaſſus), they ſtrewed all that way with empty pots and potſherds, which they covered, however, ſo well with earth, that the Theſſalian horſe, who came riding full ſpeed, did not perceive it, till they were ſo intangled in it, that they were all cut in pieces by them °. Their deſire of revenge ſoon made them raiſe a more powerful army than the former, which ſo alarmed the Phocians, who dreaded above all their cavalry, more formidable for their famed dexterity than for their number, that they ſent to conſult the Delphic oracle concerning the event of this invaſion. The anſwer they received was, That a mortal and a deity were going to engage in a bloody fight; that both would come off victorious; but that the mortal would get the better. Upon receiving this anſwer, they ſent Gelon with 300 men in the night to obſerve the motions of the Theſſalians, but with expreſs orders not to engage with them, but to return by ſome by-ways. But he falling unfortunately into their hands with his men, they were all either trampled to death by their horſes, or put to the ſword. The news of this threw the Phocians into ſuch conſternation, that they reſolved either to conquer or periſh to the laſt man. Their firſt care was to ſecure their wives and children, the ſtatues of their gods, and what elſe they had that was valuable, in a convenient place, near which they reared a large pile of wood. They committed the care of all theſe to ſome thirty of their moſt reſolute men, with orders, that, if they loſt the day, they ſhould murder their wives and children, and ſet fire to the pile of wood, and fling all their other riches into it.

THIS deſperate reſolution, which gave riſe to the proverb of the Phocian deſpair, was no ſooner taken, than they marched directly againſt their enemies, and the remembrance, that the fate of their wives, children, country, and all that was dear to them, depended on the ſucceſs of this combat, made them engage with ſuch deſperate fury, that they gained a complete victory, which ſoon unfolded the meaning of this oracle. For upon enquiry they found, that the Theſſalian word for the onſet was Minerva Itonia, and that of the Phocians was the name of Phocus their founder; in gratitude therefore to the Delphic god, they erected a ſtatue to him, together with thoſe of their

° Herodot. l. viii. Pauſan. in Phocid.

their moſt famous heroes and generals, in his temple at Delphos [p].

THE Theſſalians were ſtill more ſtrangely outwitted upon another expedition againſt the Phocians, when having entered their territories, and forced them as far as mount Parnaſſus, they were routed by the following ſtratagem, deviſed by Telias, a famous diviner, who was then in the Phocian army and highly eſteemed amongſt them. They took ſix-hundred choſen men, and covered their armour and faces all over with plaiſter, and ſent them into the Theſſalian camp in the dead of the night, with orders to kill every man they met with, that was not plaiſtered over like themſelves. Theſe in their march being firſt perceived by the outguard, and afterwards by the whole camp, and miſtaken for ſome ſtrange army of ghoſts, threw their enemies into ſuch pannic fear, that they killed 3000 of them upon the ſpot, routed the reſt, and got a conſiderable ſpoil, the tenth of which they ſent to the Delphic Apollo, together with one-half of the ſhields of the ſlain; the other-half was hung up as a trophy in the city of Aba [q]. Theſe frequent foils, however, did but the more heighten their implacable hatred againſt them, inſomuch, that they never ceaſed their hoſtilities againſt each other, till each ceaſed to be a nation. But this, as well as their affairs with the other ſtates of Greece, will be beſt ſeen in the following chapter.

The ancient kingdom of Phocis.

HAVING ſaid ſo much of the Phocians war againſt the Theſſalians, we ſhall here ſubjoin an account of that brave nation and of their territories, inconſiderable indeed with reſpect to the ſmallneſs of them, yet richly deſerving our notice upon ſeveral accounts, though not worth being treated of in a ſeparate ſection, conſidering how little we know of its original foundation, ſucceſſion of kings, government, and laws, and other ſuch-like particulars.

Situation and limits.

¶ Phocis was ſituate in Græcia Propria, and, as we lately obſerved, between Theſſaly and the bay of Corinth, having the former on the north, and the latter on the ſouth. On the weſt it was bounded by Ætolia, Locris, and Ozolea, and on the eaſt by Bœotia and Megaris, ſo that it was hemmed in from the ſea on all but the ſouth ſide. Its greateſt length was from north to ſouth, that is from 38 deg. 45 min. to 39 deg. 20 min. or about 35 miles; but very narrow from eaſt to weſt, ſcarcely extending

[p] Id, ibid. [q] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

tending 30 miles, that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 40 min. at the wideſt, but about 20 miles towards the Corinthian bay, and much narrower ſtill towards the north [r].

THIS country is generally allowed to have took its name from Phocus the ſon of Ornytion, a native of Corinth; but having been ſoon after invaded by the Æginetæ, under the conduct of another Phocus, who was the ſon of Æacus king of Ænopia (O), the memory of the firſt did inſenſibly give way to that of the ſecond. Name.

Phocis is famed for ſeveral celebrated mountains, the three principal of which were, 1. that of Parnaſſus, ſacred to Apollo and extolled by all the poets. Its height was ſuch, that Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha with many others are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves on the tops of it from the deluge, which happened in that prince's time, and has ſince gone by his name. 2. Helicon, and 3. Cythæron, both conſecrated to the muſes, and on that account highly celebrated alſo by the poets. They are ſaid to contend with that of Parnaſſus for height and bigneſs [f]. Phocis had no rivers of any note except the Cephiſus, which runs from the foot of Parnaſſus northward, and empties itſelf into the Pindus, which laſt was near the boundary of that kingdom. Mountains.

IT had ſeveral conſiderable cities, the chief of them was that of Delphos, or Delphi (P), famous for the temple of Apollo, whoſe oracle was reſorted to from all parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa. We have had occaſion to ſpeak

[r] Strab. Pauſan. Mela. Cluver. &c. [f] Id. ib. Vid. & Virg. Ovid. Perſ. &c.

(O) This Æacus was the reputed ſon of Jupiter by Ægina queen of Ænopia, called afterwards from her Æginea. He is recorded to have been a prince of ſuch ſtrict juſtice, that, after his death, Plato appointed him one of the three judges of hell. It is no wonder therefore, if his ſon Phocus, whom he had by his ſecond wife, who was the daughter of Nereus, one of the gods of the ſea, did quite eclipſe and obliterate the fame of his predeceſſor.

(P) So called, as is ſuppoſed, from the Greek Αδελφοι, brethren, becauſe Apollo and his brother Bacchus were both worſhipped there. The fable ſays, that Bacchus, having been terribly torn and mangled by the Titans, was brought to Apollo, who both reſtored him, and ordered divine honours to be paid to him in this temple.

ſpeak ſomething of the name, antiquity, richneſs, and magnificence of it in a former ſection, and there given an account of the manner in which that oracle was conſulted and delivered; and ſhall now add ſuch other particulars as we find recorded concerning the original of it. We have already hinted, that Apollo was the deity who preſided over it. How he came by it is variouſly reported, and may be ſeen in the margin (Q). Its firſt diſcovery was owing to ſome goats who were feeding on mount Parnaſſus, upon which was a miraculous, deep, and large cavern, but with a narrow entrance. Theſe goats having been obſerved by the goat-herd, whom Plutarch calls Coretas, to friſk and leap after a ſtrange and unuſual manner, and to have uttered ſtrange and unheard-of ſounds immediately upon their approach to the mouth of the cavern, he had the curioſity to go and view it, and found himſelf ſeized with the like fit of madneſs, ſkipping, and dancing, and foretelling things to come. At the news of this whole multitudes flocked thither, many of whom were poſſeſſed with ſuch phrenetic enthuſiaſm, that they threw themſelves headlong into the vorago; inſomuch, that they were forced to iſſue an edict to forbid the approach of the cavern. After this they placed the tripod at the mouth of it, upon which a virgin being ſeated received and returned the anſwers of the deity, in the manner we have elſewhere deſcribed [c]. We meet with ſome different accounts of this wonderful place, which Pauſanias has given us upon the credit

[c] Vid. Diod. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. iv.

(Q) Some ſay, that this oracle did originally belong to the earth, and uſed to give its anſwers by dreams. Others, that Neptune and the earth were at firſt partners in it, but that he reſigned his ſhare to the earth, who was ſucceeded by her daughter Themis, the ſame who was conſulted, according to Ovid, by Deucalion and his wife after the flood, and taught them how to repeople the earth. Themis in time reſigned it to her ſiſter Phœbe, and ſhe to Apollo (1).

Some ancient poets do indeed tell us, that he did not come ſo fairly by it, but that he took it by main force from the earth, for which ſhe was like to have precipitated him into the infernal regions, had not Jupiter come to his aſſiſtance (2), who ſeems on all hands to have confirmed the poſſeſſion of the oracle to him.

(1) D. Sicul. lib. xvi. Pauſan. in Phocid. (2) Pindar. Euripid. in Iphigen. Scholiaſt. in Æſchyl.

credit of the Phocians, and which the readers may ſee in that author [d]. This miraculous place was ſoon after covered with a kind of chapel, which, the ſame author tells us, was originally made of laurel boughs, and was more like a large hut. This, if we may credit the Phocian tradition, was ſucceeded by one of wax, and reared up by the bees. After this a third was built of ſolid copper, and ſaid to have been the workmanſhip of Vulcan. This laſt was deſtroyed by an earthquake according to ſome, or by fire which melted the copper according to others, and then a ſumptuous one, all of ſtone, was erected by Agamedes and Trophimus.

DELPHOS, among ſeveral other cities of Greece and Peloponneſus, contended for being ſituate in the middle, or, as the Greek expreſſes it, the navel of the world (R) [e], becauſe the navel is in the middle of the body. It had ſo convenient a harbour, and was ſo excellently well ſituated, being rather in the heart of Greece than of the world, that it became in time a ſeſſions-town for all the Grecian ſtates. Here ſat the court of the Amphictyones, choſen out of the prime cities of Greece, and called ſo from Amphictyon the firſt founder of this high court [f]. The time of their aſſembling was in ſpring and autumn; cauſes of all kinds were brought before them from all parts of Grecia, and their ſentence was deemed definitive. We ſhall have frequent inſtances of the power of this court in the courſe of the Grecian hiſtory. The following one which relates to the Phocians ſhall ſuffice for the preſent.

THE Phocians, having preſumed to plow the territories of Cyrra, which were conſecrated to the Delphic god, were ſummoned by the other Grecian ſtates before this court, and had a conſiderable fine impoſed upon them for their ſacrilege. They refuſed to pay it, on pretence that

[d] Pauſan. in Phoc. ſupra. & Corinth.

[e] Vid Strab. Geogr. l. ix. Pauſan. ubi

[f] Pauſan. in Phocid. ch. ii.

(R) The fable ſays, that Jupiter, deſirous to know the exact middle of the earth, let looſe two eagles, Pindar ſays crows, and others ſwans, the one from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt, and that they met in this place. The city of Philus and ſome others pretend to the ſame; but Strabo places it in the middle of Greece (3).

(3) Geogr. l. ix. Vid. & Pauſan. in Corinth.

that it was too large, and the next ſeſſion their dominions were adjudged confiſcated to the uſe of the temple. This ſecond ſentence did but exaſperate the Phocians the more, who at the inſtigation of one Philomelus, or as he is called by Plutarch Philomedes, went and ſeized upon the temple, plundered it of its treaſure, and held the ſacred depoſitum for a conſiderable time. This ſecond crime brought all the ſtates of Greece upon them. A war was decreed againſt them, which was called the holy war, and laſted ten years, during which the Phocians, having hired a number of foreign troops, made a noble defence, and would in all probability have held out much longer, had not Philip of Macedon given the finiſhing ſtroke to their total defeat and puniſhment. The war being ended, the grand council aſſembled again, and impoſed an annual fine of ſixty talents upon the Phocians, to be paid to the temple, and continued till they had fully repaired the damage it had ſuſtained from them; and till this was done they were excluded from dwelling in any walled towns, and from haveing any vote in the grand aſſembly. They did not, however, continue long under this heavy ſentence; their known bravery made their aſſiſtance ſo neceſſary to the reſt, that they were glad to remit it; after which they continued to behave with their uſual courage and gallantry, and ſoon obliterated their former guilt, as we ſhall ſee in the next chapter.

CONSIDERING therefore the great concourſe of people which this Amphictyonic court, the Delphic oracle, and the games celebrated in honour of Apollo, brought into the city of Delphi; to ſay nothing of the vaſt offerings and preſents which were ſent from all parts of the world, even by the very Scythians, unto that oracle, we ſhall not need wonder at its having been one of the richeſt and moſt opulent of all Greece; though that proved likewiſe the occaſion of its being ſo often plundered by other nations, as we ſhall ſee it was in the very next chapter.

THE next in dignity, both for its ancientneſs and grandeur, was the city of Elatea, ſituate on the river Cephiſus, and ſaid to have been built by Elatus, the ſon of Arcas the fourth king of Arcadia, and to have been peopled by a colony of that ancient nation which came with him into Phocis [g]. Aba was likewiſe conſiderable for having Abas, the

[g] Ibid. c. Vid. Byzant. ſub voc. Ελατεια,

the ſon of Lyncæus and Hypermneſtra, for its founder, and for having alſo an oracle of Apollo. This was alſo the only city that was not levelled with the ground after the holy war, when all the reſt were deſtroyed; but whether ſpared out of reſpect to Apollo, to whom it was conſecrated, or, as Pauſanias affirms, becauſe it had no hand in the plundering of the Delphic temple, we will not affirm. Cirrha, on the ſea-ſide of Delphi, was the port-town to it, and Criſſa, ſo called from Criſſus the ſon of Phocus, was another ſea-port. Theſe were both ſituate on the bay of Corinth, which was ſometimes called Sinus Criſſeus from the latter. The laſt city of any note was Daulis, not ſo much for its bigneſs or richneſs, as for the tallneſs and ſtoutneſs of its inhabitants, and much more for the inhuman repaſt which was ſerved there to Tereus king of Thrace by the women of this city, by whom he was ſoon after murdered, for the double injury he had done to his ſiſter-in-law Philomela, daughter of Pandion king of Athens (S). As for the other exploits of the Phocians, they will be beſt ſeen in the next chapter.

SECT.

(S) The fable goes, that Tereus, after having married Progne, did likewiſe raviſh her ſiſter Philomela, cut out her tongue, and caſt her into priſon, to prevent her diſcovering his villany, but ſhe fonnd means to acquaint Progne with her double misfortune, by working the whole ſtory of it on a piece of embroidery, which ſhe ſent to her. Progne took the opportunity of the approaching feaſt of Bacchus when they were all to meet together, and having got her ſiſter out of priſon, made her kill her ſon Itis, whom ſhe had by Tereus, and having baked him in a pie, ordered it to be ſet before him. When Tereus was appriſed of this, he endeavoured to kill both his wife and her ſiſter, but they, by the help of the Daulian women, got the ſtart of him and killed him. Ovid has ſince turned him into a lapwing, Itis into a pheaſant, his mother into a ſwallow, and Philomela into a nightingale who is ſtill bewailing the misfortune of her family.

Pauſanias adds, that no ſwallows hatch or breed in all that canton, either in chimnies or houſes, as they do every-where elſe (4).

(4) Phocid. c. iv.

SECT VII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of CORINTH.

THIS little ſtate was ſituate on the iſthmus of Corinth, having the bay of that name, now called Golfo de Lepanto, and the iſthmus or neck of land, which joins Peloponneſus to the continent, on the north, Sicyon on the weſt, the gulph of Saron on the eaſt, and the kingdom of Argos on the ſouth. Its utmoſt extent from eaſt to weſt was about half a degree, that is, from 23 deg. 50 min. to 24 deg. 20 min. eaſt longitude, and from north to ſouth about half that ſpace, that is, from 38 deg. 36 min. north latitude. It had no rivers of any note, but abounded with mountains, the chief of which was called Acrocorinthium, at the foot of which the city of Corinth, and on the top of which the citadel were built. It was alſo famed for the fountain Pyrene, ſacred to the muſes, and ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame that was called Fons Caballinus, in Greek Hippocrene, or the fountain of the horſe, which was feigned by the poets to have ſprung from the horſe Pegaſus ſtriking his foot againſt the rock. Others place this laſt fountain on the hill Helicon, but the greateſt part on that of Parnaſſus. As for that of Pyrene we ſhall ſpeak more of it by-and-by.

CORINTH is ſaid to have been founded by Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus and grandfather of Ulyſſes. This Siſyphus is the ſame who was killed by Theſeus for the many robberies he committed in Attica, and afterwards condemned by Jupiter to an endleſs puniſhment in hell (A), for having caught that intriguing god in the heighth of an amour with Ægina, the daughter of Aſopus king of Bœotia. The antient name of this city was Ephyra, which it took from a nymph of that name, ſaid to have been the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, or, according to others of Myrmex the wife of Epimetheus, the ſon of Japetus and brother of Prometheus. The time of its foundation by Siſyphus

(A) This puniſhment as it is feigned by the poets, conſiſts in the rowling of a great ſtone to the top of a hill, which he has no ſooner reached, than it tumbles down again, ſo that his labour is never to be at an end.

phus is placed about the year of the world 2490, or ſix years before Deucalion's flood [a].

Its new name of Corinth is variouſly traced, ſome thinking, that it was ſo called from the Greek κορινθος, ſatiety or abundance, implying the opulence of the place; others go ſtill farther for its etymon [b]; but the ancient inhabitants pretended, it had its name from Corinthus the ſon, as ſome of them ſaid, of Jupiter, or, as others, of Marathon, and brother of Sicyon (B). But moſt authors aſcribe the name and building, or rebuilding, of it to Corinthus the ſon of Pelops. Among other names it anciently had, we find that of Heliopolis or city of the ſun, for which this reaſon is commonly given, that the poets feign Apollo and Neptune to have contended for it, and that Jupiter having appointed Briareus the cyclop their umpire, he adjudged the iſthmus to the latter, and the promontory which commands the city to the former (C) [c].

[a] Vid. Hind. hiſt. of Greece, lib. i. [b] Id. ibid. [c] Vid. Apollod. Dio. Pauſan. & al.

(B) Pauſanias quotes an ancient Corinthian poet called Eumelos (ſome fragments of whoſe poems are ſtill preſerved in that author and in the works of Athenæus), according to whom, Marathon was the grandſon of Aloeus, who was the ſon of the ſun. And being for ſome reaſon afraid of his mother Epope's anger, he retired into ſome of the maritime coaſts of Attica; but after his father's death, being returned into Peloponneſus, he divided the territories of Sicyon and Corinth between his two ſons Sicyon and Corinthus, from whom they took their names. Sicyon being formerly called Aſopis, and Corinth Ephyra (1).

(C) If Dion Apollodorus and other mythologiſts may be believed, the gods were ſo fond of Greece, that in Cecrop's time each of them contended to have, at leaſt, one city, where he might be particularly worſhipped. Neptune came the firſt into Attic, where ſtriking the ground with his trident he formed a fountain or horſe. Minerva came ſoon after, and in Cecrop's preſence planted an olive-tree, which the laſt quoted author tells you was ſtill to be ſeen in his time (2). Theſe two deities diſputing their claims to the country on account of the preſent each had made to it, Jupiter cauſed the controverſy to be decided by the twelve gods, who adjudged the city of Athens and all Attica to Minerva.

(1) Pauſan. in Corinthiac. c. i. (2) Apollod. l. iii.

However, we meet with a number of other ancient cities of that name, or rather appellative, it being common in thoſe days to dedicate cities to ſome of the gods, and firname them accordingly, without loſing their original name.

Corinth had, beſides the abovementioned citadel on the eminence called from it Acrocorinthus, two port towns, namely, Lecheum, ſituate on the bay of Corinth, and Cenchrea (D), on that of Saron. Theſe were the only two havens, and indeed the only two cities of any note next to Corinth, that belonged to this territory. And theſe were ſo well ſituate for naval commerce, and ſo near the metropolis, that they made ample compenſation for the barrenneſs of the ſoil. Theſe two naval roads, which opened a way into the Ionian and Ægean ſeas, might eaſily have gained them a ſuperiority, if not a command, over all Greece, had not this advantagious ſituation inclined them more to commerce than war. For their citadel being almoſt impregnable by nature, and commanding both thoſe ſeas, they could eaſily cut off all communication from one-half of Greece to the other, ſo that it was not without reaſon called one of the fetters of Greece. But their genius leading them to improve theſe advantages more to navigation and commerce, than to martial exploits, they became in time exceeding opulent, ſo that the little influence they had over the other ſtates was rather owing to their wealth, than to their valour.

As their opulence daily increaſed, not only by their commerce, but by the great numbers of ſtrangers that flocked

But whether Corinth was called Ηλιοπολις from its being adjudged by Briareus to Apollo, or from Corinthus's being reputed the great grandſon of the ſun, or from the heighth and dryneſs of its ſituation and territory, is ſcarce worth enquiring. Only we cannot omit a conjecture of the learned Gronovius (3), that it was originally called Ηλοπολις from the ruggedneſs and barrenneſs of its ſituation and territory, for ſuch, Strabo tells us (4), it really was.

(D) That this laſt was a diſtinct city from Corinth, at leaſt in St. Paul's time, we may gather from Acts xviii. 18. and from his epiſtle to the Romans, Ch. xvi. 1. though it had the epithet of Corinthiaca in the poets, for being one of the havens of that little ſtate, as Corinthus had that of Bimaris, for being ſo conveniently ſituated between two ſeas.

(3) Not in Byzant. ſub voc. Corinth. (4) Geogr. l. viii.

ed thither from Europe and Aſia, their city became in time one of the fineſt in all Greece; being adorned with ſumptuous buildings, ſuch as temples, palaces, theatres, porticoes, cenotaphs, baths, and other edifices, all of them inriched with a beauteous kind of columns, capitals, and baſes, from which the Corinthian order took its name, with numberleſs ſtatues done by the moſt famous artiſts [d]. Inſomuch, that with reſpect to its riches (E), greatneſs, and excellent ſituation, it was thought by the Romans equally worthy of empire with Carthage and Capua. Among other artificial rarities we may reckon the ſumptuous embelliſhments of the fountain of Pyrene we mentioned a little higher (F), conſiſting of ſeveral caves in form of grottoes, all covered with white marble, from which the water of that fountain falls into a large baſon, and is very pleaſant to drink. 2. The theatre. 3. The ſtadium or courſe, both which are of white marble. 4. The temple of Neptune, whoſe avenue was lined on one ſide with the ſtatues of all thoſe who had won the prize at the Iſthmian games (G), and on the other with ſtately pines

[d] Pauſan. in Corinth. c. ii. & ſeq.

(E) We need not a more pregnant inſtance of their wealth and luxury than that of the courteſan Lais, who uſually exacted 10,000 drachms for every night's lodging, which made the famous Demoſthenes ſay, that he did not deſign to buy repentance at ſo dear a rate. But ſhe met with a worſe fate in Theſſaly, whither ſhe went in ſearch of freſh cuſtomers; for there the women, envious of her beauty, and jealous of their huſbands and ſons, put her to death.

(F) Pauſanias tells us, this fountain owed its firſt origin to the tears which Pyrene ſhed for the death of her ſon Cenchreus, who was unfortunately killed by Diana. He adds, that it was commonly believed, that the Corinthians dipped their copper in that water, as ſoon as it came out of the furnace, to give it a better temper; but he aſſures us, that it was a vulgar error, ſince they had no copper among them (5).

(G) The origin of thoſe games is variouſly reported; ſome ſay, they were inſtituted by the Corinthians in honour of Melicertes, the ſon of Athamas and Ino (6). The fable ſays, that Athamas king of the Orchomenians, having taken Ino the daughter of Cadmus in ſecond marriage, after he had had two ſons by his firſt wife Nephele, Ino proved ſo cruel a ſtep-mother to them, that her huſband grew enraged at her, and, having put Learchus one of

(5) Corinth. c. iii. (6) Id. ibid.

ſet in regular rows. The temple itſelf, which was not very ſpacious, was adorned with a multitude of brazen Tritons, or Sea Gods. Here were alſo the chariots of Neptune and of his wife Amphithrite, both drawn by horſes covered all over with gold, except their hoofs, which were of ivory. The two deities were carved in a ſtanding poſture, and Neptune had young Palæmon riding on a dolphin by his ſide. The baſes of the chariots were likewiſe adorned with curious baſ-reliefs, and the temple with a multitude of other embelliſhments. It were endleſs to deſcribe all the other edifices, and maſter-pieces of architecture, carving, and painting, with which this ſmall ſpot of ground was inriched, the reader, if he pleaſe, may ſee them deſcribed more at large by Pauſanias abovementioned.

But while the Corinthians ſeemed ſo wholly given up to traffick and luxury, that they neglected the encouragement of the liberal arts and ſciences, and even that noble thirſt for glory and conqueſt, for which their neighbours did ſo much value themſelves; they did not forget to cultivate a good diſcipline, both in peace and war; their wealth

of the ſons he had by her to death, would have killed her and her other ſon; but that ſhe, to avoid her huſband's fury, haveing thrown Melicertes down into the ſea, and herſelf after him (7), a dolphin took the young prince upon his back, and ſwam with him to Corinth, where the Corinthians received and highly honoured him, changing his name into that of Palæmon, and inſtituting thoſe games in memory of his deliverance. The victors were, according to our author, crowned with pine leaves.

But the generality attribute them to Theſeus in honour of Neptune; the reader may ſee what we have ſaid of that hero in a former ſection *.

They were afterwards obliged to appoint new games, accompanied with ſacrifices, in honour of the ſons of Medea, whom they had unjuſtiy put to death, and for which it ſeems they had been puniſhed by the gods, with the death of their own children, who uſed to expire unaccountably in their cradles, till the murder was, by the advice of the oracle, expiated by thoſe annual ceremonies. In further memory of this murder they erected a ſtatue repreſenting fear, in honour of Medea, and their children uſed to go in black, and with their hair cut, and this cuſtom laſted till all the old race of the Corinthians was extirpated with their city (8).

(7) Apollod. l. i. * Vol. v. Ch. xvii. Sect. iii. par. 20.
(8) Vid. Pauſan. Cor. c. iii.

wealth and opulence, which made them inſolent at home and envied abroad, made both indeed very neceſſary. And though they ſeldom, if ever, engaged in any war with a view of enlarging, but chiefly either of defending, their territories, or to protect ſome neighbouring ſtate, to maintain the liberty of Greece; yet has this little kingdom furniſhed many brave and experienced generals to the reſt of the Grecian cities, inſomuch, that it was common for theſe to prefer a Corinthian general to one either of their own, or of any other ſtate. The truth is, the Corinthians were of all others the greateſt aſſertors of liberty, and though they continued ſome centuries under a monarchical government, yet they always ſhewed an averſion to tyranny, and a readineſs to aſſiſt thoſe who groaned under it.

THE Corinthian monarchy did not, however, continue in the lineal ſucceſſion of their founder Siſyphus, who is ſuppoſed to have begun it about the year of the world 2490, above ſeven or eight generations, or about 470 years, when his line became extinct, or, as others affirm, was dethroned, and expelled the kingdom by Aletes, one of the Heraclidæ, about the year of the world 2960. From him we meet with a long ſucceſſion of kings of his line concerning the greateſt part of whom little elſe remains but their names and the years they are ſaid to have reigned; for this reaſon we think it needleſs to give here a liſt of thoſe monarchs, whoſe names the reader may ſee in Euſebius's chronicle, and ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning the moſt remarkable tranſactions that happened during this epocha. After the ending of Siſyphus's line, the kings who deſcended from Aletes affected to call themſelves Heraclidæ, he being the great grandſon of Antiochus the ſon of Hercules [c]. This name, however, they changed for that of Bacchiadæ, from Bacchis the fifth in deſcent from Aletes, whom we may therefore ſuppoſe to have been upon ſome account or other more famous and eſteemed than his anceſtors. Theſe Bacchiadæ held the kingdom of Corinth near as long as the Heraclidæ, by which time they grew ſo numerous on the one hand, and on the other ſo weary of kingly government, that they intirely diſſolved it in the reign of Teleſtes their laſt king. This prince being become very odious to his ſubjects, his two kinſmen Arieus and Perontas formed a conſpiracy againſt

Year of the Flood, 1915. Year before Chriſt, 1084.

[c] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c. iv.

againſt him, and at once deprived him of his kingdom and life, after he had reigned twelve years [f], in the year of the world 3104. After his death two hundred of the principal Bacchiadæ ſeized upon the government (H), and ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among themſelves, electing a ſupreme magiſtrate out of their own body, whom they called Prytanis, to preſide over the reſt. Corinth continued under the Bacchiadal ariſtocracy till the year 3349, when Cypſelus, deſcended from them by the mother's ſide (I), having received ſome obſcure hint from the oracle

Year of the Flood, 1099. Year before Chriſt, 1960

[f] Id. ibid. vid. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(H) Some ancient authors do indeed tell us, that Automnes, the ſon of Teleſtes, did reign one year after the death of his father (9), and it is not unlikely, that he made ſome vain effort to keep the crown; but Pauſanias takes no notice of him, but tells us, the diſſolution of their monarchy did immediately follow the murder of that king (10), but whether in the laſt year of this or in the firſt of that, 'tis agreed, that the government was then changed into an ariſtocracy.

(I) His mother Labda, the daughter of Amphion, one of the Bacchiadæ, was lame, and ſo deformed, that none of her tribe cared to marry her. Wherefore her father gave her to one Eetion, a man deſcended at a great diſtance from the Lapithæ, contrary to the ſettled maxim of the Bacchiadæ, who had till then refuſed to intermarry with other families, the better to ſecure the government to their own.

This Eetion, having no children, went to conſult the oracle of Delphi, where he was told, though in very obſcure terms, that he ſhould have a ſon by his lame wife that would prove a ſcourge to Corinth. On the other hand the Bacchiadæ, having likewiſe been forewarned by the ſame oracle, and in the ſame intricate terms, againſt Eetions's off-ſpring, ſent ten men of their own body to murder the boy Labda had lately brought forth; and as theſe were going to Eetions houſe they agreed, that he to whom the child was delivered ſhould kill him. Their pretence was, to congratulate Eetion on the birth of it in the name of their whole body, and Labda, ignorant of their real intent, readily gave him to the firſt that aſked for it; but the infant at that inſtant ſmiling in his face, and he not having power to ſtrike the blow, he gave it to his next companion, and he, moved with the ſame pity, gave it to a third. The child was thus handed through all the

(9) Euſeb. D. Sicul. & al. (10) Corinth. c. iv.

oracle that he would be king of Corinth, and that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his ſon, but not by his grandſon, found means to wreſt the power out of their hand. The time of this uſurpation, which according to the oracle continued only in Cypſelus and his ſon, happened about the 30th year after the annual archontat of Athens, and is therefore beyond our preſent epoch. From Siſyphus, the firſt founder, to this Cypſelus, the Corinthian government had ſtood almoſt 840 years, or 430 years in the line of Siſyphus, 130 in that of Aletes, 130 in that of Bacchis, and about 150 under the Ariſtocratic government of the 200 Bacchiadæ.

SISYPHUS is generally allowed the firſt founder of the Corinthian kingdom (K), he was the ſon of Æolus, and

was

the ten, and reſtored unhurt to the mother, after which they withdrew.

They were no ſooner got out of the houſe, than they began to blame each other for not performing the deed, and agreed to go in again and be equal ſharers in the murder ; but the mother, who had overheard their diſcourſe, took care to convey the child under a buſhel or corn-meaſure, called in Greek κυψελη Cypſele, from which he afterwards took his name. Pauſanias calls it a coffer or cheſt, and adds, that it was made of cedar, and adorned with ſome fine carvings in gold and ivory, and that it was afterwards conſecrated by his deſcendants to Juno Olympia, in memory of his wonderful eſcape (11). However that be, the bloody deputies, having ſearched the whole houſe in vain, returned to their brethren, and, being aſhamed to own their weekneſs, made them believe that they had executed their orders, and Cypſelus, thus wonderfully preſerved, became in time the tyrant of Corinth, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter (12).

(K) Pauſanias doth indeed quote an ancient poet, named Eumelos, who pretends, that this country had been given by the ſun to Æetes, and that he, accompanying Jaſon in the Argonautic expedition, left the government to Butus the ſon of Mercury, from whom it having paſt in time to Corinthus the ſon of Marathon, who died without iſſue, or according to Apollodorus left only one daughter, the Corinthians invited Jaſon and Medea to come and reign over them ; and that, Jaſon having taken a diſlike at Medea and gone away from her, ſhe appointed Siſyphus her ſucceſſor (13).

But

(11) Pauſan. in Elid. c. xvii. (12) Id. in Corinth. c. iv. Vid. & Herodot. l. v. (13) Corinth. c. iv.

was killed by Theſeus for the many inroads which he made into Attica, as we hinted at the beginning of this ſection. He left ſeveral ſons, and amongſt them Glaucus who ſucceeded him, and Orynthus, or as he is generally called, Ornytion the father of Phocus, who carried a colony into Phocis, and called the country after his name, as we have ſhewn before.

GLAUCUS, called by Euripides Creon (L), received Jaſon and Medea into Corinth, after they had been both expelled Theſſaly by Acaſtus the ſon of Pelias. Here they lived about ten years quietly enough, till Creon having married his daughter Glauce to Jaſon, the ſlighted ſorcereſs Medea was ſo inraged at it, that ſhe ſet the palace on fire, murdered all the children ſhe had had by Jaſon, and fled to Athens [g]. Pauſanias adds, that Glaucus, haveing aſſiſted at the funeral games, which Acaſtus had inſtituted in memory of his father, was trampled to death by his own horſes [h], and that Glauce flung herſelf into a fountain, in hopes that the water of it would preſerve her from Medea's inchantments, and that the fountain was ſince called by her name [i].

BELLEROPHON, ſo called from his killing a man named Beller, was the ſon of Glaucus or Creon. We have ſeen in a former ſection how he was forced to retire into Argos for that manſlaughter, and there falſely accuſed by Stenobœa of an attempt upon her, for which he was ſent by Prœtus

[g] Vid. Apollod. l. i c. 9. D. Sicul. Bibl. Hiſt. l. iv. & Eurip. in Medea. [h] Elid. c. iii. [i] Id. in Corinth. c. iv.

But there are two ſolid arguments againſt this poetic fiction, the one, that Siſyphus was the brother of Cretheus, and this the grandfather of Jaſon, ſo that theſe two could not be contemporaries. The other is, that Siſyphus muſt have been dead ſome time before Jaſon came to Corinth, ſince Euripides tells us in his Medea, that Creon did then reign there, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with Glaucus the ſon and ſucceſſor of Siſyphus (14), as we ſhall ſee immediately.

(L) The author above quoted ſuppoſes him to be ſo called, not as it was his real name, but as it implied his regal dignity, Creon in Greek ſignifying the ſame as reigning or governing.

(14) Vid. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in eund. ibid.

Prœtus to Jobates king of Lycia, to be put to death (M). The firſt dangerous expedition, which the Lycian king ſent him upon, was to ſubdue the Solymi a neighbouring people, againſt whom he ſent him with a very ſmall number of forces; but that defect being ſupplied by his bravery, he overcame them; and, as the learned Bochart ſuppoſes, their three gods, which they painted on their enſigns [k], one in the ſhape of a lion, a ſecond of a goat, and the third like a dragon, and which he probably joined together in his own in memory of this conqueſt; and gave birth to the fable of his killing the monſter Chimæra (N). His

[k] Phaleg. lib. i. c. 6.

(M) It is likely, as Pauſanias obſerves (15), that Bellerophon never reigned at Corinth, and that he was forced to fly into Argos before his father's death; but what the ſame author adds, that both he and the Corinthians were then ſubject to the Argives, doth not ſo well appear. It is true, thoſe Corinthian troops that went to the ſiege of Troy, are ſaid by Homer, not to have been led thither by one of their kings, but to have marched under the enſigns of Agamemnon. But might they not have gone as mercenaries under him, as alſo did the Arcadians?

However, as Bellerophon never returned from Lycia to Corinth, we find Thoas his couſin, the ſon of Ornytion, on the throne there; and 'tis likely, that he aſcended it after Glaucus's death, and during Bellerophon's abſence.

As for the exploits of this hero, they have been ſo blended with fable, that we hope our readers will be contented with a bare mention of them, diveſted as much as poſſible from the poetic fictions, with which thoſe writers have diſguiſed them.

(N) This monſter the poets feign to have had the head and breaſt of a lion, the body of a goat, and the hinder parts or tail of a dragon, and that it ſpit out fire and flame (16). We have ſeen what the learned Bochart thought of it. The reader may ſee his arguments, which are far from being deſpicable, in the place above quoted. Others think, that it was a mountain in Lycia, which had ſome volcano on the top; that the upper part of it was only frequented by lions, the middle by goats, and the foot by ſerpents, and that our hero having cleared it of all that vermin, gave riſe to the fable of this Chimæra (17).

Others again ſuppoſe it to have been a noted pirate among the Lycians, named Chimarras, who had the lion, goat, and dragon, painted

(15) In Corinth. (16) De hac vid. Heſiod, Theogn. Lucret. Horat. Ovid, &c. (17) Vid. Serv. Comm. in Virg.

His next expedition was againſt the Amazons, from which he not only came off victorious, but extricated himſelf alſo from an ambuſh of Lycians, which Jobates had ſet to way-lay and murder him in his return, and killed every one of them. Jobates at length, ſtruck with admiration at his bravery and ſucceſs, ſought no more how to be rid of him, but how to reward his ſervices, which he did by giving him his daughter Philonoe in marriage and declaring him his ſucceſſor [l].

ALL theſe atchievements, however, if we may believe the poets, were not done without an extraordinary aſſiſtance. For Minerva, who took pity of the innocent prince, lent him the famous horſe Pegaſus (O), after ſhe had been at the pains to tame and break him to his hands, to whoſe help he is affirmed to have been beholden for the moſt ſignal of his exploits, eſpecially that of killing the Chimæra [m], againſt which Neptune was likewiſe pleaſed to give him his aſſiſtance. After theſe ſucceſſes and great change of fortune, he is ſaid to have grown ſo inſolent and preſumptuous, that it brought a new ſeries of miſchiefs upon him, which gave occaſion to the fable mentioned in the laſt note, of his having attempted to fly up to heaven upon Pegaſus, by whom he was flung down into the valley of Cilicia, where he died blind [n].

WE took notice above, that Thoas the ſon of Ornytion ſucceeded Creon or Glaucus; from him the crown deſcended to his ſon Demophon, to his grandſon Propidas, and

[l] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [m] Apollod. l. ii. c. 3. [n] Id. Ibid. Pauſan. Sicul. & al.

painted on his ſhip, and was overcome by Bellerophon, after having infeſted thoſe patts a conſiderable time, and done great damage to Lycia, and all the neighbouring kingdoms (18).

(O) This famous winged creature is feigned to have ſprung from Meduſa's blood. The Corinthians had a temple dedicated to Minerva, whom they ſirnamed Chalinitis, from the Greek Καλινος a bit or curb-bridle, becauſe ſhe had clapt one in his mouth, in order to break him for our hero's ſervice.

The fable adds, that Bellerophon being got on the back of Pegaſus, was ſo affrighted at his mounting in the air, that the horſe finding himſelf without a rider, flew up to heaven, where he was turned into the conſtellation that ſtill bears his name.

(18) Plutarch. de virtut. Mulier. & Hind. Hiſt. Græc.

and laſtly to his two great grandſons, Doridas and Hyanthidas. It was in the reign of theſe two that the Dorians invaded the kingdom, with Aletes one of the Heraclidæ at their head, who forced the two brothers to yield the crown to him, and to lead a private life at Corinth. Aletes was the ſon of that Hippotes, who had been baniſhed Peloponneſus for ten years, by order of the Delphic oracle, for killing one Carnus an Acarnanian prophet in the war of the Epigoni againſt Thebes, mentioned in a former ſection.

He met, however, with an obſtinate reſiſtance from the Corinthians, who ſhewed upon that occaſion a great reluctance to ſubmit to a foreign prince; but unfortunately for them, Aletes and his brave Dorians proved too ſtrong, beat and expelled them out of that metropolis, and got at length the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom. From him it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of his deſcendants, under the names of Heraclidæ and Bacchiadæ, till Teleſtes the ninth from him. This prince, being very young when Ariſtomedes his father died, had been left to the care of his uncle Agemon, who ſoon after mounted the throne, and not only held it from him ſixteen years, but left it to his own ſon Alexander, who reigned alſo twenty-ſix years; but was at length killed by Teleſtes, whom it ſeems they had ſtill ſuffered to live during this long uſurpation, and who then ſeized upon his right, and enjoyed it till he was himſelf killed by a faction, as we hinted above; immediately after which followed the ariſtocracy of the 200 Bacchiadæ under their annual Pyrytanes [o].

[o] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Euſeb. Chron. li. D. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VIII.

The hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Lacedæmon *or* Sparta.

The original name of this country was Laconia, a name which this nation ſtill prided themſelves in, when it was afterwards changed into thoſe of Sparta and Lacedæmonians. As for thoſe of Sparta and Lacedæmon, though they be often confounded by writers ancient and modern, yet, in propriety of ſpeech, the former was only the name of the metropolis, ſo called, according to the tradition of

that

The name. that people, from Sparte, the daughter of Eurotas, and the latter of the kingdom or nation, and ſo called from Lacedæmon, the huſband of Sparte and heir and ſucceſſor of Eurotas. The ſame tradition adds, that Eurotas was the grandſon of Lelex, ſirnamed alſo Autochtos becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have been originally a native, and from him his ſubjects bore the ancient name of Leleges. Lelex was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Myles, and this by his ſon Eurotas, who finding the country very unhealthy and incommodious, by reaſon of the bogs and marſhes with which it was covered, cut a ſpacious channel through it, into which ſuch quantities of water drained themſelves, that it became a large river, which he called by his own name. Eurotas, having no male iſſue, married his daughter Sparte to Lacedæmon, the ſuppoſed ſon of Jupiter by Taygeta (A), and appointed him his ſucceſſor, from which time they agreed to call the kingdom by his name, and the city, which he built ſoon after and made the ſeat of the kingdom, by that of his wife [a], Thus far the Laconic tradition: others, however, derive the name of Sparta from Spartus, the ſon according to ſome, or according to others the brother, of Phoroneus [b], the ſon of the great Inachus the founder of Argos. Others make him the ſon of Amydas [c]. Stephen of Byzantium [d] tells us of one Sparton, who is in all likelihood the ſame perſon whom others call Spartus, and this is by ſome reckoned the brother, and by others the ſon, of Phoroneus [e]; but this laſt is

And their etymon.

[a] Pauſan. in Laconic. ch. i. Vid. & St. Byzant. ſub. voce Sparta & Laconia. [b] Euſeb. Chron. [c] Euſtat. in Iliad. B. [d] Sub voce Lacedemon. [e] Idem in voce Mycenas.

(A) This princeſs was the daughter of Atlas, king of Mauritaia and uncle of Jupiter and is ſaid to have been raviſhed both by him and by his brother Neptune; from her the mountain Taygetus had its name, on which was a noble monument erected in honour of her ſon Lacedemon. Near this place was alſo a village called Aleſies, from the Greek Αλεω, to grind, becauſe Myles the ſon of Lelex is reported to have found the firſt mules there, and to have made uſe of it for grinding corn (1).

This mountain was like famous for furniſhing huntſmen with a great variety of wild beaſts, ſuch as boars, deer, and vaſt quantities of wild goats (2).

(1) Pauſan. in Laconic. c. 20. (2) Id. ibid.

is confuted by Pauſanius, who tells us, that he doth not believe, that Phoroneus had any ſon of that name, and that the Lacedæmonians themſelves did not acknowledge any ſuch perſon. We omit that monſtrous account which ſome give of Sparta's being ſo called from Cadmus making an irruption into Laconia with his Sparti, who were ſaid to have had that name given them, becauſe they ſprang from the teeth of the dragon which he had ſown, and which we have mentioned elſewhere. This monſtrous ſtory is even rejected by the Greeks themſelves as a fiction. Under this variety and uncertainty of opinions, we think it would be vain to make further inquiries concerning the original of that name; as for that of Lacedæmon, it is generally agreed to be from the Lacedæmon mentioned above (B).

Geography. LACONIA was ſituate on the ſouth-eaſt nook of Peloponneſus, having Argos and Arcadia on the north, Meſſenia on the weſt, the bay of Argos on the eaſt, and the Mediterranean on the ſouth. Its extent from eaſt to weſt, where it reached furtheſt, was 1 deg. 45 min. that is, from 23 deg. 10 min. to 24 deg. 55 min. eaſt longitude; but it grew ſtill narrower, as it extended itſelf northward. The extent of it from north to ſouth was about fifty miles, that is, from 26 deg. 50 min. to 27 deg. 40 min. north latitude [g]. We do not pretend to ſay, that this extent of their dominions was ſuch from the beginning; it is likely, on the contrary, that their boundaries were anciently contained within a much narrower compaſs, and that a great number of thoſe cities both maritime and inland, which we find in this kingdom, were originally governed by kings of their own, and were not brought under the Spartan government till a long time after. Of this nature were the Heliots, Gythians, and many others, which were forced to yield

[f] In Corinth. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. lib. i. c. 22. [g] Vid. Strab. Mela, Pauſan. & al.

(B) Beſides the names of Lacedæmonia, Sparta, and Laconia, we find in ancient greographers thoſe of Lelegia, from the Leleges, whom Strabo makes the firſt inhabitants; ſo that the name of Laconia is poſterior to it according to him. It was afterwards called Oebalia from Oebalus the ſixth from Eurotas. It had alſo the name of Hecatompolis from the hundred cities which it is ſaid once to have had (3). It is now called Tzaconia.

(3) Vid. Strab. Geogr. lib. viii.

yield to the ſuperior power of the Lacedæmonians, eſpecially after the Ephori had ſo far clipped the royal prerogative, and enſlaved the people, that they were glad to make war a trade, and to fall foul upon all thoſe neighbouring ſtates, rather than live an idle and ſlaviſh life under thoſe upſtart and tyrannic magiſtrates.

As all the ſouth part of this kingdom was incompaſſed by the ſea, and the eaſt and north-eaſt part by the Argolic bay, it had a great number of promontories, the chief of which were thoſe of Malea and Tanara (C), now Capo Malio and Capo Matapan. Theſe two, being ſituate on the Mediterranean, form the large Laconian gulph which lies between them, and is now called the Golfo de Colochina, into which the famed river Eurotas, mentioned a little higher, and now better known by the name of Baſilipotamo, vulgarly Vaſilipotamo, or royal river, diſcharges her waters with an eaſy and gentle courſe.

Sea-ports.

ALL the ſea-coaſts of Laconia were likewiſe furniſhed with a conſiderable number of ſea-ports, towns, and commodious harbours. The greateſt and moſt convenient were thoſe of Trinaſſus and Acria, ſituate on each ſide of the mouth of the Eurotas and Gythium, at a ſmall diſtance from Trinaſſus. This laſt, Pauſanias tells us, had the remains of a caſtle ſtill ſtanding, which might be at firſt built to guard the mouth of that river, which was navigable quite up to Sparta, if not beyond. Gythium was famous, according to the tradition of its inhabitants, for having been built by Apollo and Hercules (D); but the moſt noted

(C) This cape, which juts out a great way into the ſea, had two ports, one named Achilleus, and the other Pſamatheus. Here was alſo the famous temple of Neptune built in form of a grotto, falſely ſuppoſed by the poets to be the paſſage out of which Hercules brought out Pluto's dog Cerberus, ſince there is no ſubterranean place under it; but what ſeems to have given riſe to this fancy was, that here was bred a moſt dreadful ſerpent, whoſe bite was ſo mortal, that it was thence called hell-hound, and which was afterwards killed by Hercules, and carried by him to Euryſtheus (4).

(D) They pretend, that theſe two, having diſputed a long while about a tripod, and at length amicably ended their quarrel, agreed to build this city at their common charge, for which reaſon the inhabitants of it pretend themſelves not to be ſprung from mortal men, and had the ſtatues of thoſe two gods in their market place, as of the authors of their origin (5).

(4) Id. ibid. Pauſan. Mela, &c. (5) Pauſan. ubi ſupra.

noted of all Epidaurus, now Malveſia, ſeated on the gulph of Argos, now Golfo de Neapolis, a town well built and well peopled, and famed among other things for its excellent wine called Malveſy, or Malmeſy, which grew round the neighbourhood of it, and with which it ſupplied other parts of Greece. There were about twelve more ſea-port towns along the Laconian coaſts, and what made theſe ſtill more famed, was a kind of ſhell-fiſh caught in that neighbourhood, whoſe blood was of excellent uſe for the dying of purple, and was inferior to none except that which was caught in the Red-Sea [h].

INLAND towns did likewiſe abound in this kingdom, the moſt conſiderable of which was Sparta the metropolis, called alſo improperly Lacedæmon, and ſituate upon the river Eurotas, at about thirty miles diſtance from the mouth of it. This city, if not founded, was at leaſt beautified, by Lacedæmon the firſt king of it. The next for antiquity and grandeur was Amyclæ, built by Amyclas the ſon of Lacedæmon, and famed afterwards for the birth of Caſtor and Pollux the ſons of Tyndareus, eighth king of Lacedæmon, and diſtant about eighteen miles from the metropolis. It was afterwards famed for ſending a conſiderable colony of its own inhabitants into upper Calabria, who built there a city which they called by the ſame name. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the Dorians, and turned into an inconſiderable hamlet, in which, however, there were ſeen ſome of the ruins of its ancient grandeur. One of the fineſt buildings that eſcaped the common ruin was the temple and ſtatue of Alexandra, whom the inhabitants pretended to be the ſame with Caſſandra the daughter of Priam. 3. Helos, ruined by the Spartans (E). 4. Thulana, near to which is the famous lake

Cities of note.

[h] Pauſan. in Laconic. ch. xxi.

(E) Theſe people, whoſe city had been built by Helius the ſon of Perſeus, had a worſe fate than any of the reſt. For having refuſed to pay the tribute impoſed upon them by Agis, the third king of the Heraclidæan line, the Lacedæmonians fell upon them with an army, took them priſoners, reduced them to the loweſt and moſt miſerable ſlavery, and, to complete all, made a law, which forbid their maſters either giving them their liberty, or ſelling them into other countries (6).

(6) Strab. ubi ſupra, p. 363. & 365.

lake of Lerna, where Hercules ſlew the Hydra. 5. Leuctrum, upon the bay of Meſſenia and ſituate near the ſea. We find two other cities of this name, one in Arcadia, and the other in Achaia; but this was the moſt remarkable of the three [i].

MOUNTAINS they had in great number, the country was divided from Meſſenia by one ridge of them, and from Arcadia by another; and this latter was a very long one [k], beſides thoſe which were in the heart of it. The greateſt part of them, however, were more celebrated for ſome fabulous exploits of their gods and heroes, than for any thing elſe they were remarkable for, and may therefore be paſt by. Rivers of note, beſides the Eurotas abovementioned, were the Smenus, which had its head near the foot of the mountain Taygeta, and thence empties itſelf into the ſea, and whoſe waters are famed for their ſweetneſs and pleaſantneſs. The Thiaſus, ſaid to have had its name from the daughter of Eurotas. The Scyras, where Pyrrhus the ſon of Achilles landed, after he came from Scyros to marry Hermione. This river, having till then no name, was from thenceforth called Scyras. We omit ſome others of leſs note.

Soil. THE ſoil was very rich, eſpecially in the low and flat grounds, and their being ſo well watered by rivers, and from the mountains, made it excellent for paſture-ground; but their being ſo overthwarted with hills and mountains, hindered them from being ſo well tilled as they might have otherwiſe been. But the country was much better ſituated for trade and navigation, by having the ſea round above half the kingdom, and ſo many fair havens upon it. How well they improved theſe advantages, how powerful they became, and what noble fleets they entertained, and brave experienced admirals they bred, will be ſeen in the ſequel of their hiſtory. The truth is, the Lacedæmonians were a brave couragious people, hardy, and inured to the trade of war both by ſea and land, averſe to ſloth and luxury, jealous of their honour and liberty, as well as of their neighbours power; they were wanting in no civil or military diſcipline, in order to ſecure the one and curb the other. And by theſe means it was, that they became ſo powerful, and made ſo conſiderable a figure in Greece [l].

THEIR

[i] De his Vid. Pauſan. ibid. & Byzant, ſub voce. [k] Mela. lib. ii. c. 4. & alib. Strab. ubi ſupra. [l] Vid. Thucydid. l. ii. Pauſan in Laconic. Plutarch. in Lycurg. Diodor. Sicul. &c.

THEIR government was like all others originally monarchical. Their kings had indeed ſome magiſtrates under them, whoſe advice and council they made uſe of upon all emergent occaſions; but as theſe were choſen by the prince and might be turned out at pleaſure, they ſeldom had courage enough to contradict him in any thing, ſo that his will was ſtill the ſupreme law. In this manner it paſſed through a ſucceſſion of twelve princes from Lacedæmon, the ſon-in-law of Eurotas and founder of this monarchy. Not indeed conſtantly in the male-line, which being extinct in Caſtor and Pollux the ſons of Tyndareus their ſeventh monarch, it paſſed to Menelaus, then king or Meſſenia, in right of his wife Helena Tyndareus's daughter. From him it paſſed to his ſons by a former wife, after which it returned again to the deſcendants of Helena, in Oreſtes the ſon of Agamemnon, whoſe ſon Tiſamenes, being outed by the Heraclidæ, went and reigned in Achaia, leaving the kingdom of Lacedæmon to the ſons of Ariſtodemus, Euryſthenes and Procles. For though ſome have placed their father at the head of the Herculean liſt, yet it is more likely, that he had been dead before they had finiſhed the conqueſt of this kingdom, if not even before they entered into Peloponneſus (F). Government.

HOWEVER, whether under him, or his twin-ſons, Euryſthenes and Procles (G), abovementioned, the govern-

(F) We have already taken notice, that this prince, who was the ſon of Ariſtomachus and brother to Creſphontes and Temenus is ſaid to have been killed by lightning at Naupactus in Ætolia, whilſt their navy was getting ready for this expedition; here it was that he left his twin-ſons Euryſthenes and Procles, whom he had by Argea the daughter of Auteſion (7) his ſucceſſors, both to the expedition and to all the conqueſts they ſhould make in it.

Pauſanias ſays, he was killed by the ſons of Pylades and Electra, who were couſin-germans to Tiſamenes the ſon of Oreſtes, before this expedition. And the Lacedæmonians pretended, that Apollo had ſhot him to death at Delphos, becauſe he came thither, not to conſult the oracle, but to adviſe with Hercules, who was there at that time, about the means of invading Peloponneſus; ſo that upon the whole it appears, that he was dead ſome time before the conqueſt of that peninſula by the Heraclidæ.

(G) This laſt is ſometimes called Procles, and ſometimes Protocles by Strabo, Plutarch calls him Patrocles; but Herodotus, Apollodorus, Cicero, and Pauſanias, always call him Procles; it

ment took a quite new form, and inſtead of one ſovereign became ſubject to two. For theſe two brothers did not divide the kingdom between them, as had been done at Argos, Meſſenia, Arcadia, and elſewhere; neither did they agree to reign alternately, as Eteocles and Polynices had done at Thebes; but, whether purſuant to their father's will, or by virtue of ſome mutual contract, they reſolved to govern jointly, and with equal power and authority; both bearing the title of king of Lacedæmon, and both being acknowledged and obeyed as ſuch. Pauſanias adds, that the Delphic oracle being conſulted about this new form of government, the pythoneſs did not make any objection againſt it [m]. What is ſtill more ſurpriſing is, that this biarchy, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, did not end with thoſe two brothers, though, from their mutual jealouſy and antipathy, one would hardly have expected it to have outlived even them, but continued in this condition under a bipartite ſucceſſion of thirty princes of the line of Euryſthenes, and twenty-ſeven of that of Procles, and ended in both near about the ſame time (H).

But, though this title and ſucceſſion continued thus long in thoſe two lines, yet was the power and authority ſoon curtailed, through the diſcords which muſt inevitably have reigned between them. Euryſthenes was ſucceeded by his ſon Agis, from whom all the deſcendants of that line were ſirnamed Agidæ, as the other line took the name of Eurytionidæ from Eurytion the grandſon of Procles. Theſe two ſoon came to divide themſelves into two diſtinct parties, under which the people, who are not always the dupes of thoſe that govern them, did liſt themſelves according as their affection or intereſt led them; and this obliged their heads to court them, by largeſſes, by ſome new privileges, and other ſuch-like condeſcenſions, which though they ſerved the preſent purpoſe, yet could not but prove in the end prejudicial to the royal prerogative. This the Lacedæmonians ſoon perceived, and being become conſcious how impoſſible it would be for either ſide to hold the

[m] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c. i.

it is likely, this difference is owing to the inadvertency of copyiſts, ſome of whom were uſed to abridge words and names, and others to write them at length.

(H) When Cleomenes III. the laſt of the firſt line, having killed his copartner Eurydamidas, was ſhortly after vanquiſhed by Antigonus, as ſhall be ſeen in the following chapter.

the reins of government under ſuch diſadvantageous circumſtances; they became the haughtier and more inſolent, as they found their affection and aſſiſtance neceſſary to either competitor. This gave birth to freſh complaints, murmurs, and every pretence or ſtratagem, which did but weaken the regal power. The conſequence of all this was, that the people, inſtead of becoming more tractable by any conceſſion, grew the more turbulent and headſtrong, taking every advantage they could againſt thoſe, who, thro' either their eaſy nature, or neceſſity, were glad to court their affection, and vexing and blackning thoſe, who had courage enough to curb and uſe them with any ſeverity. By theſe diviſions the regal dignity was brought into ſuch contempt, that the government was upon the brink of falling into anarchy and confuſion, when the great Lycurgus took the reins of it, during ſome part of his nephew Charilaus's minority.

THIS great patriot and lawgiver was the ſon of Polydectes, the ſixth king of the Eurytionian line, but by a ſecond wife. However, his elder brother dying without children, the right of ſucceſſion remained in him, and he accordingly took the adminiſtration upon him, waiting, however, to ſee, whether his ſiſter-in-law was with child. This princeſs finding herſelf pregnant, acquainted him with it privately, and with a promiſe that if he would marry her, ſhe would take ſome effectual method to deſtroy the embryo. Lycurgus, though ſhocked at the propoſal, yet gave her ſome diſtant hopes that he would comply with it, but withal uſed all proper means to prevent her miſcarying, till the time of her delivery was come, when he ſent for ſome perſons of note to be preſent at her labour. She was ſoon after brought to-bed of a ſon, the news of which being ſent to him whilſt he was at ſupper with ſome noble Spartans, he came immediately, and taking the child in his arms, ſaid to thoſe who were preſent, This is your king, laid him on a chair of ſtate, and gave him the name of Charilaus. This generous action did not, however, ſatisfy all the Spartans; the incenſed queen, by the help of her brother Leonidas, perſuaded many of them, that he was only acting a game in order to ſeize and make himſelf the more ſure of the crown by the death of the young prince. To prevent therefore ſo vile an inſinuation, and ſo far from his intention, from gaining credit, Lycurgus withdrew himſelf into a voluntary exile, from which he returned not till Charilaus was married, and had had a

ſon to ſucceed him. This laſt action having at once put an end to all thoſe unjuſt ſurmiſes which had been raiſed by his enemies, and procured him the eſteem of all thoſe that wiſhed well to their country; he met with leſs difficulty in the proſecution of his more glorious deſign of new-modelling the government. Another circumſtance which facilitated this change was, that during his abſence, ſuch depravity of manners and corruption in the government had crept into that miſerable ſtate, that not only his friends, but even thoſe who had been his moſt zealous enemies, were glad to repeat their embaſſies, to entreat him to come back and ſave his country from ruin [n].

THESE were the inevitable conſequences of that fatal diviſion of the regal authority between two competitors, which, however, Lycurgus took a quite different method of remedying, than by confining it again to either of the lines, which might have proved too dangerous a taſk. He contented himſelf therefore with reducing their authority, by conſtituting a ſenate endowed with the ſupreme power in all civil matters, and leaving to the kings, beſides the title and honour, only the management of military and religious affairs, as ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter, in which we ſhall give a more particular account of the form of government which he eſtabliſhed, the body of laws which he framed, and the extraordinary method which he took to give both a ſure and laſting ſanction.

THUS was the Spartan monarchy changed into a commonwealth, after it had continued in the line of Lacedæmon 610 years, that is, from the year of the world 2290, in which we place the building of Sparta according to the chronology we have hitherto followed, to its becoming ſubject to the Heraclidæ about A. M. 2900, and continued in the double line of theſe laſt during ſeven reigns, making in all about 280 years more. In the following liſt therefore of thoſe kings, we ſhall begin it only from Lacedæmon the ſon-in-law of Eurotas, who may be properly looked upon as the founder of that ſtate. As to his ſuppoſed predeceſſors, Lelex, Myles, and Eurotas, we ſhall content ourſelves with having mentioned them in the beginning of this ſection.

AND as for thoſe of the Herculean family, who reigned after the change of government made by Lycurgus, beſides that they are all out of our epoch, they are more to be

[n] Vide Auct. ſup. citat.

be looked upon as generals of the Lacedæmonian army, than as royal ſovereigns, and conſequently their names need not be mentioned here.

A List of the royal Lacedæmonian line.

1 Lacedæmon
2 Amyclas
3 Argalus
4 Cynorta
5 Œbalus
6 Hippocoon
7 Tyndareus his brother
8 Caſtor and Pollux
9 Menelaus
10 Nicoſtratus and Megapenthes
11 Oreſtes the ſon of Agamemnon
12 Tiſamenes

The Herculean line.

1 Euryſthenes
2 Agis
3 Echeſtratus
4 Labotas
5 Doryſſus
6 Ageſilaus
7 Archelaus

1 Procles
2 Sous
3 Eurytion
4 Prytanis
5 Eunomus
6 Polydectes
7 Charilaus

1. Concerning Lacedæmon, we know little more beſides what we mentioned at the beginning of this ſection, except that he built a temple to two of the graces whom he called Phaenna and Clete, celebrated by an ancient poet [o], and that his deſcendants raiſed a ſtately monument to him near the town of Aleſies, where Myles is ſaid to have found the firſt mule.

2. Amyclas his ſucceſſor is ſtill more unknown (I), except

[o] Alcman. ap. Pauſan. Lacon. c. xviii.

(I) The fable ſays, that of all the ſons he had, he was moſt exceſſively fond of Hyacinthus the youngeſt, becauſe he excelled all the reſt in beauty, inſomuch, that Apollo and Zephyrus became enamoured with him at the ſame time. Apollo being one day at play, unfortunately ſlew him with a quoit, and from his blood cauſed the flower of his name to ſpring up.

His diſconſolate father erected a ſtately tomb with his ſtatue, both which outlived the ruin of that city, and appointed a feaſt to be kept in memory of him. Ovid in his metamorphoſes makes this youth the ſon of OEbalus; but Pauſanias, who had ſeen his monument, ſays he was the ſon of Amyclas (8).

(8) Lacon. c. i, & xix.

cept for building the city of his name, mentioned a little higher, concerning which there goes a ſtory, that, whether by reaſon of its ſituation, or any other cauſe, it was ſo ſubject to frequent and ſtrange noiſes as of enemies comeing upon them, when there was really nothing like it, that the Amycleans made a law, that none ſhould dare to alarm the town upon any ſuch occaſion. The Dorians, taking the advantage of it, came upon them on a ſudden and took the town; and hence came the old proverb, I will ſpeak, knowing how the the Amycleans were ruined for holding their peace; and the old ſaying of Amyclas vivere, was uſed to ſignify to ſee, and hear, and ſay nothing. The people of this city became afterwards famous likewiſe for their ſtrict adherence to the Pythagorean doctrine, which forbids the killing of any living creature, and which they did ſo ſtrictly keep, that they forbore the deſtroying them. We have very little left concerning Amyclas's three ſucceſſors, Argalus, Cynorta, and Œbalus, except that this laſt gave his name to a canton of Lacedæmonia, which he had either conquered, or which he divided afterwards from the reſt, and gave to his ſon Hippocoon, whilſt the reſt of the kingdom was aſſigned to his other ſon Tyndareus. Œbalus married Gorgophone the daughter of Perſeus, by whom he had this Tyndareus, to whom he left the kingdom; but his brother, who reigned in Œbalia, came ſoon after and deprived him of it.

WHILST Hippocoon reigned in Sparta, Hercules happened to come thither to be expiated for the murder of Iphitus. Hercules, it ſeems, after having put away Megara, went to Œchalia, where he won Iole the daughter of Eurytus king of that country, at ſhooting againſt him and his ſons, an exerciſe which that king always propoſed to thoſe who came to court his daughter. But the king and his ſons, remembering how he had uſed Megara, refuſed to give Iole to him, in revenge of which affront he drove away Eurytus's horſes, and taking his ſon Iphitus, who was ordered to go in ſearch of them, up the top of a high tower, under pretence of ſhewing him where they were, threw him down headlong and killed him. Hippocoon therefore and all his ſons did ſtoutly oppoſe his being expiated, becauſe they thought the action too black to deſerve ſuch a favour [p], and Hercules ſtayed only for an opportunity of being revenged on him for his refuſal.

HE

[p] Id. ibid. c. xv.

He did not wait long for it; for a firſt couſin of his, named Œonus, who was come with him to Sparta, walking one day along the ſtreets of that city, paſt by chance before the houſe of Hippocoon, out of which a maſtiff came and flew upon him. Œonus flung a ſtone at him, which being perceived by Hippocoon's ſons, they ruſhed out upon him with cudgels in their hands and beat him to death. There wanted no more to rouſe the fury of that ſanguine hero, he fell upon them with what men he had about him, but, being wounded in the ſcuffle, he was forced to retire, but came not long after with a ſtrong reinforcement, and gave them battle, killed Hippocoon and ten of his ſons, beſides a great number of Lacedæmonians; and having taken the metropolis, he recalled Tyndareus, and left the kingdom, which was now become his conqueſt, to that baniſhed monarch in truſt for his own poſterity, as we have elſewhere hinted (K).

Tynda-

(K) Hercules, having ſucceeded ſo well in this expedition, is reported to have built a temple to Juno, becauſe ſhe had not thwarted him in it, as ſhe had formerly done upon all occaſions, and for want of a better victim offered up a goat, from which ſhe was afterwards worſhipped by the Lacedæmonians under the name of Juno Ægophage, or Goat-eater, and that creature became the conſtant victim which they offered to her there (9).

His laſt exploit, and with which this is a proper place to finiſh the hiſtory of that renowned hero, was againſt Eurytus, who retained, as he thought, unjuſtly Iole from him. He went therefore againſt him, ſlew him and his ſons, and carried off his daughter with him. Coming ſoon after to the Cenæan promontory in Eubœa, to offer ſome ſacrifice there, he ſent his ſervant Lychas to Trachin, to his wife Dejanira for the ſhirt and coat in which he uſed to perform that ceremony.

This princeſs had ſome time before been attempted by the centaur Neſſus, as he was ferrying her over the river Euenus, and Hercules, beholding it from the ſhore, had given him a mortal wound with an arrow. The monſter finding himſelf dying, adviſed her to mix ſome oyl with the blood which flowed from his wound, and to anoint her husband's ſhirt with it, pretending, that it would infallibly ſecure him from loving any other woman; and ſhe, too well appriſed of his inconſtancy, had actually prepared the poiſoned ointment accordingly (10).

Lychas, coming to her for the garments, unfortunately acquainted her with his having brought away Iole, and ſhe, in a fit of jealouſy, failed not to anoint his ſhirt with the fatal mixture, which had no ſooner touched his body, than he felt the poiſon diffuſe it

ſelf

Tyndareus, or, as he is otherwiſe called, Tyndarus, more glad to accept the Lacedæmonian kingdom upon any conditions, than ſollicitous about the performance of them, was no ſooner reſeated upon his throne, than he began to find out means to ſecure it to himſelf and deſcendants againſt the Heraclidæ. He had two brave ſons by his wife Leda, Caſtor and Pollux, and two daughters, the famous Helena and Clytemneſtra, whoſe ſtrange birth, as is fabled by the poets, the reader may find in the margin (L). Helen's

ſelf through all his veins; the violent pain of which cauſed him to diſband his army and to return to Trachin. His torment ſtill encreaſing, he ſent to conſult the oracle for a cure, and was anſwered, that he ſhould cauſe himſelf to be conveyed to mount Oeta, and there rear up a great pile of wood, and leave the reſt to Jupiter,

By that time he had obeyed the oracle, his pains being become intolerable, he dreſſed himſelf in his martial habit, flung himſelf upon the pile, and deſired the by-ſtanders to ſet fire to it; others ſay, that he left the charge of it to his ſon Philoctetes, who, haveing performed his fathers commands, had his bow and arrows given him as a reward for his obedience.

At the ſame time, Jupiter, to be as good as his word, ſent a flaſh of lightening which conſumed both the pile and the hero, inſomuch, that Iolaus, coming to take up his bones, found nothing but aſhes, from which they took up the notion that he was paſſed from earth to heaven, and was joined to the gods. A fit ſon indeed for ſuch a father, and a fitter god for ſuch votaries, who could deify, raiſe altars and temples, offer ſacrifices, and inſtitute feaſts to a mortal, who had ſullied his beſt actions with ſo many murders, rapes, and adulteries. Hercules bequeathed Iole to his ſon Hyllus; as for Dejanira, ſhe hanged her ſelf as ſoon as ſhe was appriſed of the fatal effects of the pretended philtre.

(L) The fable goes, that Jupiter having had an amorous intrigue with her in the ſhape of a ſwan, ſoon after her matrimonial commerce with her husband, the reſult of theſe amphibious embraces was, that ſhe was brought to bed of two eggs, out of one of which came Pollux and Helena, and out of the other Caſtor and Clytemneſtra; whence Caſtor, as Tyndareus's ſon, was mortal, but Pollux, as the ſon of Jupiter, is ſaid to have been immortal, and to have divided his immortality with his brother.

The Greeks, however, according to Pauſanias (11), pretended, that Helena was the daughter of Nemeſis, and that Leda was only her nurſe, and brought her up as her own, but this is a piece of Grecian mythology not worth diſputing.

(11) In Lacon. c. xv.

len's fatal beauty had cauſed her to be ſtolen away by Theſeus, as we have ſeen before, and after ſhe was recovered by her two brothers, Tyndareus, ſtill afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be carried off again, had obliged all her ſuitors by an oath to leave it to her to make choice of the man ſhe liked, and that in caſe ſhe ſhould be ſtolen by any other, they would all join their forces to bring her back to her huſband. She choſe ſoon after Menelaus the ſon of Atreus, after which ſhe being ſtolen away again by Paris, her huſband, encouraged by his brother Agamemnon, challenged all thoſe princes, who had been her admirers, to the performance of their promiſe, and engaged them to the Trojan war, of which we have ſpoken at length in a former chapter.

Tyndareus, vexed at the incontinency of his two daughters, (for Helena was carried off by her own conſent, and Clytemneſtra, as we have ſeen elſewhere, not only lived in adultery during her huſband's abſence, but murdered him immediately after his return) is ſaid to have built a temple to Venus (M), and erected a ſtatue of cedar to that goddeſs, with a veil over her face and chains about her legs, either, as ſome think, to expoſe her as the cauſe of their unlawful love, or, as Pauſanias thinks, to intimate to poſterity the indiſſoluble tie of wedlock [q]. He began likewiſe to build a ſtately temple to Minerva, whom he ſirnamed Poliuchos, or guardian of the city, but died before he could finiſh it, and left both that work and his kingdom to his two ſons, after he had reigned about forty years [r].

8. Caſtor and Pollux went on with the building, deſigning to have enriched it with the ſpoils of the city Aphidne, out of which they had reſcued their ſiſter Helene, but left it likewiſe imperfect. The Lacedæmonians did afterwards build a new one in that place which was of maſſive braſs, from which it was called Chalciæcos. Theſe two heroes likewiſe ſignalized themſelves in the Argonautic expedition, and when they came home, they built a temple to Minerva Aſia, in acknowledgment of their ſucceſs

[q] Lacon. c. xvi. [r] Ch. xvii.

(M) Pauſanias adds, that this temple, which himſelf ſaw, was built after a particular manner, being rather two temples reared the one upon the other, the upper of which was called Morpho, which is but another name of Venus (11), and ſignifies form or figure, implying, that ſhe was the goddeſs of beauty.

ceſs and ſafe return from Colchis, from which they are alſo ſaid to have brought away a famous ſtatue of Mars. They had likewiſe a bloody combat with the ſons of Aphareus, Ida and Lyncæus, the latter of whom is ſaid to have had ſuch piercing eyes, that he could ſee even into the trunk of a tree (N). The occaſion of their quarrel is variouſly reported, Theocritus ſays, that they had ſtolen the daughters of Leucipus the brother of Aphareus, but Pauſanias and Pindar ſay, it was only about a herd of oxen. However, in this combat Pollux killed Lyncæus, and Ida was ſtruck dead with lightening. The remainder of their exploits is too fabulous to deſerve a place here, we ſhall give a ſpecimen of them in the margin (O) [s].

9. Menelaus

[s] De his vid. Plutarch. in Theſeo. Diod. Apollod. & Pauſan.

(N) Hence the ſaying of Lyncæan eyes, and Pindar tells us, that he could diſcover Caſtor hid in the trunk of a tree from mount Taygetus (12).

(O) Theſe two famous brothers are celebrated by the ancient poets under ſeveral names, ſuch as Anactes, from the Greek Ανακ which ſignifies a king or prince, ſuch as were originally all the Heathen gods. Ambulii, moſt probable likewiſe from the Greek Αμβολιη, procraſtination, delay, to imply their lengthening of life. Jupiter is alſo called by that name. They were alſo called Apherei, as ſuppoſed to preſide over the liſts; but the name they were moſt commonly known by was that of Dioſcuri, from Διος and κουροι, becauſe they were reputed the ſons of Jupiter.

They are reported to have cleared the country of robbers, and the ſea of pirates, and from this laſt they were worſhipped as gods of the ſea, and are ſaid to have appeared to mariners in ſtorms, and the notion was, that if only one was ſeen, it betokened ſhipwreck, but if both together, it was taken for a good omen.

They are likewiſe ſaid to have appeared at land upon ſeveral occaſions: they once facilitated the eſcape of the Lacedæmonians under their king Anaxander, when they were cloſely purſued, and likely to be cut in pieces, by Ariſtomenes and his Meſſenian troops. At another time they came to the very houſe where they had lived when upon earth, and begged of Phormio, who was then in poſſeſſion of it, to take them in for that night, pretending they were ſtrangers come from Cyrene. They asked moreover to lie in one particular chamber, which they had been formerly fond of; but Phormio told them, that the whole houſe was at their ſervice, except that chamber, in which was a young woman whom he

(12) Nemeen. Ode 10.

9. Menelaus the ſon of Atreus ſucceeded them in the kingdom in right of his wife. We have ſpoken of the war which her rape occaſioned, and the ſucceſs of it in a former chapter. At their return from the Trojan war, being, upon ſome difference, parted from his brother Agamemnon, after having weathered many violent ſtorms, he arrived ſafely in Egypt with his wife Helene, whither Homer tells us he was driven by contrary winds. Herodotus gives us a quite different account of his going into Egypt, and gives us his reaſons for it; but as it contradicts moſt of the ancient poets and hiſtorians, we ſhall relate it in the margin (P). Menelaus was ſucceeded by his two ſons by a former wife, or rather by a ſlave, namely,

10. Nico-

he kept. They ſeemingly agreed to accept of any other apartment, but on the morrow, both the young women and thoſe that waited upon her were gone as well as the gueſts, and nothing found in her chamber but the two ſtatues of the Dioſcuri, and a table with ſome ſweet gums upon it (13).

The fable adds, that when Caſtor died, his brother Pollux, who was immortal, prayed to Jupiter that he might ſhare his immortality with him, which being granted, they are ſaid to have lived and died by turns, and to have been at length transformed into the ſign Gemini, of which two of the ſtars are called by their names, and one of which goes down when the other riſes.

(P) He tells us, upon the credit of the Egyptian prieſts, that as Paris was carrying off that fatal beauty, they were driven by contrary winds upon the coaſts of Egypt, where he was accuſed of the theft by ſome of his ſervants, who went and took ſanctuary in the temple of Hercules. Proteus, then king of the country, having examined the ſtory, detained the woman and the goods ſhe had brought with her till her husband came to demand them, and let the raviſher go as being a ſtranger.

When therefore the confederate Greeks, who were ignorant of this, came to demand her of the Trojans, and were anſwered that ſhe was left in Egypt, they believed it a mere pretence, and carried on the ſiege; but when the city was taken, and ſhe not found in it, then Menelaus went to demand her of the Egyptian king.

What inclined our author to believe that this was the real truth of the ſtory is, as he tells us, that if Helene had really been in Troy, it had been madneſs in Priam to have ſacrificed that noble city, and the lives of ſo many noble Trojans, only to defend Paris in the poſſeſſion of another man's wife, ſince he was neither heir to

(13) Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c. xvi.

10. Nicoſtratus and Megapenthes, but the Lacedæmonians, unwilling to ſubmit themſelves to a ſpurious offspring, Oreſtes eaſily obtained the kingdom, and without any blood-ſhed.

11. Oreſtes, the ſon of Agamemnon king of Meſſenia, came to the Lacedæmonian crown in right of his mother Clytemneſtra, the other daughter of Tyndareus. We have already mentioned in the hiſtory of that kingdom, how he revenged his father's murder on his faithleſs mother and her paramour, and aſcended the Meſſenian throne *. He was, however, accuſed of that parricide, not, indeed, by his grandfather Tyndareus, who muſt have been dead long before, but by his uncle Perilaus, the ſon of Icarius, and couſin-german, and conſequently the neareſt relation, of Clytemneſtra. He it was who cited him before the great Athenian court called Areopagus, after he had recovered his ſenſes. What their ſentence was, our author doth not inform us [t], but tells us elſewhere, that he had ſeen an old building which was called Oreſtes's manſion, in which he was forced to live ſeparate from the reſt of mankind, except that they took care to ſupply him with food and other neceſſaries, till he had quite expiated his crime [u]. He died and was buried in Arcadia, whither the oracle adviſed him to retire, as we have ſeen in a former ſection.

12. Tiſamenes, the ſon of Oreſtes by Hermione the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, ſucceeded him both in this kingdom and thoſe of Argos and Meſſenia, and was ſoon after outed out of all by the Heraclidæ, who, having by this time invaded Peloponneſus, claimed the latter, as being of the line of Perſeus, and he only of that of Pelops; and the former, becauſe Hercules, having conquered it from Hippocoon, had only left it in truſt with Tyndareus, as we have lately ſeen. What became of Tiſamenes is variouſly reported, ſome ſay he was killed as he was defending the kingdom of Argos [w]; others, and with more probability, ſay, he eſcaped into Achaia and reigned there; ſome

* See vol, v. ch. 17. ſect. 3. [t] Pauſan. Arcad. ch. xxxiv. [u] Id. Corinth. c. xxxi. [w] Apollod. l. ii. c. 8.

to the kingdom, nor equal in worth to many of thoſe that fell in the defence of that city (14).

(14) Herodot. l. ii. c. 113. & ſeq.

ſome time after which he was killed one of the firſt in a combat againſt the Ionians, and was buried in the city of Helice, whence the Lacedæmonians, by the oracle's advice, afterwards fetched his bones and buried them in Sparta [x]. However that be, Philonomus, betrayed that métropolis to the ſons of Ariſtodemus, who with their forces entered it with the ſound of the flute [y], an inſtrument then reckoned very martial and proper to inſpire the ſoldiers with courage, as well as to keep them in their ranks, for which reaſon the Lacedæmonians made uſe of it from that time, whenever they ſounded to battle [z].

Euryſthenes and Procles having thus obtained the kingdom, at firſt divided it into ſix parts, every one of which they endowed with all the privileges of the city of Sparta, where they ſtill kept their reſidence. This, though for the preſent it had the deſired effect of ingratiating themſelves to the Lacedæmonians, yet in the following reigns proved the cauſe of many grievous diſturbances. For Agis, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Euryſthenes, finding, that the people were grown headſtrong by it, endeavoured to curb them, not only by depriving ſeveral cantons of thoſe privileges, but by laying a tribute upon all the Lacedæmonians. They did indeed all ſubmit to it, except the Helots, who were made a ſevere example to the reſt; but theſe ſeverities failed not to alienate the affections of the people from him.

On the other hand, his copartner Sous the ſon of Procles, a valiant and warlike prince, gained their eſteem by his bravery and new conqueſts. We have an inſtance of his conduct recorded very much to his honour, which is as follows; that prince being beſieged by the Chlorians in a dry ſtony place, where his army ſuffered very much for want of water; he was at length reduced to make a treaty with the enemy, by which he obliged himſelf to reſtore to them all the places he had taken from them, upon condition that he and all his men ſhould drink of a ſpring at a ſmall diſtance from his camp. After the mutual ratifications of the treaty on both ſides, Sous, having called his ſoldiers together, offered the kingdom to him that would forbear drinking; but they being all oppreſſed with exceſſive thirſt, not one could be tempted to accept his offer upon that condition. As ſoon therefore as he had ſeen them drink their fill of water, he took

[x] Vid. Pauſan. Achaic. c. i. & Strab. Geogr. l. viii. [y] Strab. ibid. [z] Polyæn. Stratagem. l. i. c. 10.

took ſome of it in the hollow of his hand, and ſprinkled his face with it without drinking one drop, and marched off in the face of the enemy. The conſequence of which was, that his abſtinence having made the contract void, ſeeing he and all his men had not drank at the ſpring, he could ſafely refuſe to reſign his conqueſts to them [a].

Agis, from whom the deſcendants of that line had the name of Agidæ, or Agiadæ, for they are indifferently called by both, was ſucceeded by his ſon Echeſtratus, and Sous, not long after, by his ſon Eurytion, otherwiſe alſo called Eurypon and Euryphon; from him this line, which had till then took the name of Proclidæ, exchanged it for that of Eurytionidæ or Eurypontidæ, &c. In this reign, ſome ſeeds of diſcord between the Lacedæmonians and Argives began to appear, which were, however, ſtifled by the prudence of thoſe two monarchs. The Cynoſureans, who were a colony of Argives, and ſettled in the neighbourhood of that kingdom by Cynoſurus the ſon of Perſeus, were complained againſt by the Argives, for not only ſuffering a parcel of banditti to ravage their frontiers, but likewiſe for doing the ſame themſelves, and ſometimes leading their plundering troops as far as their metropolis. For this the Lacedæmonians baniſhed all the Cynoſureans that were able to bear arms out of their territories, and by that ſeverity not only prevented all ſuch ravages for ſome time, but reſtored a good underſtanding between the Argives and them.

But this peaceful diſpoſition did not laſt but till the next reign, when Labotas (Q), the ſon of Echeſtratus, and Prytanis, the ſon of Eurytion, declared war againſt them. The ground of it was, that though the Lacedæmonians poſſeſſed the town and territories of Cynoſura, by right of their late conqueſt, yet the Argives were ſtill incroaching upon ſome part of it, and endeavoured to withdraw their confederates from their alliance and friendſhip. It doth not appear, however,

[a] Plutarch. in Lycurg. vid. & Apothegm. Laconic. ap. Hind. ubi ſupra. [b] Pauſan. Meurs. &c. [c] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c. ii. & iii.

(Q) Herodotus, who calls him Leobatus, tells us in his hiſtory of Crœſus, that the great Lycurgus had been his tutor; but he was certainly out in his chronology, as a learned critic has ſince ſhewn (15), ſince that prince had been dead ſome time before the lawgiver was born.

(15) Meurſ. antiq. Lacedem. ap. Gedoyn. in Pauſan. Lacon.

ever, that this war was of any duration, at leaſt we find not, that any thing remarkable was done on either ſide. After this things continued in a peaceful ſtate, at leaſt with their neighbours abroad, though they grew worſe within doors through the jealouſies and miſunderſtandings of the princes, both between themſelves, and between them and the people. Labotas was ſucceeded by his ſon Doryſſus, and Prytanis by his ſon Eunonus, the former of theſe, as well as his ſon and ſucceſſor Ageſilaus, are by ſome ſaid to have reigned but a ſhort while [d], and yet a modern critic hath proved from the authority of Euſebius and St. Jerom, that the former reigned twenty-nine, and the latter forty-four years [e]. As for Eunonus, he enjoyed a long reign, and lived to a good old age, but was at length ſtabbed, as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, in which the parties were come to blows, and left two ſons behind him, Polydectes by a former, and Lycurgus by a ſecond wife. He was ſucceeded by the former, and he dying ſoon after left the kingdom to Lycurgus, who only kept it till his brother's wife was delivered of a ſon, to whom he immediately reſigned it, and baniſhed himſelf out of Lacedæmon, during which time he meditated that new form of commonwealth into which he afterwards modelled that government.

[d] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. c. ii. Hind. hiſt. Græc l. ii. p. 97.
[e] Meurs. ap. Gedoyn. in loc.

SECT. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the ancient kingdoms of Elis, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, *and* Achaia.

WE ſhall join theſe ancient kingdoms together in one ſection, becauſe they made but a ſmall figure in the world, in compariſon of thoſe that have gone before, and becauſe they have been either conquered by, or blended with, them; whilſt their being ſo often mentioned in the foregoing ſections, and in the following hiſtory of Greece, will not permit us to paſs them by without taking notice of their ſituation, original, antiquities, and hiſtory, as far as it can be got out of ancient authors, their wars and exploits, and other ſuch particulars, for which they were formerly remarkable and are worth our notice here.

THE

Elis names. THE principal of them is the kingdom of Elis, at firſt peopled, as is reaſonably ſuppoſed, by the deſcendants of Eliſha, the ſon of Javan and grandſon of Japhet [a], if not by Eliſha himſelf, from whom this territory at leaſt, if not the whole peninſula, was called Elis (A), and in the Chaldean Hellas, and by the prophet Ezekiel Eliſha, where he celebrates its fine purple dye [b] (B). According therefore to this ſuppoſition, which is far from improbable, that this country was peopled by that patriarch or ſome of his immediate deſcendants, it was not without good reaſon, that the inhabitants of this country and of Arcadia boaſted themſelves to be Aborigines of Peloponneſus, whereas the others were looked upon as interlopers, which came from more remote parts to ſettle there, and by degrees elbowed them out of the greateſt part of that peninſula [c].

Extent. ELIS was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of Peloponneſus, having the Ionian ſea on that ſide, Arcadia on the eaſt, Achaia on the north, and the bay of Cypariſſos or Chalonites, now Capo di Torneſe, with Meſſenia on the ſouth: its extent from eaſt to weſt was at the wideſt about forty-eight miles, that is, from 22 deg. 10 min. to almoſt 23 deg. eaſt longitude; and from north to ſouth about 60 miles, or from 27 deg. 20 min. to 28 deg. 20 min. north latitude [d].

ITS

[a] Gen. x. 2, & 4. [b] Ch. xxvii. 7. Vid. & Bochart. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 4. [c] Pauſan. Elid. c. i. & ſeq. [d] Conf. Strab. Geogr. l. viii. Mela, l. ii. c. 4. Cluver. Wells, & al.

(A) The poets derive that name from Eleus the ſon of Neptune, whom they make the firſt founder and king of it (1). Pauſanias tells us, that Æthlius, the ſon of Jupiter and Protogenia the daughter of Deucalion, was the firſt who reigned here, and gives ſome other etymons of the word not worth notice, ſince we have a much ancienter one, and clearer from fiction, in the patriarch Eliſha.

(B) It is true, the prophet here ſpeaks of iſles and not of a continent; but we have often ſhewn, that the word in the language of ſcripture doth not ſtrictly imply an iſland, but the maritime countries, eſpecially thoſe about the Mediterranean †;

and

(1) Vid. int. al. Ovid. Metam. & Steph. Byz. ſub voce Ηλις & Gronov. not. in eund. † Vid. ſupra, vol. i. p. 472. & vol. v. p. 384.

Cities.

It chief cities were, 1. Elis, ſituate on the river Peneus, and almoſt in the heart of the kingdom and the metropolis of it. It was famous among many other things for a large ſpacious place called the Xyſtos (C), where the candidates for the olympic games were obliged to initiate themſelves for ſome time by diet, exerciſe, and other ſuch preparatives, before they were admitted to appear on the olympic plains [e]. In this place their ſenate did likewiſe uſe to aſſemble themſelves, and the candidates for all kind of dignities and employments came to give proofs of their abilities and merit. In this city was likewiſe a temple dedicated to Fortune, with the ſtatue of that blind goddeſs of a ſurpriſing bigneſs, and made of wood, covered all over with gold, except the face, hands, and feet. They likewiſe had ſeveral others dedicated to Diana, Minerva, Jupiter, and Bacchus. This laſt deity was held in the greateſt veneration, and the Eleans pretended, that he appeared to them on the day in which his feaſt was celebrated (D).

[e] Pauſan. Elid. c. xxiii.

and we have the teſtimony of ſeveral ancient authors, that the coaſts of Elis, and quite up to the Corinthian bay, were famous for a ſhell-fiſh which they uſed in this die, and in which they exceeded all nations except Egypt (2).

(C) So called from the Greek ξυω, to trim or poliſh. This place was ſurrounded with a wall, and lined on the inſide with plantane-trees of great heighth, to caſt an agreeable ſhade on the courſe. Here Hercules, in order to inure himſelf to hard labour, is ſaid to have ſpent ſome time every day in clearing it from weeds, thorns, and briars. Near the incloſure of this place was a famous cenotaph or monument erected in memory of Achilles, by the advice of the oracle, to which the women uſed to repair about ſun-ſet during the time of the olympic games, and to lament the death of that hero by ſeveral mournful actions, eſpecially by ſmiting upon their breaſts (3).

(D) This feaſt-day they called Thya. The chapel where they celebrated it was about a mile from the city. Thither his prieſts repaired on the night-before, with three empty flaſks which they left there, ſhut up the temple, and ſealed the locks of it, every by-ſtander being permitted to clap his own ſeal to them; and on the

(2) Pauſan. in Laconic. Vid. & Bochart. ubi ſupra. & auctor. ab eo citat. (3) Pauſan. in Elid. c. xxiii.

Elis had likewiſe a citadel, in which was a temple of Minerva, and on the helmet of that goddeſs was carved a cock, becauſe he is ſuppoſed the moſt couragious of all winged creatures [f]. Here was alſo the palace of Augeas one of their kings, and the famous ſtables, the cleanſing of which proved a taſk fit only for the great Hercules (E). †

Olympia.

2. THE city of Olympia was the next in dignity, ſituate on the famous Olympian plains, on which were celebrated the olympic games, inſtituted by Pelops in honour of Jupiter, and, after ſome ſuſpenſion, reſtored again by Atreus and Hercules. They were celebrated every fifth year and during five days, but with much greater ſolemnity, and a vaſter concourſe of people, than any of theſe we have hitherto mentioned; and from them came the computation of time by Olympiads to be introduced in Greece (F). This city is famed likewiſe for its magnificent tem-

Olympic games.

ple

[f] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. † See vol. v. ch. 17. ſect. 3. Not. I.

the morrow they returned thither, accompanied with Eleans and ſtrangers, and having firſt ſhewed to them that the gates were ſafe and juſt as they had left them, they opened them and went in, and found the flaſks filled with wine (4).

(E) It is ſaid to have held three thouſand oxen, and to have been thirty years without cleaning, ſo that when Hercules undertook to do it in one day, upon condition that he gave him his daughter in marriage, he only turned the river Alpheus, or Peneus according to others into it, which carried off all the filth in the time prefixed. How that monarch rewarded him for this work we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

(F) This ſolemnity, which had been ſo often interrupted, and renewed again by Endymion, Neleus, Pelias, Lycurgus, and others, but without any ſettled time, was at length reſtored by Iphitus and fixed to be celebrated once every fifth year, ſo that between every celebration four complete years expired, which ſome have miſtaken for five. Hence every four years was called an olympiad, which computation was afterwards obſerved for a conſiderable number of centuries, as well as the ſolemnity of thoſe games during many generations, without any interruption.

The time of celebrating them was at the full of the moon, whoſe change immediately preceded the ſummer ſolſtice. Againſt that time the prieſts of Jupiter Olympus, who belonged to the temple of that deity, were to take care to regulate the form of the

(4) Id. ibid.

ple of Jupiter Olympus, said to have been built from the spoils which the Eleans got from their neighbours the Piseans; in which was a famous statue of that god 50 cubits high, and reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, near which is also the famous Olympian wood or grove dedicated to the same deity. As for its ancient name of Olympi, it hath long since changed it for that of Sconri. 3. Pisa, situate on the river Alpheus (G), and near

the year, and to observe every new moon, especially that after which the solemnity was to be celebrated, and to cause it to be proclaimed. They were likewise intrusted with the registering of the names of all the victors at those games, and recording every material occurrence which happened between every olympiad.

We must, however, observe here, that this exact and ready way of computing by olympiads did not begin immediately after the first of them, but commenced only from the first year of the 28th, in which Chorœbus of Elis obtained the victory in the race, after which the Grecian accounts began to go in a regular order of time, and from that Epocha the times began to be reckoned historical, whereas those which preceded it up to the deluge are called fabulous and heroic, because mixed with fable (5), as those who preceded it were deemed unknown.

(G) This river doth run quite through Arcadia, Elis, and along the city Pisa, soon after which it is swallowed up in the earth. From thence it is supposed to run by a subterranean channel under the sea without mixing with the salt water, and so to pass quite into Sicily, where it mixes itself with the fountain Arethusa near the city of Syracuse, insomuch, that any thing that is thrown into it on the Elis side, is said to come out at the fountain above-named (6). Hence the poetic fiction of Alpheus's love to Arethusa, which tells us, that this last, to avoid his amorous pursuit, hid herself under ground, and that he was forced to do the same in order to get at her by some subterraneous passage, which he at length accomplished near the place where that river and fountain mix their streams.

Pausanias adds, that the Eleans had a law, which condemned any woman to death that should either appear at the olympic games, or even cross this river during that solemnity; and the Eleans add, that the only woman who transgressed it, had disguised herself in the habit of a master or keeper of those games, and conducted her son thither; but when she saw him come off victorious, her joy made her forget her disguise, so that her sex was

(5) De his vid. Plutarch. Pausan. Var. Scalig. de Emendat. temp. Potter Arcæholog. Hind. & al. plur. (6) Vid. Diod. Pausan. & al. (7) In Elid. ch. vi.

the mouth of it, ſaid to have been founded by Piſus the grandſon of Æolus, and whoſe inhabitants ſignalized themſelves under Neſtor at the Trojan war. This city was afterwards deſtroyed by the Eleans, becauſe the Piſeans took upon them to celebrate the olympic games by their own authority; for this, the Eleans, jealous of their privilege, raiſed a war againſt them, and after many battles fought, in which they had ſtill the advantage, they took, plundered, and razed their city, and baniſhed its inhabitants.

It were fruitleſs to dive into the chronology of this kingdom, ſince we cannot tell, whether the patriarch, from whom it has its name, was the real founder of it, or ſome of his deſcendants. As to what profane authors ſay of it, it is ſo mixed with fable, that there is no receiving any light from it. However, as this is a fabulous epocha, we ſhall give our readers a ſhort ſketch of what we find about it, which is as follows:

Kings of Elis. Æthlius is pretended to have been the founder of this little monarchy, which was at firſt diſtinct from that of Piſa; this laſt having kings of its own for a conſiderable time. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Endymion, who married Aſterodia, or, according to others, Chromia, the daughter of Itomus and grand-daughter of Amphictyon (H), by whom he had three ſons, Pœon, Epeus, and Ætolus. When theſe were grown up, he promiſed his kingdom to him that ſhould win the prize at the olympic race, and Epeus proved the happy victor. Ætolus. Ætolus, however, ſtayed with him at Elis, but Pœon, unable to brook the loſs of ſuch a noble prize, went to ſeek his fortune elſewhere, and ſettled in that canton on the river Axus, which took from him the name of Pœonia. Epeus went to the ſiege of Troy, and is ſuppoſed to have been the architect of the Trojan horſe. It was in his reign that Pelops the Lydian, or, according to others, the Paphlagonian, came from Aſia, killed Œnomaus king of Piſa, ſeized on his kingdom, and took the city Olympia from the Eleans. Epeus died without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded by his brother Ætolus.

This

was diſcovered. She was, however, ſpared on account of her father, ſon, and huſband, who had gained the olympic prize; but from that time an order was made, that the keeper ſhould appear there naked.

(H) The fabulous poets add, that he was beloved by the moon, and that he had fifty daughters by her.

THIS prince had not reigned long, before he had the misfortune to kill Apis the ſon of Jaſon at the funeral games, which were celebrated on the tomb of Azan king of Arcadia, and was forced to leave Peloponneſus, and went to ſettle in Ætolia, where we ſhall find him in the ſequel. He was ſucceeded by Eleus, who is ſaid to have been the ſon of Neptune, by Eurycyde the only daughter of Endymion, and the father of Augeas, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom (I).

WE have already mentioned more than once the large ſtable which this prince is ſaid to have had, and its being cleanſed by Hercules. The truth of the ſtory, if we may believe Pauſanias [g], was, that he kept ſuch large quantities of oxen and ſheep, that they had quite covered the earth with their dung, ſo that it was become incapable of producing either graſs or corn. Augeas therefore hired Hercules to clear his grounds of it, who for his reward was to have his daughter and ſome part of his kingdom. When Hercules had performed the taſk by turning the river over them (K), Augeas refuſed to give him his hire, pretending, that he had done the job more by cunning than by labour. The quarrel was referred to Phyleus Augeas's eldeſt ſon, and he, having given it againſt his father, was baniſhed the kingdom together with his client. Augeas, being afraid of that hero's reſentment, was forced to ſtrengthen himſelf by a double alliance, one with Actor, the ſon of Phorbas by Hyrmine the daughter of Epeus; and the other with Amaryncæus, a Theſſalian, a man well verſed in the art of war, whom he invited into Elis. To

g Elid. c. 1.

(I) This is he who, the Greeks pretend, gave his name to this kingdom, which was before called Epea from Epeus mentioned a little higher.

Others willing to do Augeas a greater honour, make him the ſon not of Eleus, but of Elius or the ſun.

(K) This river which ſome pretend to have been the Alpheus, and others the Peneus, as we obſerved in a late note, is by our author here called Minyeus, which name Strabo, who ſays it was the Peneus, thinks was given it by the long ſtay which its waters made upon the ground. This etymon is ſomething forced, and it ſeems more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that that river had thoſe two names, as we find many others to have had (8).

(8) Pauſan. in Elid. c. ii. Vid. & Gedoyn. Not. in eund.

bind these two the faster to his interest, he made them his associates in the kingdom, so that when Hercules came afterwards with a powerful army against him, he met with such stout resistance from them, particularly from Actor and his sons; that he was forced to return and wait for a more favourable time. Not long after, being informed that these brave youths were to go to the Isthmian games, he went and laid in ambush against them, and killed them all, and with such privacy, that it cost the Eleans some time and trouble to find out the murderer. But when they knew that it was Hercules, who by that time was retired to Tirynthus, they sent embassadors in vain to the Argives to punish him, and to the Corinthians to interdict the Argives from the Isthmian games, for suffering the assassin of those who were going to them to live unpunished in their territories. They could prevail on neither to comply with their request; and Hercules, having raised a powerful army of Argives, Thebans, and Arcadians, came and besieged them, took and sacked the city of Elis, and was going to let fly his resentment against the Piseans for assisting them, had not the oracle prevented it. Hercules, who would not sit down contented till he had conquered the whole kingdom, made a present of it to Phyleus the son of Augeas, who had formerly decided the quarrel in his favour, and with the kingdom restored him all the prisoners he had taken (L), and among the rest Augeas, whom he pardoned upon his account, according to Pausanias; others say he killed him and Eurytus, another of his sons [h].

Phyleus, thus recalled to the kingdom, did, however, stay in it but as long as was necessary to settle the affairs of

[h] Conf. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. & Pausan. Elid. c. iii.

(L) These prisoners must have been very few in comparison of those that were killed, since Pausanias tells us, that the Elean women, finding their country almost stript of male inhabitants, prayed to Minerva, that they might conceive at the very first matrimonial intercourse; and that the goddess having granted their request, they built a temple to her and called it, Minerva, the mother of mankind. And moreover in memory of this signal favour, they called both the place and the river that runs by it Badu, which in their dialect signifies the same as ἡδυ, sweet, to express the pleasure of that matrimonial intercourse (9).

(9) Id, ibid. c. iii.

of the ſtate, after which he retired to the iſland of Dulichium (M). And Augeas dying ſoon after, the crown fell to his next ſon Agaſthenes, whoſe ſon Polyxenus, having ſucceeded him, went to the Trojan war, and was one of thoſe who returned from thence, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Eleus II. It was in this prince's reign that the Dorians and Heraclidæ made their laſt but ſucceſsful attempt againſt Peloponneſus under Hippotes their general, after having formerly made ſeveral fruitleſs ones againſt it. We have already had occaſion to ſpeak more than once of this expedition, for the ſucceſs of which, having conſulted the oracle, they were bid to make choice of a three-eyed general to head them, and met with Oxylus an Ætolian, whom they ſuppoſed to be the perſon pointed at by the oracle, becauſe his horſe and he had but three eyes between them.

Oxylus, of the race of Endymion, had been forced to leave his native country a year before for having accidentally killed, ſome ſay, his brother Thermius, others ſay, Alcidocus the ſon of Scopius, as he was playing at quoits. He was then upon his return to Ætolia, when the Heraclidæ met him and invited him to be their general. The condition upon which he accepted this office was, that when they had conquered Peloponneſus they ſhould allot him Elis, not only as a reward for his ſervices, but becauſe he had a title to that kingdom as being the ſixth in a lineal deſcent from Endymion the ſecond king of it. They agreed ſo much the more readily to his demand, as he was moreover related to them by the mother's ſide, his great grandmother being ſiſter to Dejanira, the mother of Hyllus the ſon of Hercules. The ſucceſs of this expedition we have ſeen in the former ſections, as well as the manner in which they divided their conqueſts between them, in which they did not fail to give their general the kingdom of Elis according to their agreement [i].

Oxylus, who expected to have taken poſſeſſion of it without any oppoſition, found himſelf miſtaken, and Dius, who was then upon the throne, refuſed to reſign it to him. However, to avoid expoſing their troops to a battle, they agreed, that each ſhould chuſe a champion, who ſhould decide

[i] Id. ibid. & Apollod. l. ii. Strab. Geogr. l. x.

(M) It is but a ſmall inconſiderable iſland on the Ionian ſea near that of Cephalonia, it is now called Dulicha and Tziakki.

decide the right of it by ſingle combat, and Pyrechmes, an excellent Ætolian ſlinger, having won the victory in favour of Oxylus, he was immediately proclaimed king of Elis. We find nothing remarkable concerning either his reign or thoſe of his ſucceſſors; he had two ſons, Ætolus and Lajus, the former of whom, dying young, was buried under the gate of the city, the oracle having ordered that he ſhould be buried, neither within nor out of it. His ſon Lajus, ſucceeded him, after which we hear no more of his race, nor indeed of any material tranſactions in this kingdom, if we except ſome of their wars with the Arcadian neighbours and with ſome other ſtates of Greece, till we come to the reign of Iphitus, the reviver of the olympic games, and cotemporary with the great Lycurgus mentioned at the cloſe of the laſt ſection.

BEFORE his reign, Greece had been almoſt ruined by wars and peſtilence. Elis ſeems to have ſuffered more than any other ſtate, ſo that thoſe games had been interrupted for a conſiderable time. Iphitus ſent to conſult the oracle concerning the means of appeaſing the angry gods and obtaining a remedy againſt thoſe calamities, and was anſwered, that the reſtoration of thoſe games would prove the ſafety of Greece, to procure which he and his ſubjects were exhorted to ſet about it, immediately and with all their might. He began with offering a ſacrifice to Hercules, whom the Eleans believed to have been upon ſome account or other exaſperated againſt them (N). He next cauſed the olympic games to be proclaimed all over Greece, with a promiſe of free admittance to all comers, and fixed the time for the celebration of them, as we hinted at before: he likewiſe took upon himſelf to be ſole preſident and judge of thoſe games, a privilege which the Piſeans, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, had often ſharply diſputed with his predeceſſors, and which continued in his deſcendants, as long as his line and the regal dignity continued. After this the people took upon them to appoint two preſidents

Reſtores the olympic games.

(N) Pauſanius tells us, there was a kind of diſpute between the Eleans and the reſt of the Greeks, whether Iphitus was lineally deſcended from Oxylus, if he was not, it was not without reaſon that he feared the reſentment of that god, whoſe particular kindneſs to all that were related to him, as Oxylus was, would hardly ſuffer ſuch a wrong to go unpuniſhed: and this was probably the motive that induced that monarch to begin with appeaſing his anger by this ſacrifice.

ſidents whom they choſe by vote, and which in time increaſed to ten, and at length to twelve. We have ſpoken a little higher of the place where they ſat, their office was to examine and admit the candidates, and to judge of all diſputes that aroſe concerning the victory in all the ſeveral exerciſes which were performed in them.

§ ÆTOLIA was ſo called, as we have ſeen a little before, Ætolia. from Ætolus, the ſon of Endymion and brother of Epeus, whom he ſucceeded in the kingdom of Elis, and from which he fled into this country after he had accidentally killed Apis, the ſon of Jaſon, at ſome funeral games. What people inhabited this country before his coming, and what names they had, is not to be gueſſed at, only this we find, that both they and their neighbours on both ſides, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by, were the greateſt robbers in all Greece, and continued ſo, during many centuries, after Hercules, Theſeus, and other heroes, had extirpated thoſe vermin every-where elſe [a].

THIS ſlip of ground, for ſuch it was, had on the eaſt the Locrians, Phocians, and Ozolæans, from whom they were parted by the river Evenus, or Licormas. The Acarnanians on the weſt were alſo parted from them by that of Achelous, on the north it had the Dorians with part of Epirus, and on the ſouth the bay of Corinth; its utmoſt extent from north to ſouth was about forty-eight miles, that is, from 38 deg. 40 min. to 39 deg. 28 min. north latitude; and from eaſt to weſt, where it was wideſt, above twenty miles; that is, from 22 deg. 40 min. to 23 deg. 10 min. but exceeding narrow, as it extended northward and ſouthward, eſpecially the latter, where it ſcarcely reached 10 miles, and had but one ſea-port of any note on the Corinthian bay, namely Œnias, ſituate on the mouth of the Achelous above-mentioned [b]. Its ſituation and extent.

IT had no other rivers but the two we have juſt ſpoken, the former of which was that on which Hercules killed the centaur Neſſus, and the latter, which was alſo called Thoas from its rapidity, deſcended from mount Pindus in Macedonia into the Ionian ſea. Concerning this laſt the poets have feigned many ſtories, or blended the hiſtory with Of Rivers.

[a] Thucyd. l. i. Plutarch. in Theſeo. & al. [b] Vid. Strab. Mela, Cluver, & al.

with many fables which the reader may ſee in the margin (A). As for its name, ſome think it received it from Achelous one of the kings of Ætolia, and others derive it from the Greek, and think it was given it by reaſon of the ſalubrioufneſs of its waters [c]; but as we meet with three rivers of this name [d], and in three different countries, it is not likely, they ſhould all have it upon this laſt account; however, this of Ætolia is by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable, inſomuch, that Homer calls it the king of rivers.

THE country is very craggy and mountainous, which rendered ſeveral of their cities almoſt impregnable, and the people ſo ſtout, turbulent, and unruly, that the more polite ſtates of Greece, and even the Macedonians, tried in vain to tame them. The moſt noted of thoſe cities were thoſe that follow; Thermus or Thermius, ſituate almoſt in the heart of the kingdom, and which became in time the metropolis of it, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance with ſuch high and craggy mountains, that though it was the place where the ſtates of the country aſſembled, and the repoſitory of all

[c] Euſtat. [d] Vid. Pauſan. in Arcad. c. xxxviii. & Auct. ſup. Citat.

(A) This famous river is feigned by the fabulous poets to have been the ſon of Oceanus and Tethys, and a competitor with Hercules for Dejanira, the king of Calydonia's daughter. Theſe two having engaged in a duel, and Achelous, finding himſelf likely to be worſted by him, changed himſelf firſt into a ſerpent, and then into a bull. Hercules broke both his horns, and gave one of them to Plenty the companion of Fortune. Hence the ſtory of the Cornucopia. Achelous, finding himſelf ſtill inferior to his rival, turned himſelf into the river of his name, in which form he has continued ever ſince, or, as others have it, for grief and ſpight flung and choaked himſelf in it, after he had bribed his rival with the horn of Amalthea or plenty.

This poetic hodge-podge of ſerpents, bulls, and horns, ſeems to have taken its riſe from the ſerpentine turnings and windings, and likely alſo from the rapidity and noiſe of this noble river, which like all others are properly enough ſaid to be the offspring of the ocean and earth. His two horns were its two ſtreams, where it divided itſelf, and the plenty which theſe brought after they were either confined within due bounds, or by ſome other way made ſerviceable to fertiliſe the neighbouring plains, might be not inelegantly figured by the cornucopia.

all their wealth and treaſure in times of danger, yet was it not ſo much as fortified with a wall, the difficult aſcents and narrow paſſages of the neighbouring mountains being deemed ſufficient to guard it both from ſurprize or invaſion. It had its fairs and markets, was inhabited by the nobleſt and wealthieſt Ætolians, and had the firname of Panætolium, upon account of the ſenate holding their meetings there [e]. 2. Calydon, ſituate near the foreſt of that name, where Meleager, accompanied with the nobleſt youths of Greece, ſlew the famous Calydonian boar (B). Hither it was alſo that Hercules came after he had left Peloponneſus, and though he had a numerous ſpurious brood ſcattered over all Greece, yet wanting legitimate iſſue, married Dejanira the daughter of Œneus, king of the country, and father to Meleager, and to ingratiate himſelf to the Ætolians, either turned the current of the river Achelous, or made ſuch improvements upon it, as gave riſe to the fable we mentioned in a late note. This city, which ſeems to have continued for ſome time the ſeat of the ancient Ætolian

[e] Vid. Strab. Geogr. l. x. Polyb. Byzant. ſub. voce Θερμος. & Grenov. not. in eund.

(B) This fierce and monſtrous creature had done ſo much miſchief about the neighbourhood, that Meleager king of the country, who kept his court at Calydon, was forced to call to his aſſiſtance a great number of the flower of Greece to deſtroy it. The chief of theſe were, Theſeus, Telamon, Peleus, Pollux, and Iolaus all of them the faithful companions of Hercules, beſides a number of other heroes. To theſe we may add the famous Arcadian princeſs Atalanta, who behaved with ſuch uncommon courage and intrepidity upon this occaſion, that Meleager became enamoured with her and married her.

If we may gueſs at the bigneſs of this monſtrous boar by the length of his tuſks, Pauſanias, who tells us that one of them was ſtill preſerved in the temple of Bacchus in the imperial gardens, ſays, it was above a yard long (10).

The poets pretend, that it was ſent by Diana as a puniſhment to Oeneus, for having forgotten her when he ſacrified to all the gods beſides at the cloſe of the harveſt. Pauſanias, adds, that he was driven out of his kingdom by a faction, and went to Argos, whence he returned again with an army and recovered it again, but was perſuaded by the Argolic king to return thither and died there.

(10) Arcad. c. xlvi.

lian kings, was built by Calydon the ſon of Ætolus [f], from whom the kingdom was for ſome time called Calydonia, but reſumed its antient one in ſome following reign. The ſituation of this city was very pleaſant and commodious, being ſeated upon the river Evenus, which ran quite through the midſt of it, and having ſome pleaſant plains round it and the Calydonian foreſt at a ſmall diſtance from it: but their continual wars with their neighbours obliged them in proceſs of time to remove the ſeat of the kingdom and ſenate to Thermus abovementioned, 3. Pleuron, which which gave name to a territory, whoſe inhabitants were ſirnamed Curetes, becauſe they ſhaved the fore-part of their heads, leſt their enemies ſhould lay hold on it, but let the hinder part to grow, that they might be caught by it if they offered to run away. Some few more cities of leſs note they had, but fewer in proportion than the more noted ſtates of Greece.

The Ætolians were in general a ſtout warlike people, always inured to the trade of war and plunder, ſeldom at peace with any of their neighbours, and having in general the advantage over them by reaſon of their ſituation. It was chiefly in ſuch excurſive exploits that they ſignalized their courage, without ſtriving to enlarge their territories, till ſome of the Grecian wars invited them out of their dominions, particularly the Theban war, as we may ſee by-and-by.

It were, however, needleſs here to give a liſt of their kings, many of whom have been known to antient authors by little more than their names. We have already had occaſion to mention ſome of the deſcendants of Ætolus, namely Calydon, Œneus the father of Dejanira, and his ſon Meleager (C); and to theſe we ſhall only add the two heroes of his

[f] Vid. Byzant. ſub. voce.

(C) The fable ſays, that when Althea this prince's mother was brought-to-bed of him, ſhe ſaw the three fatal ſiſters ſitting by the fire, one of whom, taking a billet out of it, ſaid, the boy ſhould live as long as it remained unburnt: as ſoon as they were gone, ſhe got up and quenched the ſtick, and repoſited it in a ſafe place.

When Meleager was come to the kingdom, he unfortunately chanced to quarrel with his two uncles at the killing of the boar mentioned in the laſt note. That young prince having preſented the

his race, who ſignalized themſelves, the one in the Theban, and the other in the Trojan war.

THE firſt of theſe was Tydeus another ſon of Oeneus, by Althea. We have already had occaſion to mention him in the hiſtories of Argos and Thebes. In the firſt of theſe kingdoms, to which he fled to be expiated for manſlaughter, he and Polynices having married the two daughters of Adraſtus, theſe three princes went jointly againſt Thebes to recover Polynices's right; and here it was that Tydeus performed ſuch glorious exploits againſt Eteocles, as we have given an account of in that famous war between the two contending brothers *. He was there at length mortally wounded by Menalippus, but before he expired, he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his enemy's head brought to him by the brave Amphiareus, and took the brutal revenge of cutting out his brains and ſwallowing them [g].

HIS ſon Diomedes was one of thoſe who ſignalized themſelves at the Trojan war, he had indeed the good fortune to return ſafe from it, but meeting with a worſe enemy at home, in his faithleſs wife Ægiale and her paramour Cometes, he was forced to retire into Apulia, where he ſhared that kingdom with Daunus, as we have ſeen above †. From this time we meet with nothing conſiderable in the hiſtory of this nation, except a few warlike excurſions which they made in conjunction with ſome of the great ſtates of Greece, in which they aſſiſted ſometimes as allies, and ſometimes

* See vol. v. ch. 17. ſect. 3. and laſt page of that vol. [g] Apollod. l. iii. c. 7. † See vol. v, ch. 17. ſect. 3.

the head of it to Atalanta, who had given it the firſt wound, and they endeavouring to take it from her, the contention roſe to ſuch a height, that the exaſperated prince killed them both. Althea, ſeeing her two brothers killed, fell into ſuch fury, that ſhe ran to the fatal brand which ſhe had ſaved, and flung it into the fire, upon which her ſon was immediately ſeized with a burning fever in his bowels, and ſoon after expired.

Pauſanias, who tells us that this fabulous ſtory was deviſed by an ancient tragic poet, named Phrynicus (ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the 67th Olympiad) doth not give us a much better account of this prince's death, when he tells us upon the credit of two other poets, that Apollo killed him with his own hands, becauſe he had taken the part of the Ætolians againſt the Curetes, mentioned a little higher, in whoſe favour that god had declared himſelf (11).

(11) In Phocid. c. xxxi.

times as auxiliaries, and which have been already interſperſed in the hiſtory of the foregoing kingdoms, till the famous Achæan league which proved ſo fatal to them, and of which we ſhall give an account in its proper place. The reſt of their time was ſpent in mutual excurſions between them and their neighbours the Dorians and Locrians, of whom we are to ſpeak next, and eſpecially with the Ozolæans and Acarnanians whoſe territories lay on each ſide of Ætolia. Theſe two laſt being more obſcure and inconſiderable than any of the reſt, the reader will find all that we think needs be ſaid of them in the following note (D).

THE

(D) The Ozolæans, as we obſerved in the geography of Ætolia, were ſituate on the eaſt of that kingdom. It was a ſmall territory lying on the north coaſt of the bay of Corinth, and extending itſelf about twelve miles northward, where it was contiguous with Locris. On the weſt, it was bounded by the river Evenus, which parted them from Ætolia, and on the eaſt they had the kingdom of Phocis, ſpoken of in the cloſe of the ſixth ſection of this chapter. Its chief towns were Naupactus, ſituate on the mouth of the river abovementioned, which was often contended for by the Ætolians, and at length became wholly theirs. It was called by that name from the Heraclidæ building their navy there, with which they invaded Peloponneſus, but is now known by that of Lepanto, and was taken from the Venetians by Bajaſet.

The Ozolæans bid fair for being ſome of the antienteſt inhabitants of theſe parts, if we admit the etymon which ſome give of their names, and that they were called ſo from the ſtench, which their cloathing (which was the raw hides of wild beaſts without any dreſſing gave to their bodies; for this was all the dreſs which the firſt inhabitants of Greece uſed, till Pelaſgus and ſome other founders taught them a better, as we have ſeen at the beginning of this chapter, and in the hiſtory of Arcadia.

Others think, that this ſtinking name was owing to the ſtench of their rivers and marſhes, and others again to the quantity of Aſphodel or Daffodil which grew in thoſe parts, one ſort of which has an ill ſmell, and uſed to be ſtrowed anciently over graves: a third affirm, that this ſtench was cauſed by the blood which the centaur Neſſus ſcattered upon the earth, when he was wounded by Hercules.

A more fabulous account of this name, though not ſo ill-ſcented is, that in the reign of Oreſtheus the ſon of Deucalion, his bitch brought forth inſtead of whelps, a ſtick of wood, which that prince cauſed to be put into the ground, from which, when the ſpring came, a vine ſprang forth. Hence they pretended, that the name of Ozoles came not from ὀξειν, to ſtink, but from ὀξος, a branch

THE Locrians were either the same people with the Ozoleans, mentioned in the last note, or so blended with them,

a branch or sprout: however that be, Pausanias tells us, the Locrians, who were likewise called Ozeles, were so ill pleased with that name, that they changed it for that of Ætolians (12), we shall speak of them in the next place above.

As for the Acarnanians, their territories were parted on the east by the river Achelous, and surrounded by the Ionian sea on the west and south, and on the north joined to Epirus, and became afterwards a province of that kingdom (13).

They were anciently known by the name of Curetes, but whether of the same race with those of the Celtic nation mentioned in a former chapter *, or, whether so called, because like the Pleurones they cut off their fore-locks, or whether both were not originally of Celtic extraction, is not easy to determine.

The name of Acarnanians they afterwards received from Acarnanus the son of Alcmon. This last was the son of Amphiareus the noted southsayer, whose wife Eripyle had been bribed by Polynices with a rich necklace, to determine him to go to the Theban war, for which reason he left orders with his son to murder her, as we have seen elsewhere †. He having executed his father's commands, was so tormented with furies, that he was forced to apply to the Delphic oracle for relief, and was answered, that if he could find out some country which had sprung up out of the sea, since his parricide, and did settle there, he should be freed from his mother's avenging ghost. After much seeking he found this spot of ground, which the Achelous had thrown up, and settled himself there.

He soon after married Callirhoe, the pretended daughter of that river, by whom he had two sons, Arcarnan and Amphoterus, the former of whom gave his name to this country (14). Some think, that the difference between the Acarnanians and Curetes was, that the latter shaved the forepart of their heads, and the other did not. Again, some derive the name of Curetes from the mount Curius, and others from the Greek κυραι maidens, because they affected to go dress like young women, though in this latter sense it should properly be writ κοραι. We have nothing material concerning this nation, except their constant wars with the Ætolians, at least during this epocha. The remainder of their history will be best seen in that of Epirus, of which they afterwards became a province.

(12) Ibid. c. xxxviii. (13) Strab. Mel. & al. * Vid. sup. vol. v. p. 406. & seq. & sub. not. A. † Ibid. ch. 17. sect. 3. (14) Pausan. in Arcad. c. xxiv. (15) Vid. Byzant. sub voce Acarnania.

them, that they are not eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed by their names, or indeed by any thing but their ſituation. In this reſpect they were divided into the Locri Ozolæ abovementioned, which inhabited the ſouthern or maritime parts. 2. The Locri Epicnemidii, ſo called from the mount Cnemis; theſe were ſituate in the middle: and 3. The northern Locri, ſirnamed Opuntii from their chief city Opus or Opoes, near the coaſts of the Ægean or Eubæan ſea; authors, however, are not ſo well agreed in the placing of the two latter, as the former of theſe ancient nations [h]. Ancient indeed, if we conſider that Homer tells us, they came to the Trojan war armed with bows and ſlings, and that the Ozoleans carried an early colony into Italy under the conduct of their princes Evas and Ajax, and built a city there near the Zephyrian promontory, from which they were called Locri Epizephyrii [i].

Their three tribes.

THE Ozolean Locrians were divided from the other two by the whole kingdom of Phocis, of which we have given an account in a former ſection. Their chief city was Amphiſſa, ſituate on the Evenus. Herodotus calls it Amphicea, and the inhabitants Amphiclea. It was afterwards taken by the Phocians, and deſtroyed with the reſt of the Phocian cities in the holy war formerly mentioned, and when it was rebuilt, Pauſanias tells us it took the name of Ophitea, if the text has not been corrupted by his tranſcribers [k]. (E). The Epicnemidian Locrians were the only ones of all the three

[h] De' his vid. Ptolem. Strab. Mela, Cluver, & al. ſub. Citat. [i] Pauſan. Achaic. c. xxiii. & Phocid xxxviii. [k] Id. ibid. vid. & Byzant. ſub voce Αμφικαια & Gronov. not. in Loc.

(E) This laſt is more likely to be the caſe, both becauſe Herodotus no where calls it by this new name, but always Amphicea, and more particularly becauſe this laſt name doth better agree with the etymon which Pauſanias himſelf gives of it, which is as follows (16).

A petty king of that country, out of ſome fear for his young ſon, had cauſed him to be brought up privately in a very retired place, where he was one day in danger of being killed by a wolf, but was ſaved by a ſerpent, who twined about and defended him. The father, coming at that inſtant, and in a fright misjudging the matter, let fly an arrow, which killed both the ſerpent and his ſon, and when he was better informed by ſome ſhepherds, who had

(16) Phocid. c. xxxiv.

three who had a right to ſend deputies to the grand Amphictyonian court at Delphos. Their metropolis was Thronium, mentioned by Homer, Ptolemy, and other ancient authors [l]. They had another city called Cnemis, built at the foot of the mount of that name, from which they took their appellative. Thoſe who deſire to know more of theſe ancient cities, as well as of that of Opus or Opoes, belonging to the other Locrian tribe, may ſee an ample deſcription of them in the authors above quoted †. How they came by their common name of Locrians, whether they were colonies of one another, and if ſo, which was the ancienteſt, is paſt our skill to find out. As for their countries they afford little worth our farther notice, and all that we can add concerning their inhabitants is, that they were a brave warlike nation; and we ſhall in the ſequel ſee, that they ſignalized themſelves, as much as any others, in maintaining the liberty of Greece. Towns of note.

§ Doris was ſituate on the ſouth of Theſſaly, being parted from it by mount Oeta and a ridge of other hills. It had on the ſouth Phocis and part of Ætolia; on the eaſt it was parted from the Locri Epicnemidæ by the river Pindus, and on the weſt from Epirus by that of Achelous. Other rivers of note it had not. Mountains it had in great number, and thoſe not inconſiderable ones: the moſt famed were Oeta and Pindus, often mentioned in this chapter, which, with ſome others of leſs note, ſurrounded it on the north, as the Callidromians did on the weſt; yet it abounded with ſpacious plains and very fruitful: the air was ſweet and healthy, and the ſoil capable of being improved to all advantages of huſbandry. Its territories were not large, they extended only at moſt about forty miles in length, that is from 39 deg. 10 min. to 39 deg. 50 min. and about 20 miles in breadth at the wideſt, Doris.

† Vid. & Palmer. antiq. Græc. l. 4. & alib. paſſ. [l] Polib Livy. Pauſan. vid. & Palmer. Antiq. Græc. l. v. & Byz. ſub voce. [m] Vid. Ptolem. Strab. Mela, &c.

had beheld the encounter, he cauſed them to be both burnt upon the ſame funeral pile.

It ſeems therefore more probable, that the place was called from thence Αμφικαια, from Αμφικαιεσθαι, both being carried to the ſame pile, than Ophitea, which has no alluſion to that or any other part of the ſtory (17).

(17) Vid. Sylburg. Paulmier. & Gedoyn. in. eund. ibid.

wideſt, or from 23 deg. 10 min. to 23 deg. 30 min. eaſt longitude.

THIS country was called Doris, and the people Dores, from Dorus, the ſon of Hellen, and grandſon of Deucalion, who firſt peopled, or rather conquered, it, at leaſt that part of it, which lies below the mountains Oeta and Pindus: they were afterwards driven from it by the Cadmeans, and forced to inhabit for ſome time about Macednum and the neighbourhood of Pindus, but returned ſoon after to Dryopis (F), and the country about Oeta [n], where they continued till they made that famous deſcent into Peloponneſus with the Heraclidæ, of which we have ſpoken in ſome former ſections, and whither they carried alſo their dialect called from them Doric (G). Their chief city was called Doris from the founder of this kingdom. We find this metropolis mentioned by Homer, Herodotus, and others [o].

2. ERI-

[n] Herodot. l. i. Apollod. l. i. c. 7. [o] De his vid. Ptolem. Strab. &c. Byzant. & Palmer. Ant. Gr.

(F) A country ſituate in the neighbourhood of the mount Oeta and Parnaſſus, and called Dryopis, from Dryope the daughter of Eurypylus, or, as the poets feign, a nymph raviſhed by Apollo; but more probably from δρυς, an oak, and οψ, voice, from the quantity of oaks that grew about the mountain and the ruſtling of their leaves.

However, the Dryopes valued themſelves very much upon their fabulous origin, and called themſelves the ſons of Apollo; wherefore Hercules having overcome them in fight, took them priſoners and carried them to Delphos, where he preſented them to their divine progenitor, who commanded that hero to take them back with him into Peloponneſus, which he accordingly did, and gave them a ſettlement there near the Aſmean and Hermionian territories; hence the Aſmeans came to be blended with and to call themſelves Dryopes (18).

(G) The Dorians gave their name, 1. to this dialect of theirs, which became much in vogue among the Greeks, but was preſerved moſt pure by the Meſſenians, even through all their various tranſmigrations: 2. to the Doric order, one of the five in architecture: and 3. to the Doric muſic, in oppoſition to that of the Lydians and Phrygians.

Theſe three kinds of muſic uſed to be played upon three different kinds of flutes, particularly adapted to each of them, till the celebrated Pronomus invented a fourth ſort, upon which he could play them all indifferently (19).

(18) Pauſan. in Meſſenic. c. xxxiv. (19) Pauſan. in Bœotic. c. xii. Athæn. l. xiv. c. 7.

2. ERINEUS, situate on the most northern verge of the kingdom, near the foot of the hills which part Doris from Macedonia, and mentioned by all the ancient geographers and historians. 3. Lilæa on the southern frontiers, and adjoining to Phocis. 4. Bium, as it is called by Ptolemy, or Bojon, as Strabo and others call it, with some others of less note.

WE have nothing remarkable left concerning these people before their naval descent into Peloponnesus, the particulars and success of which have been seen in the former sections, and need not to be repeated here. After their conquest of and settlement in that Peninsula, in conjunction with the Heraclidæ, they built a stately temple to Jupiter Tropæus, in memory of this great event. Such indeed it was, and answerable to the firname given to that deity, since it almost overturned the whole state of affairs in all the different kingdoms and states of Peloponnesus, whose cities were now forced to receive a garison of Dorians, and to submit to a foreign government.

§ ACHAIA Propria (H), so called from Achæus the son of Xuthus, was originally called Ægialea, from Ægialeus the first king of Sicyon, as some affirm †; others think, it comes from the Greek Ægialos, sea-shore, because above half of it was surrounded with the sea [P], but whether it was originally a part of the Sicyonic kingdom, or was under its own kings, is not certain; the latter indeed seems the more probable, because the king, who reigned there when Ion the brother of Achæus came to invade it, is called Selinus by the last quoted author, whereas there was no Sicyonian king of that name in the list we have left of them, unless perhaps Selinus be the same with Telchin, or Selchin as he is also called, the grandson of Ægialeus. However that be, the country took then the firname of Ionian, and the people were

Achaia its names.

† See vol. v. ch. 17. sect. 2. [P] Pausan. Achaic. c. i.

(H) It is called Achaia Propria to distinguish it from the general name of Achaia, by which Greece itself was sometimes called, and which was afterwards given by the Romans to one of the provinces of it, after they had divided it into two, viz. Macedonia, containing Macedonia Thessaly, and Epirus, and Achaia, containing all the remainder of Greece, both inland and the islands about it.

called Ægialean Ionians; and it is likely, that that of Achaia was not given to it till the ſons of Achæus came and invaded it, and drove the Ionians out of it.

Situation and extent.

ACHAIA had Sicyon on the eaſt, and the Ionian ſea on the weſt; the kingdom of Elis, and that of Arcadia on the ſouth, and the bay of Corinth on the north: its utmoſt extent was from eaſt to weſt ſomewhat above fifty miles, but from north to ſouth about half that diſtance [q], being within the 38th deg. of latitude and 23d of longitude. Rivers of note it had not, except the Piereus which diſcharged itſelf into the Ionian ſea, at the mouth of which was the city of Olenus, a famous ſea-port mentioned by ancient authors, and ſo called from Olenus its founder, the ſuppoſed ſon of Jupiter, or, according to others, of Vulcan. We find another city of the ſame name in Ætolia [r]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention the reſt of their cities in the following ſketch of their hiſtory.

XUTHUS, one of the ſons of Hellen, the ſon of Deucalion, having been baniſhed by his other brothers out of Theſſaly after their father's death, under pretence that he had embezzeled the royal treaſury, came to Athens, where Erectheus gave him his daughter Creuſa, by whom he had two ſons, Achæus and Ion. After Erectheus's death, a diſpute ariſing between his ſons, Xuthus was choſen umpire between them, and having adjudged the ſucceſſion to Cecrops II. who was the eldeſt, the others drove him out of the kingdom, whence he came and ſettled in Achaia *, and died there. His ſon Achæus did ſoon after raiſe a ſmall number of Athenian and Ægialean forces, with which he went into Theſſaly, and recovered his grandfather's kingdom. He had not reigned long there, before he was forced to fly for man-ſlaughter, and went into Laconia where he died, and his poſterity continued, till they were expelled from it by the Dores and Heraclidæ.

BUT, in the mean while, his brother Ion, who was grown very great at the Athenian court, obtained a number of forces, and with them invaded this country, then called Ægialea. Selinus then king of it, having but one only daughter, inſtead of repulſing him, gave her to him in marriage, and appointed him his ſucceſſor. Ion, having ſucceeded his father-in-law, built a city, and called it by

[q] Strab. Mela, &c. [r] Vid. Byzant. in voce. * See vol. v. 17. ſect. 3.

by his wife's name Helice, and from him the Ægialeans were ſirnamed Ionians; but the country ſeems to have retained its ancient name, ſince, Homer, in the liſt of Agamemnon's forces, makes mention both of it and the city of Helice.

Ion was ſoon after choſen general of the Athenian forces in their war againſt the Eleuſians, and was either killed in it, or died ſoon after; and was buried in a ſmall town of Attica. The crown, however, paſſed to his deſcendants, who enjoyed it undiſturbed for a conſiderable time. In the mean while, thoſe of his uncle Achæus, and known by the name of Achæans, had ſpread themſelves in ſeveral parts of Greece, particularly in the kingdoms of Argos and Lacedæmon. When therefore they came to be driven out of theſe two countries by the Dores and Heraclidæ, they bethought themſelves of laying claim to Achaia, and of driving the Ionians out out of it. They had their brave king Tiſamenes the ſon of Oreſtes at their head, and pleaded a ſuperiority of kindred, being deſcended from the eldeſt ſon of Xuthus; but what they truſted would give them a better title was, that they had a good number of troops, and among them ſome Dores, who agreed to aſſiſt them in this expedition. Accordingly they came againſt them with this army, and ſent a herald to them to demand, that they might be amicably received into their territories, without being put to the trouble of invading them by force. The Ionians, ſurpriſed at ſuch an unexpected meſſage, reſolved, however, to oppoſe their entrance with all their might. They knew, that if they were once ſuffered to ſettle in their territories, they would not let any one reign there except their prince Tiſamenes, whoſe noble extraction and known valour would hardly brook a competitor in the government: they therefore reſolved to march againſt the invaders, and on the very firſt onſet the Achæans loſt indeed their prince, but gained the victory and purſued it to the very gates of Helice. The Ionians thus overpowered were glad to capitulate, and to obtain the liberty of retiring where they thought fit, which being granted to them, they went into Attica, where Melanthus then reigned, and gave them a kind reception; not perhaps ſo much in conſideration of the great ſervices which their progenitor Ion had done to that kingdom, as to make uſe of their aſſiſtance againſt the Dores, whom he now began to fear. Here they ſtayed no longer than till the firſt archontat, when Medon's brethren, unwilling to ſubmit to

their lame brother, invited them among other Grecians to go and ſeek their fortune elſewhere *.

As for the Achæans, their prince being dead and the Ionians gone off, his ſons agreed to divide their new conqueſt by lot; this little kingdom chiefly conſiſted of the twelve following cities, well known to all the Greek writers; namely, 1. Helice mentioned above: 2. Ægion or Ægium, to which the aſſembly of the ſtates was removed after the ſubverſion of Helice, as being the next in dignity and bigneſs: 3. Olenus: 4. Phares: 5. Rhyphes: 6. Tritia: 7. Cerynea: 8. Bura: 9. Dymea: 10. Æges: 11. Ægira: 12. Pellene. Theſe twelve cities were at firſt divided between the four ſons of Tiſamenes, Diamenes, Sparton, Telles, and Leontomenes; for as to his fifth ſon Cometes, he was already gone into Aſia. Theſe, together with their couſin Damaſias, the ſon of Penthilus, and grandſon of Oreſtes, having jointly reigned over this new Achaian ſtate for ſome time, agreed again to take into partnerſhip Preagenes and his ſon Patrus, who were the ſovereigns of thoſe Achæans who had been baniſhed out of Lacedæmon, and gave them the ſovereignty and territories of a city which was called from the laſt of theſe Patra. By what appears from this diviſion of the Achaian government, it ſeems, as if it then became a kind of ariſtocracy, rather than a ſeven-fold monarchy, each under a particular prince; but what ſhare the ſubjects had in it we cannot find out; only it ſeems from the ſhort ſketch Pauſanias gives us of it, that all thoſe cities abovementioned, except Pellene, were in ſome meaſure free cities, and that the ſtates of Achaia ceaſed not to aſſemble themſelves, even when the reſt of Greece was terribly haraſſed with wars and peſtilence. In this aſſembly it was, that the famous Achæan league was formed, into which the Sicyonians came the very firſt, and were followed by all the other ſtates, not only of Peloponneſus, but by thoſe on the other ſide of the Iſthmus; even at length by all Greece, except the Lacedæmonians, who ſoon after entered into a war againſt them, as ſhall be ſeen in the next chapter.

[w] See vol. v. ch. 17. ſect. 3. [s] Vid. Pauſan, in Achaic. paſſ. & Plutarch. D. Sicul. & Auct. ſup. citat.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Hiſtory of the ATHENIANS.

SECT. I.

Of the ſtate of ATHENS, *from the eſtabliſhing annual archons, to the* Achæan *league.*

THE Athenians acquired that mighty renown which rendered them the moſt glorious nation in Greece, when Greece was in her greateſt glory, and which makes the Athenian name venerable, even in theſe diſtant times, under a democratic government, of the beginning of which we are now to treat. Though Athens, as we have already ſhewn, was in ancient times, as indeed moſt nations were, governed by kings, yet thoſe kings were far from being abſolute. The beſt of them preſcribed bounds to themſelves, and the people preſcribed bounds to the worſt. For the Athenians were always friends to liberty, and reſerved, even in the days of Theſeus, ſuch an authority in their hands, as engaged Homer to difference them from the other nations of Greece [a]. The glorious death of Codrus, who ſacrificed himſelf for his ſubjects, and his ſons diſputing the ſucceſſion, furniſhed the Athenians with a pretence for ridding themſelves of kings. It was improbable, they ſaid, that ever they ſhould have ſo good a prince as Codrus, and to prevent their having a worſe, they could have no king but Jupiter [b]. However, that they might not ſeem ungrateful to his family, they made his ſon Medon their ſupreme magiſtrate with the title of Archon; they afterwards rendered that office decennial, but continued it ſtill in that family. The extinction of the Medontidæ at laſt left them without reſtraint, upon which they not only made this office annual, but created nine Archons [c]; by the latter invention they provided againſt the too great power of a ſingle perſon, as by the former expedient they took away all apprehenſion of their Archons having time to eſtabliſh an optimacy, and ſo change the conſtitution. In one word, they attained now what they had long ſought, the making their ſupreme magiſtrates dependent on the people. THAT

[a] Iliad. lib. v. [b] Schol. in nub. Ariſtophan. [c] Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. 1. Euſeb. Chron. Pauſan.

THAT these magistrates might, however, retain as much authority and dignity as might be sufficient to preserve order and peace in the commonwealth, they had high titles and great honours annexed to their offices. The first was stiled by way of eminence, The Archon, and the year was distinguished by his name. The second was called Basileus, i. e. king. He too had his peculiar function and his particular tribunal. The third had the name of Polemarchos, war was his province especially, though he had the direction of many things besides military affairs. The other six had the title of Thesmothetæ, common to them all, and were looked on as the guardians of their laws and conservators of the constitution. We shall speak of all these offices distinctly in their proper place; at present we intend only to give a general idea of that form of government which took place on the abolition of the decennial magistracy in Athens. As to the reasons on which the names of the three first magistrates and their distinct offices were founded, they are variously, and not very clearly, reported. It may be, their chief end was to transfer that reverence which the common people had for their old magistrates to these new ones, by leaving the latter as much of the exterior pomp of the former, as was consistent with the ends for which this change was made: as the Romans allowed their consuls to have fasces carried before them, and bore with the word Rex, when it implied no more than a supreme sacrificer. This change happened at Athens in the twenty-fourth olympiad, but in what year of that olympiad is not well settled. Creon was the first of the new Archons, and the names of his successors, at least such of them as are recorded in history, the reader will find in the following table, which also shews the years in which they bore that office (A).

An

(A) The Athenian history takes up so great a part of those volumes which are left us of the ancient writers of Greece, that though little has been said by them in a regular manner of the form of that republic, and the power of its magistrates; yet the industry of such of the learned as have laboured in this way, and, by collecting the scattered passages of Grecian writers, have formed treatises of the Athenian government under its several mutations, have given us such lights on this important subject, that it would be unpardonable in us not to set it clearly and distinctly before our readers. But previous thereto, it will be necessary to give some account of those last mentioned authors, that if such as per-

use

An exact TABLE of ſuch of the annual archons of Athens as are mentioned in hiſtory.

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
		xxiv
684	Creon	1
683	Tleſias	2
682	Lyſias	3
		xxvii
670	Antoſthenes	3
		xxix

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
663	Archimedes	2
		xxx
658	Miltiades	3
		xxxiii
645	Dropis	4
		xxxv

63 Da-

uſe this work ſhould be deſirous of entering more deeply into the Athenian policy, than the conſtruction of this hiſtory will permit us to do, they may not be at a loſs for guides. William Poſtel, who flouriſhed in the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries, and was deſervedly famous for his extenſive learning, hath written a very curious treatiſe of the Athenian republic, conſiſting of thirty-five chapters, wherein he handles conciſely the functions of the Athenian magiſtrates, the rights of the people, and the dependency of the ſeveral parts of the Attic conſtitution on each other (1). But if the ſuccinctneſs of Poſtel leaves any doubt on the minds of his readers, Sigonius's four books, with his ſcheme of the Athenian hiſtory, will ſufficiently ſupply it. Sigonius was a man of much reading, vaſt diligence, and had a mighty affection for this kind of writing, as appears from the many other works of the ſame kind which he compoſed (2). This excellent perſon was a profeſſor in the univerſity of Modena, and, by that time he was twenty years of age, had acquired ſuch a ſtupendous knowledge in hiſtory and politics, as rendered him the wonder of all who knew him. As Sigonius exceeded Poſtel, ſo Sigonius himſelf hath been tranſcended by Ubbo Eminius, rector of the univerſity of Groningen, who, having reſolved upon a work of the ſame nature, made his deſcription extend not only to the Athenian, but to all the republics of Greece, and ordering it ſo, that this deſcription made but one-third part of his work, the two former parts containing an exact deſcription of ancient Greece, and a regular hiſtory of its inhabitants collected in the words moſtly of original writers (3). If to theſe we add the almoſt numberleſs treatiſes of the very learned Meurſius on every part of the Athenian government (4), there

(1) Tractatus de Repub. ſive Magiſtratibus Athenienſium. (2) De Republica Athenienſium Venetiis 1565, 8vo. (3) Vetus Græcia Opus diſtinctum in Tomos tres. (4) Themis Attica, Cecropia, Lection.

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
639	Damaſias I.	2
		xxxvi
634	Epænetus	3
		xxxix
623	Draco	2
		xliii
608	Ariſtocles	4
		xlv
599	Megacles	2
598	Phiſombrotus	3
597	Solon	4
		xlvi
596	Dropides	1
		xlvii
591	Euorates	2
590	Cimon	3
		xlix
582	Damaſias II.	3
		li
576	Archeſtratides	1
		lii
569	Auſtomenes	4
		liv
561	Hippoclides	4
		lv
560	Comias	1
559	Hegeſtratus	2
		lvi
552	Euthydemus	2
		lviii
547	Euxiclides	2
		lix
543	Alcæus	2
		lxii
532	Heraclides	1

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
		lxiv
523	Miltiades	2
		lxviii
	Iſagoras	an. incert.
		lxix
	Aceſtorides	an. incert.
		lxx
	Myrus	an. incert.
		lxxi
496	Hyparchus	2
495	Philippus	3
494	Themiſtocles	4
		lxxii
492	Diognetus	2
491	Hybrilides	3
490	Phœnippus	4
		lxxiii
488	Ariſtides	1
487	Anchiſes	2
486	Acratides	3
		lxxiv
484	Leoſtratus	1
483	Nicodemus	2
482	Aphephon	3
		lxxv
480	Callias qui & Calliades	1
479	Xanthippus	2
478	Timoſthenes	3
477	Adimanthus	4
		lxxvi.
476	Phædon	1
475	Dromoclides	2
474	Aceſtorides	3
473	Menon	

there can no queſtion be made, but that this point may be as thoroughly underſtood as any thing of the ſame nature can be. But as things are never perfect at firſt, ſo we held it more reaſonable to refer the particular account of the power of the archons, and the conſtruction of the Athenian democracy to its ſettlement by Solon, than to perplex the reader with anticipations or repetitions.

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
473	Menon	4
		lxxvii
472	Chares	1
471	Praxiergus	2
470	Demotion	3
469	Phædon	4
		lxxviii
468	Theagenides	1
467	Lysistratus	2
466	Lysanias	3
465	Lysistheus	4
		lxxix
464	Archidemides	1
463	Tlepolemus	2
462	Conon	3
461	Euippus	4
		lxxx
460	Phaciclides	1
459	Philocles	2
458	Bion	3
457	Mnesitides	4
		lxxxi
456	Callias	1
455	Sosistratus	2
454	Ariston	3
453	Lysicrates	4
		lxxxii
452	Chærephanes	1
451	Antidotus	2
450	Eutydemus	3
449	Pedieus	4
		lxxxiii
448	Philiscus	1
447	Timarchides	2
446	Callimachus	3
445	Simachides qui & Lysimachides	4
		lxxxiv
444	Praxiteles	1
443	Lysanias	2
442	Diphilus	3
441	Timocles	4

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
		lxxxv
440	Myrichides sive Marichidas	1
439	Glaucis	2
438	Theodorus	3
437	Euthymenes	4
		lxxxvi
436	Nausimachus qui & Lysimachus	1
435	Antichides	2
434	Charis	3
433	Apsendes	4
		lxxxvii
432	Pythodorus	1
431	Euthydemus	2
430	Apollodorus	3
429	Epamion	4
		lxxxviii
428	Diotimus	1
427	Euclides	2
426	Scytodorus qui & Euthydemus	3
425	Stratocles	4
		lxxxix
424	Isarchus	1
423	Aminias	2
422	Alcæus	3
421	Arieto qui & Aristion	4
		xc
420	Aristophilus qui & Astyphilus	1
419	Archias	2
418	Antiphon	3
417	Euphemus	4
		xci
416	Aristomnestus	1
415	Chabrias	2
414	Pysander	3
413	Cleocritus	4
		xcii
412	Callias	1
411	Theopompus	2
410	Glaucippus	3

409 Die-

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
409	Diocles	4
		xciii
408	Euctemon	1
407	Antigenes	2
406	Callias	3
405	Alexias	4
		xciv
404	Pythodorus	1
403	Euclides	2
402	Micio	3
401	Zenetetus qui & Epenetus	4
		xcv
400	Laches	1
399	Aristocrates	2
398	Itycles	3
397	Lysiades	4
		xcvi
396	Phormio	1
395	Diophantus	2
394	Eubulides	3
393	Arches qui & Demostratus	4
		xcvii
392	Philocles	1
391	Nicoteles	2
390	Demostratus	3
389	Antipater	4
		xcviii
388	Pyrrhio qui & Pyrghion	1
387	Theodotus	2
386	Mystichides	3
385	Dexiteus	4
		xcix
384	Diotrephes	1
383	Phenostratus	2
382	Menander qui & Evander	3
381	Demophilus	4
		c
380	Pytheas	1
379	Nicon	2
378	Nausinicus	3

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
377	Callias	4
		ci
376	Chariander	1
375	Hippodamus	2
374	Socratides	3
373	Astius sive Asteus	4
		cii
372	Aristhenes sive Alcisthenes	1
371	Phrasiclides	2
370	Dysnicetus	3
369	Lysistratus	4
		ciii
368	Nausigenes	1
367	Polyzelus	2
366	Cephisodorus	3
365	Chion	4
		civ
364	Timocrates	1
363	Chariclides	2
362	Molio sive Molon	3
361	Nicophemus	4
		cv
360	Callimedes	1
359	Eucharistus	2
358	Cephisodorus	3
357	Agathocles	4
		cvi
356	Elpines seu Elpinius	1
355	Calistratus	2
354	Diotimus	3
353	Eudemus	4
		cvii
352	Aristodemus	1
351	Thessalus	2
350	Apollodorus	3
349	Callimachus	4
		cviii
348	Theophilus	1
347	Themistocles	2
346	Archius	3
345	Eubulus	4
		cix
344	Lycisicus	1

343 Pytho-

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
343	Pythodorus	2
342	Sosigenes	3
341	Nicomachus	4
		cx
340	Theophrastus	1
339	Lysimachides	2
338	Charondas seu Charonidas	3
337	Phrynicus	4
		cxi
336	Pythodorus	1
335	Euenetus	2
334	Cteficles	3
333	Nicorates	4
		cxii
332	Niceratus	1
331	Aristophanes	2
330	Aristophon	3
329	Cephisophon	4
		cxiii
328	Euthycritus	1
327	Hegemon	2
326	Chremes	3
325	Anticles	4
		cxiv
324	Hegesias	1
323	Cephisodor	2
322	Philocles	3
321	Archippus five Apollodorus	4
		cxv
320	Neæchmus	1
319	Apollodorus	2
318	Archippus	3
317	Demogenes	4
		cxvi
316	Democlides	1
315	Praxibulus	2
314	Nicodorus	3
313	Cheophrastus	4

A. a. Ch.		Olymp.
		cxvii
312	Ptolemo	1
311	Simonides	2
310	Hieromnemon	3
309	DemetriusPhalereus	4
		cxviii
308	Charinus five Cœrinus	1
307	Anaxicrates	2
306	Coræbus five Corybus	3
305	Xenippus five Euenippus	4
		cxix
304	Pherecles	1
303	Leostratus	2
302	Nicocles	3
301	Calliarchus	4
		cxx
300	Hegamachus	1
299	Euctemon	2
298	Mnesidemus	3
297	Antiphates	4
		cxxi
296	Nicias	1
295	Nicostratus	2
294	Olympiodorus	3
293	Philippus	4
		cxxii
290	Philippus	3
		cxxv
279	Gorgias	2
278	Anaxicrates	3
277	Democles	4
		cxxvii
271	Pytharatus	2
		cxxix
264	Diognetes	1
		clx
140	Antitheus	1
		clxxx
60	Herodes	2

As we are obliged to gather the hiſtory of Athens at the entrance of this period from ſuch paſſages in far later hiſtorians as have a retroſpective view thereto, the reader cannot expect that it ſhould be very exactly connected. He will ſee from the foregoing table, that the names of many of the archons are loſt; and of ſeveral which remain, we know nothing more, than that they were archons in ſuch a year, which is frequently diſcovered from writers of other nations, who, for the better ſettling the facts of which they wrote, referred them to the years in which ſuch and ſuch perſons were archons; becauſe anciently the Athenian ſtory was better known than that of any other people, and therefore ſerved the purpoſe of hiſtorians in this reſpect perfectly well. If the people laboured for power in Athens, the nobility were likewiſe deſirous of preſerving it to themſelves, and tho' they frequently found it neceſſary to give way to popular humours, yet they generally fell upon expedients, which in the end defeated the deſigns of the people, and hindered them from attaining that meaſure of authority they ſought. The archons were from the beginning of the democracy choſen by the people, but they were choſen out of the nobility, and they ſtill retained one privilege of the ancient magiſtrates, which very probably bore hard upon the people, viz. that of deciding all cauſes that came before them, according to their own notions of right or wrong; for as yet the Athenians had no written laws, but every magiſtrate acted according to the principles of natural equity.

THE more populous the city grew, and the greater wealth its citizens acquired, the leſs eaſily were they governed. Merchants from Syria and Egypt very probably gave them firſt to underſtand the expediency of written laws, which might ſerve to rule the magiſtrates as well as the people. This once inculcated, the Athenians would not be at reſt without them; the ſame ſpirit, which had compelled former alterations in government, made it neceſſary now, that laws ſhould be compiled, and therefore the nobility pitched upon Draco to undertake this arduous employment (B).

DRACO

[d] Suidas. in Δρακων.

(B) When it is ſaid, that Draco firſt gave laws to the Athenians, it muſt be underſtood in an extenſive ſenſe, for otherwiſe it is certain, that Ceres was the firſt who taught the Athenians to lead a ſocial life, and to become ſubject to the wiſeſt amongſt them,

Draco was archon in the second, though some say in the last, year of the thirty-ninth olympiad, when it is supposed he published his laws. Though the name of this great man occurs frequently in history, yet we no where find so much as ten lines together relating to him and his institutions, which is certainly the reason that the collectors of Greek history have written so superficially about them. We cannot pretend to supply their deficiencies; but from the scattered fragments relating to him, we will give the reader the best account of him and his laws that we can. He was without doubt a man noble by birth, and endued with high qualifications. He was learned, virtuous, and a true lover of his country, but at the same time severe in his temper, and extremely rigid in the rules which he laid down for the government of Athens [e]. He esteemed the taking away of life so high a crime, that, to imprint a deep abhorrence thereof in the minds of men, he ordained, that process should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any person. So that for instance, a statue, which had fallen upon and killed a man, was banished, it being rendered criminal for any one to keep it in Attica [f]. Happy had it been for himself and for his country, if the same spirit of humanity had reigned throughout his institutions; but

*Year of the Flood, 2389. Year before Christ, 614.

[e] A. Gellius. Noct. Attic. lib. ii. c. 18. Tatian. Orat. cont. Græcos. Clem. Strom. l. i. [f] Pausan. Attic.

them, that their wisdom might be made generally beneficial. It is commonly believed, that Ceres gave these laws by her favourite Triptolemus, and we are farther told what those laws were, the whole body of them being comprized in one line; Honour your parents; Worship the gods; Hurt not animals (5). These precepts were retained likewise by Draco, and made the very foundation of his institutions, yet notwithstanding all this, he was, in the sense we usually take the word in, the legislator of the Athenian, since he first restrained the magistrates from pronouncing arbitrary judgments, and declared what actions were criminal, and in what manner such as committed them should be punished.

(5) Porphyr. de Abstinentia.

* The authors having in the history of the Phrygians, Athenians, and Achæans, changed their chronology, adding five years to the time between the flood and the birth of Christ, making it 3003 years, it is thought proper to take notice of it in this place.

but ſo it was, that he puniſhed all things with death, even indolence; and the taking of an apple was as ſeverely puniſhed as ſacrilege, for which he himſelf aſſigned this reaſon; Small faults ſeem to me worthy of death, and for the moſt flagrant offences I can find no higher puniſhment [g]. The care of executing theſe laws he intruſted chiefly with the Ephetæ, a court we have heretofore mentioned, which he took upon him to reform in many reſpects, whence he is by ſome ſaid to have inſtituted it, but that is a miſtake. He did indeed make it ſuperior to the Areopagus, to which it was before inferior, and Solon, reſtoring the precedency of the laſt-mentioned court, has been by a like miſtake reported to be the inſtitutor thereof [h]. Draco was far in years when he gave laws to Athens; ſome have been of opinion, that he borrowed moſt of his principles from the books of the Phœnicians, but this can hardly be proved [i]; certain it is, that his inſtitutions were not ſtiled Nomoi, but Theſmoi, i. e. not laws, but ſanctions, as if they proceeded from more than human wiſdom [k]; but this did not hinder their falling into diſlike with the Athenians, even in his life-time; and as their diſlike was always fatal, he was obliged to retire from Athens, from whence he went to the iſland of Ægina, where he was received with the higheſt reſpect; but the favour of the inhabitants of that country proved more fatal to him than the hatred of the Athenians. For coming one day into the theatre, the audience, to ſhew their regard for him, threw, as the cuſtom of that age was, their bonnets and cloaks upon him, and the multitude of theſe being very great, they ſtifled the old man, who was too weak to diſengage himſelf from that load, their inconſiderate kindneſs caſt over him [l]. Ariſtotle tells us, that Herodicus was wont to ſay, That his inſtitutions ſeemed rather to have come from a dragon than a man, alluding to his name [m], and Demades rendered himſelf famous by obſerving, that Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood [n]. It may be the violence of the age in which he lived, and the natural turbulency of the Athenian people, made that legiſlator have recourſe to ſo harſh a method; for that he was not of altogether

[g] Plutarch. in vita Solon. [h] Potter's Archæolog. vol. i. p. 102. [i] Joſeph. contr. Apion. [k] Ælian. hiſt. var. l. viii. c. 10. [l] Heſych. Illuſt. de Philoſ. [m] Rhet. l. ii. c. 23. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Solon.

altogether ſo ſavage a temper, as he is generally repreſented, may be probably conjectured from thoſe fragments of his laws which are yet undevoured by time, and from the knowledge we have of his being ſtrongly inclined to poetry, a ſtudy ſeldom agreeable to cruel minds ° (C).

NOTHING conſiderable happened at Athens from the time of Draco's archonſhip, till that republic engaged herſelf in a war with the Mityleneans about the city of Sigeium, which was ſeated near the mouth of the river Scamander; the Athenian army was commanded by Phrynon, a perſon equally remarkable for the comelineſs of his form and the generoſity of his mind. The Mityleneans were commanded in chief by Pittacus, one of the famous ſages of Greece; as theſe commanders looked on the honour of their ſeveral countries to be engaged in this buſineſs, they exerted their utmoſt abilities with equal ſucceſs. At laſt theſe chiefs met in ſingle combat, wherein Phrynon de-

Year of the Flood, 2397. Year before Chriſt, 606.

° Vide Note C.

(C) Ariſtotle ſpeaks very ſlightly of Draco's laws. He ſays, they had nothing extraordinary in them except their cruelty (6); which expreſſion, as I apprehend, hath given occaſion to the cenſures of many other authors. With reſpect to Draco's laws, what fragments ſtill remain put it not in our power to decide either for him or againſt him. Porphyry hath preſerved a part of one of his laws, which runs thus: It is an everlaſting law in Attica, that the gods are to be worſhipped, and the heroes alſo, according to the cuſtoms of our anceſtors and in private only, with good words, firſt-fruits, and annual libations (7). This ſeems to have been a commentary on Triptolemus's laws, and is declarative only of the manner in which the gods and heroes ought to be worſhipped. Heſychius (8) mentions a law, whereby a perſon, eaſing himſelf in the temple of Apollo, was adjudged to ſuffer death. It is highly likely, that, amidſt the diſturbances which made laws neceſſary, Draco ſaw, or at leaſt thought he ſaw, a neceſſity of puniſhing very ſeverely, ſince the licentiouſneſs of the people was grown to ſuch a pitch, that nothing but harſh meaſures could force them within their former bounds. After all, the extravagant ſeverity of his Theſmoi or Sanctions, like an edge too finely ground, hindered them from ſtriking deep, ſo that by degrees they grew into diſſuetude, ſo that the commonwealth ſtood more in need of new laws, than ever ſhe ſtood in need of Draco's.

(6) Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii. c. 10. (7) De Abſtinent. (8) Ap. Ant. Thyſ. Coll. leg. Ath. & Rom.

pended on his valour only, but Pittacus made use of craft; for concealing behind his shield a net, he therewith suddenly entangled Phrynon, and easily slew him; but this not putting an end to the war, Periander, tyrant of Corinth, interposed, and both parties having submitted the dispute to his arbitration, he decreed, that Sigeium should belong to the Athenians. This happened in the third year of the forty-third olympiad [p] (D).

Year of the Flood, 2404. Year before Christ 599.

ABOUT seven years after this war was ended, Athens was torn by civil dissensions; Cylon, a man of a most ancient family, son in-law to Theagenes tyrant of Megara, whose affable behaviour had gained him many friends, and whose great riches procured him many dependants, formed in his own mind a design of seizing the supreme power; this he communicated to such as he thought were fit to be trusted with so important a secret, and they concurring with him in his undertaking, it was agreed to consult the oracle of Apollo, when would be the fittest time for them to put this design in execution. The oracle answered, When the citizens were employed in celebrating the highest feast to Jupiter. Cylon and his associates waited therefore for the forty-fifth olympiad, and, when many of the citizens were gone to the olympic games, the conspirators made themselves masters of the citadel. Megacles, who was at that time archon, with his eight associates and the whole

[p] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 25. Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot.

(D) The war between the Mityleneans and the Athenians about the city of Sigeium hath cost the learned a good deal of trouble. Herodotus doth not say any thing of Pittacus in the account he gives us of this business; but Plutarch alledges this as one instance of his malignity, and the little inclination he had to do any but the Athenians justice (9). But then Plutarch, in commending excessively Pittacus's ensnaring Phrynon, seems to speak him a little prejudiced on that side, at least as the rules of honour are now settled. Polyænus tells this story without making any farther comment thereon, than that Pittacus was undoubtedly the first inventor of the art of net-fighting (10), which was afterwards common among the Romans in their shews, but with this difference from Pittacus's behaviour, that the Retiarius fought openly with his net and his dagger, whereas Phrynon thought nothing of a net till he found himself intangled in it.

(9) Plutarch. de Malign. Herodot. (10) Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 28.

whole power of Athens, immediately beſieged them therein, and Cylon and his party found themſelves ſo exceedingly diſtreſſed, eſpecially for proviſions and water, that they knew not what to do. Their chief and his brother found means to make their eſcape, but the meaner ſort were left to ſhift for themſelves [q]. In this extremity they fled to the temple of Minerva, and took ſanctuary therein; Megacles perſuaded them with much ado to come down from thence, and to put themſelves upon their country; when they aſſented to this, they tied a cord to the image of the goddeſs and carried the clew with them, to demonſtrate that they were ſtill under ſanctuary; but unfortunately, as they paſſed the temple of the furies, the line ſnapt of itſelf, and Megacles and his officers, conſtruing this into a renunciation by the goddeſs, fell upon them without mercy, and put them to death as faſt as they could: ſuch as were without the temple were immediately diſpatched: ſuch as retired thither again were killed at the feet of the altars. In a word, none eſcaped but ſuch as bribed the wives of the officers of juſtice. But this did not put an end to the ſedition; the remains of Cylon's faction created great diſturbances, not by pretending to domineer over their countrymen, but by inſinuating, that the violation of Minerva's ſanctuary had drawn down the anger of heaven, of which all the croſſes that happened to the republic were cited as indubitable proofs. Theſe diſcourſes had ſuch an effect, that Megacles and his officers were ſtiled execrable, and held to be perſons under the peculiar diſpleaſure of the gods [r]. What happened in conſequence of this we ſhall ſhortly ſee: In the mean time let us obſerve, that the oracle of Apollo juſtified itſelf, by declaring that Cylon and his adherents miſtook the feaſt; that intended by the oracle being the Diaſia held in Athens to the honour of Jupiter, and not the olympic games [f] (E).

[q] Herodot. l. v. Thucyd. lib. i. [r] Plutarch. in vita Solon.
[f] Dacier. in Plutarch ubi ſupra.

(E) There was for a long time after the democracy took place a ſtrong party againſt it, who left no meaſures untried in order, if poſſible, to reſtore their ancient form of government. Cylon, as a man of quality, repined at the ſudden change of the magiſtrates and at the thoughts of aſking that as a favour which he apprehended to be due to him as his birth-right. The deſign of

WHILE Athens was in this confusion, the Megarensians attacked Nisea, and having taken it, afterwards drove the Athenians out of Salamis, which the latter endeavoured to recover, but in vain, for the Megarensians, continually victorious, cut off such numbers of them, that at last, despairing of success and afflicted with the mighty loss they had received, the Athenians made a law, that it should be capital for any one to propose to attempt the recovery of Salamis [t]. About this time also the city was exceedingly disturbed with superstitious fears and frightful appearances: this moved them to consult the Delphic oracle, and the answer they received was, that the city must be expiated. Upon this Nicias was sent to Crete to bring from thence Epimenides the Phestian, who was reputed a holy man, beloved of the gods, and one who had deep skill in the mysteries of religion. He coming to Athens took some sheep that were all black, and others that were all white; these he led into the Areopagus, and turning them loose there, directed certain persons to follow them, who should mark where they couched, and there sacrifice them to the local deity. This being done, altars were erected in all these places to perpetuate the memory of this solemn expiation. Epimenides directed also many temples and chapels to be erected without the city, two of which have been particularly

[t] Plutarch. ubi supra.

seizing the citadel, if it had succeeded, would in all probability have ended the dispute in his favour, but the number he drew together, proving far inferior to those who were under the direction of the archons, obliged him to act otherwise than he expected, and to endure a siege where he hoped to make a conquest (11). In the citadel there were two temples to Minerva, that seated in the middle was stiled Parthenion, alluding to her constant preservation of her virginity: it was afterwards burnt by the Persians, but repaired by Pericles with such skill as well as magnificence, that the remains thereof are to this day admirable, and shew it to be one of the finest structures in the world (12). As to the proceeding against Cylon's confederates, it was against the common custom of Greece, yet in these respects they were more scrupulous than any other people, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, when we come to speak of the ordinances relating to their religion.

(11) Herodot. Thucyd. Plutarch. in vit. Solonis. (12) Cecropia.

cularly noted, viz. the chapel of Contumely, and the chapel of Impudence. He is reported to have looked wiſtfully on the port of Munychia for a long time, and afterwards to have ſaid to thoſe that were near him, *How blind is man to future things, for did the* Athenians *foreſee what miſchief will one day be derived to them from that place, they would eat it with their teeth* [u]. This prediction was fulfilled two hundred and ſeventy years after, when Antipater conſtrained the Athenians to admit his gariſon into that place. During his ſtay at Athens he became intimately acquainted with Solon, who was already taken notice of for his ſhining parts and admirable moderation. As for Epimenides, the Athenians were highly ſatisfied with what he did for them, and, in token of their gratitude, offered him preſents of great value and conſiderable honours; but he requeſted only a branch of the ſacred olive, and this being given him, he returned well-ſatisfied to Crete [x] (F).

[u] Diogen. Laertius. in vita Epimen. [x] Plutarch. in vita Solon.

(F) This Epimenides was a very extraordinary perſon, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the hiſtory of Crete. Here we have nothing to ſay of him farther, than what relates to luſtrating or cleanſing cities, Diogenes Laertius tells us, that he was the inventor of this art, or rather that he was the firſt that luſtrated houſes or fields, which, if ſpoken of Greece, may be true, for Moſes had long before taught ſomething of this nature to the Jews. This was practiſed on the great day of atonement, which might very well be called the annual luſtration of Iſrael. Upon that day the prieſt took for himſelf a young bullock, and for the people two goats; the bullock the prieſt offered for himſelf: then he caſt lots upon the goats, one was called the goat of Jehovah and was offered; the other Azazel, or as we tranſlate it, the ſcape goat; the latter was preſented alſo before the altar of God, and the prieſt, laying his hands upon him, confeſſed all the iniquities of the children of Iſrael and all their tranſgreſſions, which Moſes calls putting them upon the head of the goat, which was then ſent away into the wilderneſs, *becauſe he bore upon him all their iniquities unto a land of ſeparation* (13). The reader will eaſily ſee that we have given this account of the ſcape-goat here, that he might apply it to what is ſaid of Epimenides's method of cleanſing the city of Athens, which has a viſible reſemblance thereto, and was in all probability copied therefrom, or from the cuſtom of ſome other eaſtern nation, which originally borrowed it from the Hebrews. There were

(13) Leviticus xvi.

It was about this time that Solon, whom we before mentioned, began to ſhew himſelf to his countrymen, and to diſplay

were, however, other ceremonies practiſed for the ſame purpoſe. Tzetzes in his poetical chronicle has given us a very remarkable account of the manner in which luſtrations were made, their cauſes, and effects.

Thus was in ancient times luſtration made;
When any city groan'd beneath the weight
Of famine, plague, or worſe calamity,
Forthwith a grateful victim was prepared,
Which at the holy altar when they had placed,
They caſt upon the pile, cheeſe, cakes, and figs;
Then ſtriking quick ſeven times its genitals
With ſea-leeks, and wild-figs, and other fruits,
Rude nature's product without help of art,
Burn it with wood cut from unplanted trees,
Next tow'rds the wind the ſportive aſhes caſt
Upon the ſea; thus they the dreadful ills,
With which the city laboured, drove away (14).

As to Epimenides, Strabo reports, that he made a great uſe of verſes and of hymns in his purifications (15), and Suidas tells us, that he wrote in verſe many rules and inſtructions for theſe ſort of rites (16). Laertius reports, that as he was about to mark out a place for a temple to three nymphs, a voice from heaven gave him this direction, not to the nymphs, but to Jupiter. Beſides the prophecy before mentioned relating to the haven Munychia, Epimenides uttered another during his ſtay at Athens, for hearing, that the citizens were alarmed at the progreſs of the Perſian power at ſea, he adviſed them to make themſelves eaſy, for that the Perſians would not for many years attempt any thing againſt the Greeks, and when they did, they would receive greater loſs themſelves than they would be able to bring upon the ſtates they ſought to deſtroy (17). Having related ſuch ſtrange things of this prophet and philoſopher, it will not be amiſs to cloſe this note with obſerving, that the ſacred olive, mentioned above, was the tree produced by Minerva when ſhe contended with Neptune, and that Ariſtotle was a downright infidel with reſpect to the ſtories of Emimenides's foretelling future events; that famous ſage being of

(14) Tzetes. Chil. Hiſt. v. c. xxiii. (15) Geogr. lib. x. (16) In voce Επιμ. (17) In vit. Epimenid.

diſplay thoſe rare qualities which rendered him ſo deſervedly beloved while living, and which have preſerved uninjured, for ſo long a tract of time, the fame which he acquired. He was in every reſpect formed to make a figure in the Athenian commonwealth. He was noble by birth, if not more, for he deſcended lineally from Codrus; his mother was nearly related to the mother of Piſiſtratus, and he had a brother whoſe name was Dropides, who was archon the year after himſelf[y]. We are told, that he was born at Salamis, however, we think, that may be doubted from certain verſes of his, which we ſhall have occaſion to quote. As honourable as his family was, the generoſity of his father left Solon in no very happy (G) condition; this as it is generally believed, engaged him to merchandize, though he might otherwiſe have ſubſiſted well enough by the aſſiſtance of his friends, but this did not ſuit that greatneſs of ſoul which he inherited, he choſe rather to travel and to merchandize, that he might live independently at home on his return, and not ſuffer that houſe to receive kindneſſes, whoſe cuſtom it had been to beſtow them. It is plain, both from his actions and his writings, that he was a diſintereſted patriot. The ſhameful decree, that none under pain of death ſhould mention the recovery of Salamis, grieved him to the heart; he therefore compoſed an elegy, conſiſting of a hundred verſes, to inflame the minds of the people againſt the Megarenſians, who had taken from them that iſland. Having digeſted this elegy thoroughly in his mind, he ran into the market place as if he had been mad, with his night-cap on his head, and aſcending the ſtool of the common cryer, he repeated with great vehemence the elegy he had compoſed, to the people who had gathered round him; that poem began thus:

From Salamis, behold a cryer come
Who brings you news, in nervous verſes home.

But the moſt moving ſtrokes in this celebrated poem were contained in the following verſes:

Rather

[y] Diog. Laert. vit. Solon.

of opinion, our luſtrator's talents lay quite another way, viz. in diſcovering what old crimes had produced preſent puniſhments, and how atonement might be made, and thoſe ills taken away.

Rather than Athens, would I owed my birth,
To Pholegondrian, or Sicinian earth;
Since men will ſay, where-ever I am toſt,
He's of that daſtard race, who Salamis have loſt.

It ended thus:

To Salamis let us renew our claim,
And, with the iſle reſtored, reſtore our fame.

Piſiſtratus, who, as we before obſerved, was his near relation, mixed himſelf with the crowd which gathered round this pretended madman; he, by his perſuaſive eloquence, heightened that martial rage which Solon had kindled by his verſes, ſo that of a ſudden the ſentiments of the Athenians were wholly changed, and they determined to aſſert their right to Salamis, and decreed a war accordingly. It is not eaſy to ſay who was appointed commander in chief of this expedition, ſome ſay Solon, and that Piſiſtratus accompanied him; others ſay, that Piſiſtratus went general, and that Solon aſſiſted him with his advice [z].

THERE was various accounts of the manner in which Salamis was again reduced under the Athenian power, the moſt current ſtory is, that Solon coming with Piſiſtratus to Colias, and finding the women buſy there in celebrating according

[z] Plut. Diog. Laert. Pauſan. &c.

(G) The name of Solon's father was Euphorion, or, as moſt writers affirm, Execeſtides, and we know nothing more of him, than that, notwithſtanding his liberality and nobility of his deſcent, he was far from being conſiderable in Athens. Ariſtotle reckons Solon himſelf among the inferior citizens, and quotes his own works to prove it; the truth is, that Solon was never rich, it may be becauſe he was always honeſt: ſomething of this ſort ſeems to be implied in the following verſes, which are accounted excellent:

Many unjuſt grow rich, and pious poor;
We would not change our virtue for their ſtore;
For conſtant virtue is a ſolid baſe,
Riches from man to man uncertain paſs (19).

In his youth he was mightily addicted to poetry, and as he was in thoſe days unconfined, and had no very weighty affairs upon his hands, he wrote and publiſhed a great many poems; certain it is, that all he did in this way deſerves the higheſt commendation; his language is always pure, his thoughts alike delicate and clear, his ſubjects

(19) Plutarch. in vita Solonis.

ing to the cuſtom the feaſt of Ceres, ſent a confident of his to Salamis, who, pretending to be no friend of that people, told the inhabitants, that if they had a mind to ſeize the faireſt of the Athenian ladies, they might do it by paſſing over to Colias. The Megarenſians, giving eaſy credit to what this man ſaid, preſently fitted out a ſhip, which Solon perceiving from the oppoſite ſhore, immediately diſmiſſed the women, and having dreſſed a ſufficient number of beardleſs youths in female habits, under which they concealed every one a dagger, he ſent them to the ſea-ſide, to dance and divert themſelves as the women were wont to do. When thoſe who came from Salamis drew near the coaſt, and ſaw theſe young people ſkipping up and down, they ſtrove who ſhould leap firſt out of the veſſel, and running one and all to catch theſe damſels their ſhip was ſurprized, themſelves murdered, and the Athenians, embarking on board their veſſel, ſailed immediately to Salamis and took it. Polyænus has inſerted this relation, and Plutarch alſo admits, that it was the current account of this buſineſs, he tells us, however, that others had related it after this manner: The firſt thing Solon did, after he was appointed director of this expedition, was to conſult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, from whom he received this reſponſe;

Let

ſubjects uſeful and ſublime, and therefore Plato had juſt reaſon to ſay, that if he had finiſhed all his poems, and particularly the hiſtory he brought out of Egypt, and had taken time to reviſe and correct them as others did, neither Homer, Heſiod, or any other ancient would have been more famous (20). As he was an excellent poet himſelf, he had a juſt and high idea of the power of verſe, which he thought capable of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the mind of man; yet he was a great orator, and wrote in proſe with peculiar neatneſs of expreſſion and perſpicuity. It is evident, both from the life and writings of this great man, that he was a perſon not only of exalted virtue, but of a moſt pleaſant and agreeable temper. He loved ſociety, and made it his buſineſs to promote the welfare thereof, he conſidered men as men, he kept both their capacity for virtue and their proneneſs to evil in his view, adapting his laws ſo as to ſtrengthen and ſupport the one, and to check and keep under the other; hence his inſtitutions are as remarkable for their ſweetneſs and practicability, as thoſe of Lycurgus are for harſhneſs and forcing of human nature. The reader will excuſe this ſhort digreſſion as to the character of Solon, ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary for the framing of a right idea of his conduct as a legiſlator.

(20) In Timæa.

Let ſacrifice be to thoſe heroes paid,
Who under the Aſopian ground are laid,
And dead, are by the ſetting ſun ſurvey'd.

Solon took upon him to explain this dark prediction, and was ſo happy as to interpret it right. He gueſſed, that the heroes mentioned by the oracle were Periphemus and Cychris, he ſailed therefore by night to Salamis, and offered at their tombs. This being performed, he gathered a body of five-hundred Athenian volunteers, who, in caſe they ſucceeded, were to have the government of the iſland. Theſe he embarqued in a galley of thirty oars and in a conſiderable number of fiſhing-boats, and ſetting ſail in the evening, arrived the day following in a bay of the iſle of Salamis which looked towards Eubœa. The next morning the whole iſland was alarmed, though they did not well know on what account; at laſt the Athenian galley was deſcried, the Megarenſians thereupon manned out a ſtout ſhip, which doubling the cape in order to attack the galley, was on a ſudden ſurrounded by Solon's armed boats, and quickly taken. The Athenians having put to death all the men ſurprized in this veſſel, filled it with their choiceſt youth dreſſed in the Megarenſian habits, which procured them an eaſy enterance into the port, where, when they arrived, they made all imaginable haſte on ſhore, and attacked thoſe who came to welcome them as their friends. In the mean time, the remainder of the Athenians marched by land, and attacked the city on the other ſide with ſuch fury, that it was ſpeedily taken. In memory of this extraordinary event they inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, during which an Athenian ſhip came as it were privately into the harbour, and the people running down to meet it, an armed man jumped on ſhore, and ran towards the promontory Sciradium, as if to join his companions who had marched by land. Near this place there ſtood a temple to Mars, which was ſuppoſed to have been erected by Solon in memory of this victory which put the Athenians in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. The reſt of the Megarenſians retired to their own country in virtue of a treaty concluded with Solon. The Megarenſians ſo highly reſented the loſs of Salamis, that notwithſtanding the treaty they preſently ſent new forces thither, againſt whom the Athenians fought, ſometimes with good, ſometimes with ill, fortune. At laſt it was decreed to leave this diſpute to the Lacedæmonians, who commiſſioned the five following perſons, viz. Critolaides, Amompharetus, Hypſechidas, Anaxilaus, and Cleomenes to hear both parties. Solon

pleaded

pleaded on this occaſion the cauſe of his country, and ſome have ſuggeſted, that he practiſed a little fraud to make it go the better; they ſay, that finding the following verſe in Homer,

Ajax from Salamis twelve frigats brought,

He added thereto,

And ranged their troops where the Athenians fought.

From whence he would have inferred, that Salamis even at that time belonged to the Athenians. But the friends of Solon aſſert, that this is an idle ſtory, and that their great orator made uſe of quite another proof; he made it appear, ſay they, that Phliæus and Euryſaces the ſons of Ajax ſettled at Athens, and, being received into the number of citizens, gave up that iſland to the Athenians, Phliæus becoming ſo conſiderable a perſon, that one of its wards took its name from him. He urged farther, that the perſons buried in Salamis, lay with their faces to the weſt agreeable to the cuſtom of the Athenians, and directly contrary to that of the Megarenſians, who turned the faces of their dead towards the eaſt, and that moreover only one perſon was laid in a grave, which likewiſe correſponded with the practice of the Athenians, and differed from the Megarenſian cuſtom, which was to bury three or four in one grave [a]. It would be needleſs to trouble the reader with any farther circumſtances of this debate; let it ſuffice then to ſay, that we are informed by Ælian, Solon carried his cauſe, not by the arts of a fallacious eloquence, but by the force of ſtrong arguments, urged in plain and perſpicuous terms [b].

On the return of Solon to Athens he was highly extolled by the people, to whom he quickly afforded a new occaſion of admiring his wiſdom. It happened that the inhabitants of Cirrha, a town ſeated in the bay of Corinth, after having by repeated incurſions waſted the territory of Delphi, beſieged the city itſelf, from a greedy deſire of making themſelves maſters of the mighty riches contained in the temple of Apollo. Advice of this being ſent to the Amphictyons, who were the ſtates-general of Greece, Solon adviſed, that this matter ſhould be univerſally reſented, and that all the Greek ſtates ſhould immediately join, in ſaving the Delphic oracle and puniſhing the impiety of the Cirrhæans, with which the council immediately complied, and decreed a general war againſt that people. Solon was

[a] Plut. in vita. Solon. Diogen. Laert. [b] Var. Hiſt. lib. vii. cap. 19.

was not, however, appointed general of this expedition, as Hermippus from another author relates, nor did he command the Athenian troops. Clysthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, commanded in chief, and Alcmæon was general of the Athenian quota, Solon went, however, as counsellor or assistant to Clysthenes, and it was by his advice that the war was conducted to a prosperous issue. For when the Greek army had besieged Cirrha some time, without any great sign of success, Apollo was consulted, who answered,

In vain you hope to take the place, before
The sea's blue waves roll o'er the hallowed shore.

This response struck the army with surprise, from whence Solon extricated them, by advising Clysthenes to consecrate solemnly the whole territories of Cirrha to the Delphic Apollo, whence it would follow, that the sea must wash the sacred coast [c]. Pausanias tells us, that he made use of another stratagem, which was this, he caused the channel of the river Plistus to be turned, which runs through the city of Cirrha, hoping thereby to have distressed the inhabitants for water; but they having a great many wells, his scheme did not thoroughly succeed, which as soon as he perceived, he caused a vast quantity of hellebore roots to be sliced and thrown into the Plistus, and when the waters were thoroughly impregnated with the juice of these roots, he caused the river to be turned back into its old channel. The Cirrhæans, overjoyed at the sight of running water, came down in troops and drank eagerly thereof, upon this an epidemic flux ensued, and the citizens being no longer able to defend the walls, the place was presently taken. Some authors have attributed this to Clysthenes, but that was because he commanded in chief, and Solon was no more than his counsellor. On the reduction of this place the inhabitants were severely punished, and Cirrha became thenceforward the arsenal of Delphi [d].

When Solon returned home from this expedition, he found all things out of order, the remnant of Cylon's faction began to gather strength, and to excite mighty disturbances in the city. The pretence of religion enabled them to do all this. They gave out confidently, that all the misfortunes the republic had met with had their source from the anger of the gods, occasioned by the impious

[c] Plut. in vita Solon. [d] Pausan. in Phocicis. Polyæn. Strat. lib. iii. c. 7. Suidas in voce Σολων.

pious cruelty of Megacles and his faction. It happened, that the loss of Salamis a second time coincided with this clamour, and now, as many writers report, Epimenides came and lustrated the city, which is indeed highly probable, if there were but sufficient authority to fix his arrival at Athens so low as this sedition must have happened. But to return to the proper subject of our history: Solon interposed on this occasion, and persuaded those who were stiled execrable to abide a trial. To this when they had consented, three hundred persons were chosen to judge them, one Myron of the Phlyensian ward taking upon him to prosecute, which he did with such effect, that the three-hundred condemned such of Megacles's faction as were living to perpetual banishment, and caused the bones of such as were dead to be taken up and cast without the limits of their country; thus this sedition was appeased, and Athens became once more at rest [e].

The turbulent disposition of the inhabitants of Attica would not suffer them to remain long in quiet, they therefore began to be out of humour with their constitution, though they could not agree how it should be mended. These disputes divided the Athenians into three parties, the Diacrii, Pediæi, and Paralii; the first of these were the inhabitants of the hilly country, who declared positively for perfect democracy; the second, dwelling in the lower part of the country, and being far more opulent, were for an oligarchy, supposing, that the government would then be for the most part in their hands; the third party living on the coast were men of moderate principles, and in consequence thereof desired a mixt government. In the midst of these debates there sprung up a new cause of trouble, the rich, taking advantage of the laws, oppressed and enslaved the poorer sort in such a manner, that they were unable to bear it. The meaner people, as Plutarch tells us, being indebted to the rich, either tilled their grounds, and paid them the sixth part of their produce, or engaged their bodies for their debts, so that some were made slaves at home, and many sold abroad; nay, to such a pitch was this mischief grown, that many sold their children to pay their creditors, and others in despair quitted Attica and went elsewhere. Such, however, as had more spirits than the rest were for throwing off a yoke too heavy to be born; these began to look about for a leader, declaring openly

[e] Plutarch. in vita Solon. Diogen. Laert. in vita Solonis.

openly enough, that they intended to make a thorough change in the government, to free ſuch as their creditors had brought into bondage, and to make a repartition of lands. In this deſperate ſituation the citizens in general caſt their eyes upon Solon. Thoſe who were in greateſt fear of what might happen from preſent troubles were for exalting him to ſovereignty; nay, the moſt prudent Athenians, when they conſidered how difficult a thing it would be to reform ſo diſordered a commonwealth by law and reaſon, inclined to have him created prince. It was likewiſe aſſerted, that the oracle of Apollo adviſed the ſame thing in the following reſponſe directed to Solon:

Aſſume the helm, the ſhip with prudence guide,
And thouſands will aſſiſt to ſtem the tide.

What rendered Solon ſo popular was a ſaying of his, which all liked and few underſtood; it was this, Equality breeds no ſtrife; the rich interpreted this of dignity and power, the poor of riches and ſtate. Thoſe therefore who agreed in nothing elſe, were unanimous in their reſpect towards him; the rich were contented to ſubmit to his deciſions, becauſe he was himſelf a man of fortune, and the poor dreading nothing from one ſo mild in temper, and ſo remarkably honeſt. The private friends of Solon encouraged him to lay hold of ſo fair an opportunity, and to aſſume the regal dignity, adding, that it was a ſhame ſo wiſe a man ſhould be frighted with a name, and reject a legal ſovereignty becauſe it reſembled tyranny. This great man withſtood alike the deſires of the many, and the perſuaſions of the few: he aſſured the former, that he would never become maſter of his countrymen, and he told the latter, that how fair a ſpot ſoever tyranny might ſeem, it had this misfortune, that it had no paſſage out; and when his intimates laughed at this reſolution of his, and quoted the example of Tynondas tyrant of Eubœa, and Pittacus at that time prince of Mitylene, he contented himſelf with writing thus to Phocus, who it ſeems preſſed him moſt, to ſhew that he was ſteady in his reſolution:

That I have Athens ſpar'd, preſerved my fame,
Nor ſoil'd my glory with a tyrant's name:
That, when I might have kill'd, I choſe to ſave,
I bluſh not, for I think the action brave:
And that I have done more than moſt men have.

It was upon this occaſion that Solon ſhewed a ſpirit of patriotiſm, which perhaps never had its equal: He condeſcended

ſcended ſo far as to make uſe of fraud for the good of others, and with a prodigious greatneſs of ſoul diſſembled with and cheated both parties, that he might ſave all. If he would have accepted the tyranny, he would immediately have acquired whatever he could wiſh, and might have done his country good too; he refuſed this as far as it might have benefited himſelf, and yet took upon him all the care and trouble of a prince to benefit the people; thus he demonſtrated, that neither fear nor indolence had any ſhare in his reſolution [f].

He was choſen archon without having recourſe to lots, and, when he was choſen, he diſappointed the hopes of both parties; where-ever he found things tolerably well under the old conſtitution, he refuſed to alter them at all, and was at extraordinary pains to explain the reaſon and neceſſity of thoſe changes he did make, laying this down as a maxim, 'That thoſe laws will be beſt obſerved which 'power and juſtice equally ſupport.' He was a perfect judge of human nature, and ſought to rule men by ſhewing them it was their intereſt to obey, and not by attempting to force them upon whatever he eſteemed right, and therefore he anſwered a perſon who aſked him, whether he had given the Athenians the beſt laws in his power; I have eſtabliſhed the beſt they could receive; knowing well, that it was an impoſſible thing to pleaſe all, he made it his utmoſt care not mightily to diſpleaſe any, whence it followed, that none ſought to abrogate the laws he gave them.

Solon compoſes the diſſentions of the Athenians.

As to the main occaſion of the ſedition, viz. the oppreſſed ſtate of the meaner ſort, he certainly took it away in a great meaſure by a contrivance which he ſtiled Siſachthia, i. e. a diſcharge; but what this was authors are not agreed on, ſome ſay, that he releaſed all debts then in being, and prohibited for the future the making of any man's body liable for a debt. Others affirm, that the poor were eaſed, not by cancelling their debts, but by lowering the intereſt, and encreaſing the value of money, a Mina, which before was worth ſeventy-three drachms only, being by him made equal to a hundred, which was of great advantage to the debtor, and did the creditor no hurt at all. But after all, it is more probable, that the Siſachthia was a total diſcharge or remiſſion, otherwiſe Solon would hardly have boaſted in his verſes, that by this means he had removed

[f] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

moved the many marks of mortgages which were every where frequent; for the Athenians had a cuſtom of hanging up billets to ſhew, that houſes were engaged for ſuch or ſuch a ſum of money; that he had freed from apprehenſion ſuch as were driven to deſpair; called home exiles, whom the dread of their creditors had kept abroad, till they forgot their native language, and delivered from bondage ſuch as were ſlaves in their native ſoil. In the midſt of all his glory an unlucky accident befel him, which for a time hurt his reputation, and had almoſt overturned all his ſchemes. Conon, Clinias, and Hipponicus, his intimate friends, having been conſulted by him on an oration, he had prepared to engage the people to conſent to the diſcharge of debts, on a promiſe that he would attempt nothing as to lands; theſe men, betraying the truſt he repoſed in them, borrowed great ſums of money, and purchaſed eſtates before the edict came out; this was at firſt thought to have been the effect of connivance, but this aſperſion was preſently wiped off, when it appeared, that Solon himſelf was a ſufferer, as ſome ſay, five talents, others ſeven, others fifteen, which he had lent out at intereſt, and which in conſequence of his own law he loſt: his friends, however, could never recover their credit, but were for ever ſtigmatized with the opprobrious appellation of Chreocopidæ, i. e. Debt-ſinkers [g].

The Athenians were as little pleaſed with Solon's management as with their former condition, the rich and the poor were equally diſſatisfied; the former thought he had done too much in cancelling their debts, the latter thought he had done too little, becauſe he had not divided the lands of Attica equally amongſt them. It is from Solon himſelf that we have this account, and we have it in his uſual manner, that is, in verſe,

I was your darling heretofore, but now
You look upon me with contracted brow;
Had any man but I obtain'd your grace,
He would have had a ſal'ry with his place.

In a ſhort time, however, they had wit enough to diſcover that they were in the wrong, and Solon in the right, and they gave at leaſt a more public, if not a more general, token of their repentance, than they had ſhewn of their diſpleaſure; for they inſtituted a ſolemn ſacrifice in teſtimony of their acquieſcing under his inſtitution, and called it Siſachthia,

[g] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

ſachthia, at the ſame time they unanimouſly elected Solon legiſlator of Athens, giving him power, not only to make laws, but to alter and new-model their conſtitution as he thought proper [h].

THE firſt thing this great man did, after his country had conferred upon him ſo extraordinary an office, was, to cancel the laws of Draco, excepting only thoſe relating to murder. A proceeding perfectly right, ſince there is nothing more diſhonourable, and at the ſame time more dangerous, to a ſtate than latent laws, i. e. ſuch as are diſuſed, and yet in being, which was the caſe of Draco's; their ſeverity rendered them hateful, but Solon took away their authority; nor would he ſuffer his inſtitutions to bear the ſame name, as we have already ſhewn. It was the deſire of Solon to act in all reſpects moderately, he therefore reſolved to place the dernier reſort, as we phraſe it, or ſupreme power, in the people, and to leave the execution of the government to the nobles; with this view he divided the people into four degrees or ranks, the firſt of theſe conſiſted of ſuch whoſe ſtock amounted to five-hundred Medimni or meaſures of fruit, theſe he ſtiled Pentacoſiomedimni, theſe paid a talent to the public treaſury. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were able to keep a horſe, or were worth three-hundred meaſures, they were ſtiled Hippadatelountes, i. e. bound to find a horſe; the third claſs was made up of ſuch as were worth two hundred meaſures, they were ſtiled Zengita, which implies a middle rank, becauſe they ſtood between the knights and the loweſt order of the people, who were ſtiled Thetes; theſe were not admitted to any office, but each of them had his vote in the general aſſembly of the people, which was thought at firſt a matter of little conſequence, ſo that the nobility gave themſelves no pain about it, though in after times it was found of the higheſt conſequence, as Solon foreſaw it would be; the reaſon of this was this: Solon purpoſely drew up his laws in obſcure terms, and allowing in all caſes an appeal to the people, doubts often aroſe, appeals were conſequently frequent, and hence, though the common ſort could not attain to magiſtracy, yet they had a mighty power in the ſtate. Solon himſelf was ſo well ſatisfied with what he had done in this matter, that he celebrates it in theſe words, which ſhew at once what a regard he had for their ancient conſtitution, and for the people in general.

[h] Plutarch. ubi ſupra, &c.

The commons I ſufficient weight allow'd,
Honour from none I took, on none beſtow'd ;
In power or wealth, thoſe who the reſt outſhin'd,
Within juſt bounds I by my laws confin'd ;
Thus I preſerved, what did to each belong ;
That neither high, nor low, might ſuffer wrong.

HEREIN conſiſted the ancient democracy of Athens ; but becauſe that kind of government is in its nature more apt to change than any other, Solon, in order to ſecure it, eſtabliſhed two checks, or, if we may be allowed to make uſe of his metophor, threw out two anchors to ſecure it. The firſt of theſe was the court of Areopagus, which, though ſettled long before, had loſt much of its power by Draco's preferring the Ephetæ. In ancient times, and till Solon became legiſlator, it conſiſted of ſuch perſons as were moſt conſpicuous in the ſtate for their wealth, power, and probity ; but Solon made it a rule, that ſuch only ſhould have a ſeat therein as had ſerved the office of archon ; this had the effect he deſigned, it raiſed the reputation of the Areopagites very high, and rendered their decrees ſo wonderfully venerable, that none conteſted or repined at them through a long courſe of ages. The ſecond ſtay of the Athenian commonwealth was the ſenate, which Solon made to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe. Theſe had the prior cognizance of all that was to come before the people, and nothing could be propoſed to the general aſſembly till digeſted by them, ſo that, as far as he was able, he provided againſt a thirſt of arbitrary power in the rich, and a deſire of licentious freedom in the commons ; the Areopagus being a check upon the former, as the ſenate was a curb on the latter [i].

THE general frame of the republic thus ſettled, he gave the Athenians next a body of laws, of which we have ſtill ſome remaining ; theſe were ſo much eſteemed, that the Romans ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to tranſcribe them for the uſe of their ſtate. As theſe tranſcribed laws became the baſis of the Roman Juriſprudence, which has ſince been received almoſt throughout Europe under the name of the civil law ; we may with reaſon affirm, that many of Solon's conſtitutions are yet in force. Such as are aſcribed to him by ancient authors we ſhall give a conciſe account of in this place.

WE

[i] Pollux. lib. viii. cap. 10. Plutarch, ubi ſupra. Potter's Archæologia. Meurſius. Solon, &c.

We will begin with one of the moſt extraordinary ſtatutes enacted by this law-giver, and which has given politicians the moſt trouble to underſtand; we are obliged to A. Gellius for preſerving to us the very words of this law. It runs thus: "If through diſcord and diſſenſion any ſe-
" dition or inſurrection rend the people into two parties,
" ſo that with exaſperated minds they take arms and fight
" againſt each other; he who at ſuch a time, and in ſuch
" a caſe, ſhall not engage himſelf on one ſide or other, but
" ſhall endeavour to retire and ſeparate himſelf from the
" evils fallen on his country, let ſuch a one, loſing houſes,
" country, and eſtate, be ſent out an exile" [k]. Cicero, ſpeaking of this law, by ſome ſlip of his memory, makes the penalty capital [l]. Plutarch explains the reaſon of it [m], as does the author firſt cited, who highly commends it and ſays, that though at firſt ſight it may ſeem dangerous to the public peace, yet in truth it was calculated to ſupport it; for the wiſe and juſt, as well as the envious and wicked, being obliged to chuſe ſome ſide, matters were eaſily accommodated; whereas, if the latter only, as is generally the caſe in other cities, had the management of factions, they would for private reaſons be continually kept up, to the great hurt, if not the utter ruin, of the ſtate [n].

The rules which Solon gave for beſtowing of heireſſes have been very harſhly cenſured; we will put them together, that the reader may ſee the general intent of the legiſlator. The next of kin to an heireſs may require her in marriage, and ſhe may likewiſe require him; if he refuſes let him pay five-hundred drachms for her dowry. If he who poſſeſſeth ſuch an inheritrix by law, as her lord and maſter, be impotent, let it be lawful for her to admit any of her huſband's neareſt kindred, and let him who has married an heireſs be obliged to viſit her thrice a month at leaſt. The intent of theſe injunctions was, that neither a rich heireſs might carry the eſtate out of her family, nor a poor one be in danger of marrying below her birth; as to allowing a woman to make choice of her huſband's neareſt relation, it might poſſibly be made in terrorem, to prevent perſons who knew themſelves to be impotent from marrying rich heireſſes, whereby ſuch a one defrauded him, to

[k] Noct. Attic. lib. ii. cap. 12. [l] Ad Attic. lib. x. E. 1.
[m] ubi ſupra. [n] A Gellius ubi ſupra.

whom by this law the woman was to have recourse, of his due [o].

He enacted, that a bride should bring no more with her than three gowns and some slight household goods of little value, and that the bride and bridegroom should be shut into a room together, and there eat a quince; the bride likewise brought an earthen pan, wherein barley was parched, to the house of her husband. The meaning of all this was, that Solon desired, as much as in him lay, to render marriage no longer a mercenary business, but a contract of minds founded upon mutual affection; the eating of a quince implied, that their discourses ought to be pleasant to each other, that fruit making the breath sweet; the earthen vessel, which was called Phrogeteon, signified, that she undertook the business of the house, and would do her part towards providing for the family [p].

He ordained, that none should revile the dead, even though provoked by the children of the deceased. This law procured him great applause, and had certainly in it much both of humanity and policy. He directed, that none should revile any living person at sacred solemnities, in the courts of justice, or at public spectacles, on pain of paying three drachmæ to the person reviled, and two more to the public treasury. He likewise made a law against slander. This great man knew very well, that a general law against anger could never be put in execution. He therefore contented himself with providing, that the passions of private men should not dishonour religious ceremonies, the justice of the state, or public diversions, and that no passion should excuse calumny [q].

Before Solon's time, citizens had not the power of making wills, but a man's goods and estates went, whether he would or no, to his heir at law; but Solon, haveing abrogated this custom, enacted, that such as had no children might leave their estates to whom they pleased, preferring friendship to family, and the ties of affection to consanguinity; but then he added this proviso to his law, that the maker of such a will should be in the full possession of his senses, not wrought upon by sickness, potions, bondage

[o] Plutarch. ubi supra. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. Terent. Hecyr. Act. 1. scen. ii. [p] Plutarch ubi supra. Pollux. lib. i. cap. 2. 15. Isidor. Epist. lib. iii. E. 243. [q] Plutarch. ubi supra. Demosth. in orat. Leptin.

dage, or the blandiſhments of a wife; wherein he ſhewed his great wiſdom by making no diſtinction between actual conſtraints and thoſe impoſed by art, both having the ſame power of putting a man out of his right mind. He likewiſe ordained, that adopted perſons ſhould make no will, but as ſoon as they had children lawfully begotten, then they were at liberty to return into the family whence they were adopted, or if they continued in it to their death, then they were to return back the eſtates to the relations of the perſons who adopted them [r].

With reſpect to women and their expences, he made the following laws: when a woman travelled, he permitted her not to carry with her above three gowns, nor to carry any proviſion above the value of an obolus, her pannier or baſket was not to be above a cubit in bigneſs, nor was ſhe allowed to travel in the night, but in a chariot, and with torch-light. He forbad them likewiſe to tear their cheeks to procure mourning and lamentation at the funerals of ſuch as they had no relation to: he allowed not, that an ox ſhould be ſacrificed at funerals, nor that more than three garments ſhould be buried with them, and he forbad women to approach the monuments of perſons not related to them, except at the time of their interring; theſe laws were particularly tranſcribed by the Romans [f].

The liberty and other emoluments which were enjoyed at Athens drawing thither a great concourſe of people from other parts, Solon foreſaw, that this would have bad conſequences, if ſome means were not deviſed to make theſe people induſtricus; he therefore eſtabliſhed by law, that a ſon ſhould be releaſed from all obligation to maintain an aged father, in caſe that father had not bred him up to ſome trade. He veſted the court of Areopagus with a power of examining how people lived, and of puniſhing idleneſs: he allowed every man a right to proſecute another for that crime, and in caſe a perſon was convicted thereof thrice, he ſuffered Atimia, i. e. Infamy. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus agree, that a law of this kind was in uſe in Egypt. It is probable therefore, that Solon, who was thoroughly acquainted with the learning of that nation, borrowed it from them, a practice for which the Greeks were famous, though at

[r] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Demoſth. ubi ſupra. [f] Plutarch. ubi ſupr. Cicer. de Legib. lib. ii.

the ſame time they ſtiled thoſe nations barbarous from whom their own laws and policy were borrowed [t].

THE huſband who ſurpriſed his wife in adultery was allowed by Solon to kill the adulterer: whoever raviſhed a free woman was to be fined a hundred drachmæ. He who debaſed himſelf ſo low as to become a pandar, except to a common woman, ſuffered a fine of 20 drachmæ; a man was forbid to put either his daughter or ſiſter to the ſcandalous trade of proſtitution, unleſs he firſt ſurpriſed her with a man: he enacted, that no adultereſs ſhould be permitted to adorn herſelf, and in caſe ſhe did, he gave liberty to any that thought fit to tear her cloaths off her back, and beat her into the bargain [u].

To the victor at the Iſthmian games, Solon adjudged the reward of five-hundred drachmæ. To the victor in the Olympic, he ordered that one hundred ſhould be given. He contracted the rewards beſtowed upon wreſtlers, eſteeming ſuch gratuities uſeleſs and even dangerous, tending to encourage idleneſs by putting men upon waſting that time in exerciſes, which ought to be ſpent in providing for their families [x].

HE directed five drachmæ to be given to him who caught a he-wolf, and one to him who took a ſhe-one, the former being the price of an ox, the latter of a ſheep. Attica was at this time extremely infeſted by theſe creatures, of which this law occaſioned a ſpeedy deſtruction.

WATER being extremely ſcarce at Athens and in its neighbourhood, he ordained, that where there was a public well, all who lived within a Hippicon, i. e. four furlongs of it, ſhould have leave to uſe it. They that lived further off were bound to dig wells for themſelves; but if a man digged ten fathom and met with no water, then he might fill a pitcher of ſix gallons twice a-day at his neighbour's well; and whoever ſunk a well was to take care, that it was as far diſtant from his neighbours as it was deep. If a man planted a tree, he was to ſee that it was five foot diſtant from his neighbours, and if a fig or olive-tree, nine, a hive of bees was to be thirty feet diſtant; all

[t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Vitruvius Præfat. lib. vi. Herodot. lib. vii. Diod. Sicul. lib. i. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Lyſias. Orat. de cœd. Erat. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

all these tended to the same end, viz. to prevent one man from trespassing on the property of another [y].

He enacted, that whoever refused to maintain his parents, or had wasted his paternal estate, should be atimos, i. e. infamous. It seems Solon did not conceive, that a man could be privately bad and publicly good, that one who neglected his duty to his parents should preserve it to the state, or be frugal of his country's revenue when he had spent his own [z].

Such as commonly frequented infamous women, he forbad to make orations, believing, that men without shame were not to be trusted to speak to the people: Demosthenes highly commended this law, and exhorted the Athenians to take care that it was put in execution, as the surest means to preserve the peace and honour of the republic [a].

He forbad a guardian to marry the mother of his ward, and permitted not the next heir to be admitted guardian of the infant; some say, that he forbad likewise a guardian to marry his son to the mother of his ward [b]. All these were made beyond question to hinder collusion, and to bar as far as possible the scandalous practice of cheating minors.

He enjoined gravers to keep no impressions of the seal-rings they sold; if a man put out the eye of another who had but one eye, he directed, that he should lose both his; as to theft, Demosthenes gives us Solon's law in these words; "If any man steal in the day-time, he may be "carried to the eleven officers; if he steal any thing by "night, it shall be lawful for any to kill him, or in the "pursuit to wound him, and to carry him to the eleven "officers. Whosoever is convicted of such offences as are "liable to chains, shall not be capable of giving bail for his "theft, and his punishment shall be death; but if any "one steal out of the Lyceum, or the Academy, or Cyno-"sarges, a garment, or small vessel of wine, or any other "thing of little value, or some vessel out of the gymnasia "or havens, he shall be punished with death; but if any "man shall be convicted privately of theft, it shall be law-"ful for him to pay a double value, and it shall be also at "the pleasure of the convictor, besides payment of mo-"ney,

[y] Plutarch. ubi supra. Caius de Legib. lib. iv. [z] Liban. Declam. xviii. Dion. Halic. lib. ii. [a] Æschin in Timarch. Demost. in Androt. [b] Diogen. Laert. ubi supra.

" ney, to put him in chains five days and as many nights, " ſo as all men may ſee him bound " [c].

By his laws, an archon taken in drink was to be puniſhed with death, Solon wiſely conceiving, that a magiſtrate guilty of ſuch an offence muſt be rendered vile and contemptible in the eyes of the people. He decreed, that in caſe a man ſurpriſed his wife in adultery, and lived with her afterwards, he ſhould be deemed infamous; he compelled children to be dutiful to their parents, permitting the latter in caſe of diſobedience to diſinherit and turn them out of doors: he condemned ſuch as avoided going to war, fled from the army, or ſhewed any other flagrant ſign of cowardice, to be expelled the ſanctified precincts of the forum, to be for ever debarred from wearing a crown or wreath, and from being allowed to enter any places of public worſhip. He appointed it for a ſtatute, that a citizen of Athens ſhould be tried nowhere but at Athens, and that the eldeſt citizens ſhould firſt make orations, but with the greateſt modeſty, and without any endeavours to ſtir the paſſions of the people; afterwards, he ordered, that all ſhould ſpeak according to their ſeniority, and have leave to deliver their opinions freely on any matter in debate; but he prohibited young men, however wiſe they might be eſteemed, either to become magiſtrates, or to make orations to the people [d].

It was a maxim eſtabliſhed by this wiſe legiſlator, that the common people ſhould be puniſhed ſlowly, but magiſtrates and perſons in authority ſuddenly, aſſigning for it this reaſon, that the former might be puniſhed at any time, but that in correcting the latter there ought to be no delay. As to funerals, the expence of which were in his time exceſſive, Demoſthenes recites his directions in theſe words; " Let the dead bodies be laid out within the houſe, " according as the deceaſed gave order, and the day fol- " lowing before ſun-riſe carried forth; whilſt the body is ' carrying to the grave, let the men go before, the wo- " men follow: it ſhall not be lawful for any women to " enter upon the goods of the dead, and to follow the bo- " dy to the grave under threeſcore years of age, except " ſuch as are within the degrees of couſins " [e]. Cicero reports, that with reſpect to ſepulchres, he enacted, no man ſhould demoliſh them or bring any new thing into them, and that ſuch ſhould be puniſhed as demoliſhed any monument

[c] Demoſth. in Timocr. [d] Demoſth. ubi ſupra. Æſchin in Chryſip. [e] Orat. in Macart.

ment erected to the memory of the dead [f]. From theſe laws of his inſtituting it appears, that his philoſophy did not lead him to treſpaſs on thoſe notions of humanity commonly received in his country; he ſought to moderate the extravagance of their funerals, but at the ſame time permitted all reaſonable honours to be paid to the memory of ſuch as were defunct.

We will conclude our account of Solon's laws with two or three which had more regard to the ſociety, than to the intereſt of private perſons. He ordained, that if one citizen injured another, any Athenian might have his action againſt him [g]; hence it is evident, he regarded each individual as a member of the body politic, which could not be hurt without affecting all the other members; and thus he provided againſt the power of the great; for though a poor man who was injured might think fit to acquieſce, yet a perſon of equal rank with the aggreſſor, might, either out of a principle of juſtice or of rivalſhip, commence a proſecution on that account. Solon inſtituted feaſts in the common halls under the title of public Meals, but he forbad, that the ſame perſon ſhould be entertained often, and ordered ſuch to be fined as did not come in their turns, aſcribing the former offence to greedineſs, the latter to a contempt of the public [h]. He forbad any ſtrangers to be naturalized at Athens, who were not either perpetual exiles from their own country, or, out of love to Athens, had brought their whole families to ſettle there, ſo as to have no intereſt in another place [i]: he provided for the children of ſuch as were ſlain in the ſervice of the ſtate, by directing, that they ſhould be brought up and inſtructed at the public expence till they were twenty years old [k]. He made but few laws relating to religion, and againſt parricides he made none, aſſigning for it this reaſon, that he ſcarce believed any Athenian would be ſo wicked [l].

He ſhewed the excellence of his knowledge by correcting the irregularity of months; for conſidering that the courſe of the moon did not agree with the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, but that ſometimes ſhe overtook and paſſed him in the ſame day, he ordered ſuch a day to be called the laſt and the firſt, attributing that part of the day which preceded the conjunction to the old moon, and that which ſucceeded

[f] De Legib. lib. ii [g] Plut. ubi ſupra. [h] Id. ibid. [i] Meurs. in Solon. [k] Ariſtides in Panathen. [l] Maxim. Tyr. Diſſ. xxxix. Cicer. Orat. pro Roſc.

ceeded it to the new. The next day he ordered to be called Noumenia, i. e. the new moon, and for theſe alterations he is reckoned by Plutarch to have been the firſt who underſtood a verſe in Homer, wherein mention is made of a day wherein one month ended, and the next began (H).

He

(H) It is a point worthy of obſervation, that the ancient heroes gained their reputation as much from the ſtrength of their wits as of their arms, and that though ſome excelled in valour, others in wiſdom, yet in all there was a happy mixture of both. Hercules, ſo famed for his labours, inſtructed the Greeks in aſtronomy, which he learned from Atlas, and is thence ſaid by the poets to have borne for a time the heavens upon his ſhoulders. Numa, as he gave laws to Rome, reformed the Roman kalendar, and in ſucceeding times, Julius Cæſar, when he had reduced his enemies, purged away thoſe errors which were grown hoary among his countrymen, and is celebrated not as a lover only of this ſcience of aſtronomy, but as a conſummate maſter therein. Such alſo was Solon for the times in which he lived, for though ſome have pretended to aſcribe the honour of introducing aſtronomy into Greece to Oenopidas of Chios, or Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, yet it is certain, that they were no more than the improvers of it; the firſt principles of this art came certainly into Greece with its firſt planters, and were from time to time cultivated by ſuch as either came out of Egypt or the eaſt, and ſettled in Greece, or had at leaſt travelled into thoſe countries. Thales the Mileſian and Pythagoras the Samian were the two great maſters who brought the undigeſted notions of the heavenly ſyſtem, which hitherto had amuſed the Greeks, into tolerable form; and this they did by dint of their acquaintance with the learning of foreign nations. As to Homer, in whoſe poems we meet with the firſt ſeeds of all the various kinds of ancient literature, we find, that he deſcribes the heroical year, as divided not into months, but by the ſeaſons. The returns of ſeed-time and harveſt, the conſtant revolutions of labour and reſt in conſequence of the annual returns of fair and foul weather, ſerved well enough to mark the ſucceſſion of events, and therefore it was an act of judgment in this great poet to make uſe of theſe characters in his account of a battle (21), as he elſewhere introduces Achilles meaſuring the day, not by hours, but by the more obvious diviſion of morning, noon, and evening (22). We are not to infer from hence, that years and months were not known in the time of Homer; the contrary appears from ſeveral paſſages in his poems, and particularly from this very line which Solon is ſaid to have been the firſt who penetrated its true ſenſe:

Τὰ

(21) Iliad. λ. v. 84. (22) Iliad. φ. v. 3.

He procured his laws to be ratified for a hundred years, and caused them to be conserved in different tables. Such as

Τῷ μεν φθίνοντος μηνὸς τῷ δ'ἱσταμενόιο,
When one month ended and the next began (23).

Thales divided the year into twelve months, making each month consist of thirty days, and the year consequently of three hundred and sixty days; but finding, that this year did not answer the motion of the sun, he intercalated thirty days at the end of two full years; which intercalation, because it happened at the beginning of the third year, some have mistaken for a triennial period. It is easy to perceive that this method of Thales must in a short time have introduced great confusion, there being a redundancy of almost ten days in a year (24). Solon discovered this, and not only discovered it, but discovered its cause, or at least its principal cause, which was Thales's maxim, that the moon performed her revolution in thirty days, which Solon found to be false, and that the true time was twenty-nine days and a half. This account sets what has been said above in a clear light, and shews with what justice Solon was applauded for his skill as an astronomer; let us see with what dexterity he applied that skill as a legislator: he did not alter the number of months which Thales had fixed, but directed, that each of them should be accounted twenty-nine or thirty days alternately; by this means a lunar year was formed of three hundred fifty-four days; but perceiving, that this would leave things still in confusion, he invented a method of reconciling it to the solar year, which was thus; at the end of two years he directed a month of twenty-two days to be intercalated, and at the end of a second two years he ordered, that a month of twenty-three days should be intercalated; now if we take all these sums together we shall find, that the number of days in Solon's cycle of four years was one thousand four hundred sixty-one, the fourth part of which is three hundred sixty-five and a quarter, the true solar year, as it was then accounted. Solon likewise engaged the Athenians to divide their months into three parts, stiled the beginning, midling, and ending; each of these consisted of ten days, when the month was thirty days long, and the last of nine, when it was nine and twenty days long. In speaking of the two first parts they reckoned according to the usual order of numbers, viz. the first day of the moon beginning, the second day of the midling moon, but with respect to the last part of the month they reckoned backwards, that is, instead of saying the first day of the ending moon, they said the tenth day of the ending moon, and instead of the second the ninth day, and so on to the last. This is a circumstance that must be carefully noted; for without being aware

(23) Odyss. ξ. v. 161. (24) Diog. Laert. in vit. Thal.

as related to private actions in paralellograms of wood, with caſes which reached from the ground and turned about upon a pin like a wheel, from whence they were called Axones, placed firſt in the citadel and then in the Prytanæum, that his people might ſee them when they pleaſed, and ſome remains there were of them even in Plutarch's time. Such as concerned public orders and ſacrifices were contained in triangular tables of ſtone called Cyrbes [m]; the Athenian magiſtrates were ſworn to obſerve both; in time, theſe monuments of his wiſdom became ſo famous, that all public acts were from them named Axones and Cyrbes, as we are informed by Harpocration and Suidas [n].

After his laws were promulgated, ſome or other were coming to him daily to have them explained, to know the reaſons on which they were founded, and to adviſe him to alter this or that, according as their humour or intereſt led them, which importunities made him ſo uneaſy, that to avoid them he reſolved to travel. For he conſidered, that not to anſwer theſe people would argue pride, and that the anſwering them would beget great inconveniencies: with this view he bought a ſhip, and, pretending an inclination to trade, prevailed on the Athenians to permit him to be abſent for ten years, during which ſpace he hoped his laws would become familiar to them [o].

It will not be amiſs to interrupt the Athenian hiſtory here, in order to inſert our promiſed account of the republic, a thing ſo neceſſary, that we could not proceed farther without confounding the reader. For the ſake of perſpicuity we ſhall not tie ourſelves to the form ſettled by Solon, but give a conciſe hiſtory of the Athenian government, as it ſubſiſted in ſucceeding times, that we may not be obliged at

[m] Plut. ubi ſupra. Pollux, viii. 10. [n] In vocibus Ἄξονες & Κυρβεις.
[o] Plutarch. ubi ſup.

aware of it, it is impoſſible to underſtand many paſſages in ancient authors. As for inſtance in Ariſtophanes's comedy of the clouds, a man ſpeaking of the manner in which intereſt became due, reckons the days thus; five, four, three, two, and the moſt abominable of all days that of the old and new moon. Thus much as to Solon's knowledge in aſtronomy, we ſhall in its proper place give a farther account of the Attic year (25).

(25) Cenſorin, de Die Natal. Hen. Dodwell. de An. vet. Græc. Stanley's life of Solon cum mult. al.

at every turn to inſert notes for the explaining of theſe terms which may once for all be rendered familiar, by introducing ſuch an account of the Athenian common-wealth in this place.

In the firſt place it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort view of the city of Athens. In the moſt early times, that which was afterwards called the citadel was the whole city, and went under the name of Cecropia from its founder Cecrops, whom the Athenians in after-times affirmed to have been the firſt builder of cities, and called this therefore by way of eminence Polis, i. e. The city. In the reign of Erichthonius it loſt the name of Cecropia, and acquired that of Athens, on what account is not certain; the moſt probable is, that it was ſo named in reſpect to the goddeſs Minerva, whom the Greeks called Athene, who was always eſteemed its protectreſs [p]. This old city was ſeated on the top of a rock in the midſt of a large and pleaſant plain, which, as the number of inhabitants increaſed, became full of buildings, which induced the diſtinction of Acræ and Catapolis, i. e. of the upper and lower city; the extent of this citadel was ſixty ſtadia, it was ſurrounded by olive-trees, and fortified, as ſome ſay, with a ſtrong paliſade; in ſucceeding times it was incompaſſed with a ſtrong wall in which there were nine gates, one very large one, and the reſt ſmall. The inſide of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, concerning which the curious reader may thoroughly inform himſelf from the treatiſe written expreſsly on this ſubject by a learned perſon already mentioned [q] (I). The moſt remarkable of theſe were,

[p] Ariſtid. Panathen. Stephan. voce Αθηναι. [q] Plutarch. in Pericl. Pauſan. Atticis. Harpocrat. Ariſtid. ubi ſupra.

(I) This learned perſon is the celebrated John Meurſius, to whom the learned world ſtands indebted for the moſt laboured pieces which perhaps ever came from the pen of a critic; he was by birth a Dutchman, but he ſtudied the civil law at Orleans, where he became very early remarkable for his love, or rather for his paſſion, towards Greek learning. Amongſt other pieces he wrote that referred to in the text under the title of Cecropia, or, the citadel of Athens, and its antiquities in one book; this treatiſe conſiſts of thirty-two chapters, and contains a prodigious diſplay of its author's learning; almoſt every paſſage in the Greek authors, relating to the ſubject, is there to be found in the proper

were, The magnificent temple of Minerva, ſtiled Parthenion, becauſe that goddeſs was a virgin; the Perſians deſtroyed it, but it was rebuilt with ſtill greater ſplendor by the famous Pericles, all of the fineſt marble, with ſuch ſkill and ſtrength, that, in ſpight of the rage of time and barbarous nations, it remains perhaps the firſt antiquity in the world, and ſtands as a witneſs to the truth of what ancient writers have recorded of the prodigious magnificence of Athens in her flouriſhing ſtate. The temple of Neptune and of Minerva, for it was divided into two parts, one ſacred to the god, in which was the ſalt-fountain ſaid to have ſprung upon the ſtroke with his trident, the other to the goddeſs protectreſs of Athens, wherein was the ſacred olive which ſhe produced, and her image which fell down from heaven in the reign of Erichthonius, both which edifices are ſtill remaining. At the back of Minerva's temple was the public treaſury, which was burnt to the ground through the knavery of the treaſurers, who, having miſapplied the revenues of the ſtate, took this ſhort method of making up their accounts[r]. The lower city comprehended all the buildings ſurrounding the citadel, the fort Munychia, and the havens Phalerum and Piræus, the latter of which was joined to the city by walls five miles in length; that on the north was built by Pericles, but that on the ſouth by Themiſtocles; but by degrees the turrets, which were at firſt erected on theſe walls, were turned

[r] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Harpocrat. &c. Sir George Wheeler's Travels.

per words of the author, with a very exact Latin tranſlation, which was added, as the author tells us, in the ſecond edition, at the deſire of ſeveral ingenious perſons in Spain and Italy, who had requeſted it by letter. Upon which Meurſius makes this reflection, that, as things ſtood, it was indeed reaſonable and neceſſary, ſince there were not many who affected the Greek learning, and of thoſe the greater part rather loved than underſtood it. The inquiſitive and intelligent reader may find a multitude of curious particulars accurately digeſted in this laboured hiſtory, or if he is not inclined to take ſo much pains, he may peruſe a very ſuccinct abridgment of Meurſius's book in Dr. Potter's excellent antiquities of Greece, to whom we are in a great meaſure beholden for this part of our hiſtory of Athens (26).

(26) Vide Gronov. Theſ. Græc. vol. iv.

turned into dwelling-houſes for the accommodation of the Athenians, whoſe large city was now become too ſmall for them. The city, or rather the lower city, had thirteen great gates, with the names of which it is not neceſſary to trouble the reader. Among the principle edifices which adorned it, we may reckon the temple of Theſeus erected by Conon, near its centre adjacent thereto the young people performed their exerciſes. It was alſo a ſanctuary for diſtreſſed perſons, ſlaves or free: It remains intire to this day, and is uſed as a church, being dedicated to St. George. The Olympian temple, erected in honour of Jupiter, the honour of Athens and of all Greece, the foundation of it was laid by Piſiſtratus, it was carried on but ſlowly in ſucceeding times, ſeven-hundred years elapſing before it was finiſhed, which happened under the reign of Adrian, who was particularly kind to Athens; this was the firſt building in which the Athenians beheld pillars. The pantheon dedicated to all the gods; a moſt noble ſtructure, ſupported by 120 marble pillars, and having over its great gate two horſes carved by Praxiteles; it is yet remaining, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of this famous city. In ſeveral parts of it were Stoai or porticoes, wherein people walked in rainy weather, and from whence a ſect of philoſophers were denominated ſtoics, becauſe their maſter Zeno taught in theſe porticoes [f]. There were at Athens two places called Ceramicus from Ceramus the ſon of Bacchus and Ariadne; one within the city, containing a multitude of buildings of all ſorts, the other in the ſuburbs, in which was the academy and other edifices. The Gymnaſia of Athens were many, but the moſt remarkable were the Lyceum, Academia, and Cynoſarges. The Lyceum ſtood on the banks of Iliſſus, ſome ſay it was built by Piſiſtratus, others by Pericles, others by Lycurgus. Here Ariſtotle taught philoſophy, inſtructing ſuch as came to hear him as they walked, whence his diſciples are generally thought to derive the name of peripatetics [t]. The Ceramicus without the city was at the diſtance of ſix ſtadia from its walls, the academy made part thereof, as to the name of which there is ſome diſpute; ſome affirm, that it was ſo called from Academus an ancient hero, who, when Helen was ſtolen by Theſeus, diſcovered the place where ſhe lay hid to Caſtor and Pollux, for which

[f] Athenæus. Deip. l. viii. [t] Suidas, & al.

which reaſon the Lacedæmonians, when they invaded Attica, always ſpared this place [u]. Dicæarchus writes, that Caſtor and Pollux had two Arcadians in their army, the one named Echedemus, the other Marathus, from the former of theſe he ſays this place took its name, and that the borough of Marathon was ſo called from the other [x]. It was a marſhy unwholeſome place, till Cimon was at great pains to have it drained, and then it became extremely pleaſant and delightful, being adorned with ſhady walks, where Plato read his lectures, and from thence his ſcholars were ſtiled academics [y]. The Cynoſarges was a place in the ſuburbs, not far from the Lyceum; it was famous on many accounts, but particularly for a noble gymnaſium erected there, appointed for the ſpecial uſe of ſuch as were Athenians only by one ſide; in after-times Themiſtocles derived to himſelf ill-will, by carrying many of the nobility to exerciſe with him here, becauſe being but of the half blood he could exerciſe no-where elſe; in this gymnaſium Antiſthenes inſtituted a ſect of philoſophers, who from the name of this diſtrict, as many think, were ſtiled Cynics [z]. The havens of Athens were three, firſt the Piræus, about 35 or 40 ſtadia from the city, till joined thereto by the long walls before-mentioned, after which it became the principal harbour of the city; it had three docks, Cantharos, Aphrodiſium, and Zea, the firſt was ſo called from an ancient hero, the ſecond from the goddeſs Venus, who had there two temples, and the third from bread-corn. There were in this port five porticoes, which joining together formed one great one called from thence Macra Stoa, or the long portico; there were likewiſe two great markets or Fora, one near the long portico, the other near the city. The ſecond port was Munychia, a promontory not far diſtant from Piræus, a place very ſtrong by nature, and afterwards rendered far ſtronger by art. It was of this that Epimenides ſaid, if the Athenians foreſaw what miſchief it would one day produce to them, they would eat it away, with their teeth. The third was Phalerum, diſtant from the city according to Thucydides 35 ſtadia [a], but according to Pauſanias only 20 [b]. This was the moſt ancient harbour of Athens, as

[u] Plut. in vit. Theſ. [x] Poem. apud. Gronov. Theſ. Grec. vol. iv. [y] Horat. Ep. lib. ii. E. ii. Plutarch. in vit. Theſei. [z] Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt. Diog. Laert. in vit. Antiſthen.
[a] Bell. Pelop. lib. ii. [b] In Arcad.

as Pyræus was the moſt capacious. As to the extent of this city and other particulars, the reader will meet with them at the bottom of the page (K).

THE people of Athens were freemen, ſojourners, or ſlaves, the citizens, called in Greek Politai, were never very numerous; but, what may ſeem ſtrange, were as many in the time of Cecrops, as in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate of

(K) If Athens eclipſed other cities by her fame for arms and arts, ſhe was no leſs conſpicuous for her beauty, as appears from two authentic teſtimonies, the accounts given us by ancient authors, and the relations exhibited by modern travellers; we had once an intention of comparing theſe, but conſidering that it would have taken up a great deal of room, and have interrupted too much the courſe of the hiſtory, we have choſen to refer the deſcription of Athens, as it now ſtands, till we come to ſpeak of the preſent ſtate of the Morea. It may not, however, be amiſs to obſerve, that Ariſtides, an author who wrote expreſsly on this ſubject, affirms, that Athens in her glory was a day's journey in compaſs; thoſe who have thought this account too general inform us, that it was one hundred ſeventy-eight ſtadia in circumference, that is, ſomething more than twenty-two Roman miles. After it fell from its ancient ſplendor, it endured great variety of fortune. Sylla deſtroyed it without mercy, made its ſtreets overflow with blood, and taught its moſt ſuperb buildings to ſubmit to the flames. It provoked Julius Cæſar by an obſtinate reſiſtance, but when it ſubmitted at laſt, he contented himſelf with ſaying, That he pardoned the living for the ſake of the dead, and neither hurt the city nor its inhabitants. They ſided with Brutus againſt the Triumvirate, and with Anthony, who called himſelf a lover of Athens, againſt Auguſtus. Tiberius, or at leaſt his ſon Germanicus, favoured them, but it was to Adrian, who had been archon of their city, that the Athenians owed the revival of their ancient luſtre. The ſucceeding emperors took a pleaſure in adorning it, but the Goths, in the reigns of Arcadius and Honorius, deſtroyed it, as they did the other cities of Greece. Theodoſius the ſecond out of reſpect to his empreſs cauſed it to be re-edified. This may ſerve to make the deſcription in the text perfectly intelligible; for as to its fortune in later times, that muſt be referred to the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory, of which it will be the proper ſubject; the curious reader may, however, if he pleaſes, conſult the very learned Meurſius, in his elaborate work referred to at the bottom of the page (27).

(27) Meurſ. de Fort. Athen. apud Gronov. Theſaur. Antiq. Græc. vol. iv.

the commonwealth, hardly ever exceeding twenty-thouſand [c]. It was Solon who decreed, that none ſhould be accounted free, but ſuch as were Athenians both by father and mother. After his time it fell into diſſuetude, till revived by Pericles, and again at his inſtance repealed. After the expulſion of the thirty tyrants Solon's law was reſtored. A perſon born of a ſtranger was ſtiled Nothos, a baſtard, whereas the ſon of a free woman was called Gneſios, i. e. legitimate. There was in the Cynoſarges a court of judicature, to which cauſes of illegitimacy properly belonged, and the utmoſt care was taken to prevent any from being inrolled Athenian citizens, who had not a clear title thereto [d]. The citizens, for at preſent we will not meddle with the ſtrangers and ſlaves, were divided by Cecrops into four tribes, the firſt called Cecropes from Cecrops, the ſecond Autochthon, from a king of that name, the third Actai from Acteus another king of Athens, or rather from Acte which ſignifies a ſhore, the 4th Paralia; theſe names were altered by Cranaus, and again by Erictbonius. In the reign of Erictheus they were again changed, the ſoldiers were called Oplitai, the craftſmen Ergatai, the farmers Georgoi, the graziers and ſhepherds Aigicorai; in this ſtate they were when Solon ſettled the commonwealth, and appointed the ſenate to be compoſed of four hundred, one hundred out of each tribe [e]. Clyſthenes encreaſed the number of the tribes to ten, and made the ſenate conſiſt of five hundred, taking fifty out of each tribe; in ſucceeding times two other tribes were added, each tribe was ſubdivided into its Demoi or wards, and with reſpect to theſe it was that Solon inſtituted the public feaſts before-mentioned, at which ſometimes the whole tribe aſſembled, ſometimes ſeveral wards, and ſometimes only the inhabitants of one ward. The ſecond ſort of inhabitants we mentioned were called Metoicoi, i. e. ſojourners; theſe were perſons who lived always at Athens, yet were not admitted free denizens; as for ſuch as did not conſtantly reſide in Athens they were ſtiled Xenoi, i. e. ſtrangers. The ſojourners were obliged to chuſe out of the citizens protectors who were ſtiled Patrons, they paid ſeveral ſervices to the ſtate, and beſides theſe an annual tribute of twelve drachms for every

[c] Plut. in vit. Periclis. Athenæus. Deipnoſ. lib. vi. [d] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Pollux. lib. iii. [e] Plutarch. in vit. Solon. Pollux. lib. viii. c. 9.

ry man, and ſix for every woman; but ſuch as had ſons, and paid for them were exempted; if people fell to poverty and were not able to pay this tribute, they were ſeized by the tax-maſters and actually ſold for ſlaves, which, as Diogenes Laertius tells us, was the fate of Xenocrates the philoſopher [f]; the ſojourners in Attica were under the ſame law as thoſe in Athens; as to ſervants, they were freemen, who through indigency were driven to receive wages, and while they were in this ſtate had no vote in the aſſembly; as to ſlaves they were abſolutely the property of their maſters, and as ſuch were uſed as they thought fit; they were forbidden to wear cloaths, or to cut their hair like their maſters, and, which is indeed amazing, Solon prohibited them from loving boys as if that had been honourable: They were likewiſe debarred from anointing or perfuming themſelves, and from worſhipping certain deities; they were not allowed to be called by honourable names, and in moſt other reſpects were uſed like dogs. They ſtigmatized them at their pleaſure, that is branded them with letters in the forehead and elſewhere; however, Theſeus's temple was allowed them as a ſanctuary, where, if they were exceedingly ill uſed, they might fly, and thereby oblige their maſters to let them be turned over; in this and many other reſpects the Athenian ſlaves were in a much better condition than thoſe throughout the reſt of Greece; they were permitted to get eſtates for themſelves, giving a ſmall premium to their maſters, who were obliged to make them free if they could pay their ranſom; they likewiſe obtained the ſame favour from the kindneſs of their maſters, or for having rendered military ſervices to the ſtate; when they were made free they were obliged to chuſe patrons, and had likewiſe the privilege of chuſing a curator, who, in caſe their patrons injured them, was bound to defend them [g]. Having thus ſpoken of the people in general, let us return to the conſideration of the Athenian citizens in their political capacity (L).

[f] In vit. Xenocr. [g] Plutarch. in vit. Solon. Ariſtoph. in Avibus, &c. Pollux. lib. vii. Plautus, &c.

(L) In Cecrops's time the citizens were, as we have ſaid above, twenty-thouſand; under the adminiſtration of Pericles, when the

THE general aſſembly of the people, which Solon, as we have ſhewn before, made the dernier reſort, was called Eccleſia, and conſiſted of all the freemen of Athens, excepting ſuch as were atimoi or infamous. The meetings of

the Athenian power was at its greateſt height, they were not ſo many (28). When Demetrius the Phalerean preſided over them there was an exact account taken of the ſeveral ſorts of inhabitants within the city, as we are informed by Athenæus, from whence it appeared, that there were twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſojourners or foreigners, and four hundred thouſand ſlaves (29). The knowledge of this is a material thing, for without it it would be a difficult matter to account for the ſmallneſs of the Athenian armies. At the time of Cecrops's poll the whole number of his ſubjects was without doubt included; in early times they were glad of citizens; but when Athens roſe in power and glory, ſhe ſet a high value upon this dignity. Menon, who ſent them a ſupply of two hundred horſe, was refuſed the freedom of Athens when he deſired it (30). Perdiccas king of Macedonia, who had done them great ſervices, could obtain no more than a right of dwelling in the city with an exemption from taxes; but though they were thus ſtiff in reſpect to perſons of high quality, they were more pliable towards men of diſtinguiſhed merit. Hippocrates the phyſician was readily admitted a citizen of Athens, and the ſame favour was granted to all the inhabitants of Platæa, for their ſeaſonable aſſiſtance in the Perſian war. It was only the general aſſembly of the people which could confer this privilege. Nay, when it was conferred, the grant was not valid unleſs ratified in a ſecond aſſembly, wherein ſix thouſand citizens were preſent. And as this honour was generally ſued for by perſons of eminent diſtinction, the people gave their votes privately, by putting little ſtones into veſſels, that no ſort of undue influence might reach them; if, after all theſe ceremonies, it appeared, that the perſon on whom it was conferred was unworthy, there was a power lodged of taking it away in the court of Areopagus; nor are inſtances of this ſort wanting in the Athenian ſtory (31). As to the foreigners or ſojourners, though they were incapable of the honours belonging to free citizens, yet if they manifeſted an extraordinary love towards the ſtate by any ſhining action, they had a ſort of half freedom beſtowed upon them, whereby they were exempted from the

(28) Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.
(29) Deipnoſ. lib. vi.
(30) Potter's Arch. Vol. I. p. 44.
(31) Demoſt. Orat. in Neæram.

of theſe aſſemblies were either ordinary or extraordinary. The ordinary were ſuch as were appointed by law, the extraordinary ſuch as neceſſity required. Of the firſt there were four in five and thirty days, for reaſons which will be hereafter given. In the firſt aſſembly they approved or rejected magiſtrates, heard propoſals for the public good, and certain cauſes. In the ſecond they received petitions, and heard every man's judgment on the matters that were before them. In the third they gave audience to foreign ambaſſadors. The fourth was employed altogether in affairs relating to the gods and their worſhip. The extraordinary meetings were appointed by the magiſtrates when occaſion required, whereas to the ordinary aſſemblies the people came of their own accord. The firſt were held either in the market-place, in the Pnyx a place near the citadel, and in the theatre of Bacchus; as to the latter, the magiſtrates, who appointed the extraordinary meeting, appointed alſo the place where it ſhould be held. If any ſudden tempeſt roſe, or an earthquake happened, or any ſign notoriouſly inauſpicious appeared, the aſſembly was immediately adjourned, to prevent the people from apprehending unhappy conſequences from their deliberations. But if the weather was fair and ſerene, and nothing happened out of the ordinary courſe of things, they proceeded to purify the place where the aſſembly was held, which was done by ſprinkling it round with the blood of young pigs, then the cryer made a ſolemn prayer for the proſperity of the republic, and that heaven would beſtow a hap-

the taxes they bore before, and in reſpect to pecuniary matters, were on the ſame foot with free denizens; this they ſtiled Ateleia (32). Such Athenians as through poverty became ſervants, were ſtiled Pelatæ; except the right of voting, they enjoyed all the rights of free citizens, they changed their maſters when they thought fit, and in caſe they found themſelves in a condition to live in a ſtate of independency, they were reſtored to their votes, and their ſervitude was no more imputed to them as a bar to their preferment (33). As to ſlaves, they on their coming to a new place had a handſome entertainment given them, and ſweetmeats thrown over their heads, as it were to welcome them to their ſervice, which, if they fell into good hands, was ſometimes eaſy enough, but for this they were obliged not to the gentleneſs of their laws, but of their maſters.

(32) Suidas. Harpocration. Heſychius. (33) Pollux, lib. iii. c. 8.

py iſſue on their councils and undertakings; he then pronounced a bitter execration againſt any who ſhould in that aſſembly propound what might be diſadvantageous to the ſtate; theſe ceremonies over, they proceeded to buſineſs. There were ſeveral magiſtrates who had the overſeeing and regulating of theſe aſſemblies; theſe were firſt the Epiſtates, or preſident of the aſſembly, who was choſen by lot out of the Proedri; his office was to give the ſignal for the people's voting; next to him were the Prytanes, i. e. a committee of the ſenate, who of courſe were preſent on this occaſion; by their order a Programma, or ſcheme of the buſineſs to be propoſed at the aſſembly, was previouſly ſet up in ſome public place, that every man might know what buſineſs to apply his thoughts to. The Proedri were nine in number, appointed by lots out of all the tribes to which the Prytanes did not belong; they had the right of propoſing to the people what they were to deliberate upon, and their office ended with the aſſembly; there ſate with them aſſeſſors, who were to take care that nothing they propoſed was detrimental to the commonwealth; the firſt ſtep to buſineſs was the cryer's reading the decree of the ſenate whereon the aſſembly was to deliberate; when he had finiſhed this, he made proclamation in theſe words; Who of the men above fifty will make an oration? When the old men had done ſpeaking, the cryer made proclamation again, that any Athenian might then offer his ſentiments whom the law allowed ſo to do, that is, all ſuch as were above thirty years old and were not infamous. If ſuch a one roſe up to ſpeak, the Prytanes interpoſed, and bid him be ſilent, and if he did not obey them, the lictors pulled him down by force. When the debates were over, the preſident permitted the people to voté, which they did by caſting firſt beans, but in after-times pebbles, into certain veſſels; theſe were counted, and then it was declared, that the decree of the ſenate was either rejected or approved, after which the Prytanes diſmiſſed the aſſembly [h].

HAVING ſpoken of the people, their privileges, and aſſemblies, let us now proceed to the ſenate, which, as we have already ſhewn, was inſtituted by Solon to prevent the dangerous conſequences of leaving the ſupreme power in the people; at the time of his inſtitution it was to conſiſt of four hundred, a hundred out of each tribe; it was increaſed to five hundred, when the tribes were augmented to

[h] Vide Sigon. & Ubbo. Emmius. Rep. Athen.

to ten, and when they came to twelve, it was alſo ſwelled to ſix hundred. They were elected by lots after this manner: At a day appointed, towards the cloſe of the year, the preſident of each tribe gave in a liſt of ſuch perſons belonging thereto, as were fit for and deſired to appear for this dignity; theſe names were engraven on tablets of braſs, and a number of beans equal to the number of the amount of them, among which were a hundred white ones, put into a veſſel, then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn one by one, and ſuch as were drawn by the white beans were received into the ſenate [i]. After the ſenate was elected, they proceeded to appoint the officers who were to preſide in the ſenate: theſe were the Prytanes before-mentioned, and they were elected thus; the names of the ten tribes were thrown into one veſſel, and nine black beans and a white one into another veſſel. Then the names of the tribes were drawn with the beans. The tribe to which the white bean anſwered preſided firſt, and the reſt according to the order in which they were drawn. The time in which they preſided was thirty-five days, and was called Prytania, the Attic year being by this means divided into ten parts. Some authors ſay, that the firſt four Prytania contained thirty-ſix days in order to make the lunar year complete, which according to their computation conſiſted of 354 days; but others affirm, that theſe four days did not belong to any of the Prytania, but were ſpent in the election of magiſtrates, and that during this ſpace the Athenians were without magiſtrates [k]. The Prytanes while the ſenate conſiſted of five hundred were fifty in number; for the farther avoiding of confuſion therefore ten of theſe preſided a week, during which ſpace they were called Proedri, and out of theſe an epiſtate or preſident was choſen, whoſe office laſted but one day, and by law no man could hold it more than once; the reaſon of this was, that he had in his cuſtody the public ſeal, the keys of the citadel, and the charge of the exchequer [l]. The reader muſt diſtinguiſh between the Epiſtates and Proedri laſt mentioned, and thoſe ſpoken of in the former paragraph, becauſe though their titles were the ſame, their office were perfectly diſtinct. The ſenate aſſembled by direction of the Prytanes once every day, excepting feſtivals, and ſometimes oftener, in the ſenate houſe, which was

[i] Steph. Byzant. de Urb.

[k] Pollux. l. viii. c. 9. Harpocrat.

[l] Pollux ubi ſupra.

was thence called Prytanium. When a member of the ſenate made a motion for a new law, it was immediately engraven on tablets, that the members when they came next might be prepared to ſpeak to it; at the ſubſequent aſſembly the epiſtates opened the matter, after which every ſenator that pleaſed delivered his ſentiments, then any of the Prytanes drew up the decree, and repeated it aloud; after which they proceeded to vote, and if there was a majority of white beans, then it became Pſephiſma, and was afterwards propounded to the people; if they approved it, it became a law, otherwiſe it was of no force longer than the ſenate who decreed it ſubſiſted. The power of the ſenate was very great, for they took the account of magiſtrates at the expiration of their offices; they directed the proviſions made for poor citizens out of the public treaſure; they had the ſuperintendency of public priſons, and a power of puniſhing ſuch as committed acts morally evil, though not prohibited by any law; they had the care likewiſe of the fleet, and beſides all theſe they had many other branches of authority, which it is not neceſſary for us to mention. Before they took their ſeats they were conſtrained to undergo a very ſtrict examination, wherein the whole courſe of their lives was enquired into; and if the leaſt ſlur on their reputation appeared they were ſet aſide. When this examination was over they took an oath, whereby they bound themſelves to promote in all their councils the public good, to adviſe nothing contrary to the laws, and to execute their functions exactly. The higheſt fine the ſenate could impoſe was five hundred drachms; if they thought the offender deſerved a heavier mulct, they then tranſmitted the cauſe to the Theſmothetæ, who puniſhed them as they thought fit. The ſenators, when their year was out, gave an account of their management to the people, but that they might have the leſs to do, they always puniſhed ſuch of their number as they found offended by expulſion, and in this they were mighty exact; yet an expelled ſenator was notwithſtanding eligible to any other office, the moſt trivial omiſſion being ſufficient to procure a diſmiſſion from the ſenatorial dignity, and therefore when the tribes choſe their ſenators they alſo choſe a certain number of ſubſidiaries, out of which when a ſenator was expelled another was ſubſtituted in his place [m]. Each ſenator

[m] Æſchin. in Timarch. Ariſtoph. Avibus. Pollux, ubi ſupra. Demoſt. Timocrat.

nator was allowed a drachm every day, for it was a conſtant rule with the Athenians that the public ought to pay for every man's time, and therefore ſuch of the poor Athenians as thought fit to demand it had three oboli for going to the aſſembly. If during their adminiſtration any ſhips of war were built the ſenators had crowns decreed them; but if not they were forbid to ſue for them. The ſenate, as we have before remarked, was looked upon as one anchor of the Athenian ſtate, we will now ſpeak of the other.

THE court of Areopagus was ſo called, becauſe it aſſembled on a hill not far from the citadel called Areos Pagos, i. e. Mars's hill. Some ſay, that Mars was the firſt criminal tried in this court. It is not agreed who inſtituted this court; ſome aſcribe it to Cecrops, others to Cranaus, and many to Solon, among whom though Plutarch and Cicero are reckoned, yet it is certain, that they were miſtaken, for Ariſtotle affirms directly the contrary; nay, Plutarch himſelf cites a law of Solon's, wherein the ſentences of the Areopagi are mentioned as things of an old date [n]. The ſource of this error ſeems to be Solon's reſtoring the power of this court, and making it ſuperior to Ephetæ, whom Draco had made ſuperior to it. It is very difficult to aſcertain the number of which this court conſiſted, becauſe authors are much divided about it. Such of the archons, though ſome ſay only ſuch of the Theſmothetæ, as had given an account of their adminiſtration before the Legiſtæ, and had obtained their approbation, were received into this ſenate; this was Solon's inſtitution, and was ſtrictly obſerved for a long courſe of years, whence it became the moſt ſacred and venerable tribunal in Greece. * A ſenator in this court was an officer for life unleſs he was guilty of any immorality, and then he was immediately expelled; to laugh while the court was ſitting was an unpardonable offence, and the members thereof were forbidden by law to write a comedy; nay, if an archon was ſeen to be ſitting in a tavern or public-houſe, it was ſufficient to bar his admiſſion. Demoſthenes affirms, that to his time no judgment of that court had ever been queſtioned [o]. They had cognizance of all capital cauſes, and with them the intent to murder was puniſhed as ſeverely as if it took effect; 'till Pericles leſſened their power they were a check upon the people; they could, if they thought fit, cancel the ſentence of an aſſembly, where a criminal had been acquitted contrary to evidence; and they

[n] Meurs. in Areop. [o] Ariſtocrat.

they likewise rescued innocent persons in danger from the rash sentences of the people; they had the custody of the laws, the management of the public funds, the direction of youth, for which reason they were present at marriages and sacrifices, to see that all things were transacted with decency and sobriety; they had the power of punishing idleness, and, in consequence of this, they sent for any body they pleased, and examined him what he spent, and how he came by it, so that it was impracticable for a man to live dissolutely in Athens on ill-got wealth, since on the first appearance of profusion such a person would have been convened before the Areopagi. Matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of mysteries, all sorts of impiety, the consecration of new gods, erection of temples and altars, and the introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, belonged wholly unto this court. Plato therefore, having learned in Egypt that there was but one God, was forced to conceal his knowledge for fear of being questioned by the Areopagites [p]; and St. Paul was on this account arraigned before them as a setter-forth of strange gods, when he preached Jesus and Anastasis, i. e. the resurrection [q]. As to state affairs, the court of Areopagus rarely meddled in them, unless in times of public calamity, when the citizens fled to them as their last refuge. They met three times every month, viz. on the 27th, 28th, and 29th days thereof, if any sudden occasion required their assembling they were wont to meet in the royal portico. It is observable, that this court always sate in the open air; secondly, that they decided all causes in the dark, that seeing neither plaintiff nor defendant their passions might be uninfluenced. Causes of murder were introduced by the Basileus or second archon, who in right of his office had a seat amongst them; but before he took it he was obliged to lay aside his crown, which, as the mark of his dignity, he wore at all other times. As to the form of trials before the Areopagus, we shall not detain the reader here, but take a proper occasion to insert it in a note. All the great men of Athens paid a high regard to this venerable tribunal, till Pericles rose, who, because he could not become a member thereof, having never been archon, took such a pique to them, that he left no means unessayed to diminish their authority and sink their credit, which by the help

[p] Justin. Martyr. [q] Acts xviii. 18, 19.

help of Ephialtes he in a great meaſure effected, cauſing moſt of the buſineſs which had been before them to be transferred to other courts, to which ſome authors, not without reaſon, have aſcribed the ſudden degeneracy of the Athenians, and, in conſequence thereof, the ruin of this ſtate [k].

We come now, having ſpoken of the Athenian people, the ſenate, and court of Areopagus, to the magiſtrates. The chief of theſe were the Archons or Archontes; they were, as we obſerved, nine in number, and were choſen by lot; but after they were choſen they were obliged to undergo two examinations, one in the ſenate-houſe called Anacriſis, the other in the Forum called Docimaſia; in theſe they were aſked who were their anceſtors, whether by three deſcents they were Athenian citizens, of what tribe and ward they were, whether related to Apollo Patrius, or Jupiter Hercæus, whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had ſerved the appointed times in the wars, had the eſtate required by law, and whether they were perfect in all their limbs; theſe queſtions ſome think were put to every other magiſtrate: theſe demands being ſatisfactorily anſwered, they were conducted to the royal portico, where each of the archons took an oath in theſe words; 'I 'will be punctual in the obſervance of the laws, and if I 'am deficient in this reſpect, I will for every ſuch default 'conſecrate a ſtatue of gold as big as myſelf to the Delphian 'Apollo'. Theſe ceremonies over, the archons entered on their charge, ſome parts of which they executed ſeparately, others belonged in common to them all; they had all the power of puniſhing with death ſuch malefactors as deſerved it; they were all crowned with wreaths of myrtle, and had the power of appointing certain under-officers, and of inquiring into the conduct of other magiſtrates. As the reward of their labour in the ſervice of the public, they were free from all taxes whatſoever, and if any was ſo hardy as to ſtrike or affront them, he was puniſhed with infamy [m]. The firſt of them was ſometimes ſtiled Eponymos, becauſe the year took its denomination from him; to him it belonged to determine all cauſes between men and their wives, all matters relating to poſthumous children, dowries, legacies, and teſtaments. He had a right to appoint tutors and guardians

[k] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Meurſius Areop. [l] Pollux, lib. viii. cap. 9. [m] Demoſth. in Midian.

guardians to orphans, to decide ſuch diſputes as aroſe between neighbours, and many other things. The celebration of certain feaſts and the regulation of ſtage-plays were alſo within his province, and he had a particular court of judicature wherein he heard cauſes: If even by accident he was overtaken with liquor, he ſuffered death [n]. The ſecond archon, who was ſtiled Baſileus or king, had his court of judicature in the royal portico; he decided all controverſies among prieſts, took information on impiety, blaſphemy, and ſuch-like crimes; he preſided in all the great feaſts, and aſſiſted in all the public ſacrifices for the proſperity of the republic. It was required, that his wife ſhould be a citizen of Athens and a virgin, and ſhe too was ſtiled by the Athenians Baſiliſſa. Accuſations of murder were firſt lodged in his court, and then he introduced them into the court of Areopagus [o]. The Polemarchos or third archon had all ſojourners and ſtrangers within his juriſdiction; he was bound alſo to offer a ſolemn ſacrifice to Mars, and another to Diana, and to take care, that the children of ſuch as loſt their lives in the ſtate ſhould duly receive the maintenance ſettled on them by law. As it often happened, that theſe three magiſtrates, by reaſon of their youth, were not ſo well ſkilled in the laws and cuſtoms of their country, as to be able to execute punctually all the branches of their reſpective offices; they choſe each of them two grave and diſtinct perſons who underwent the like examinations with themſelves, to ſit with them as aſſeſſors, and they were accountable as well as the archon for their behaviour in their poſts [p]. The other ſix archons were ſtiled Theſmothetæ; they had one common tribunal where they heard cauſes of various kinds; they ratified all public contracts and leagues, ſettled the court-days in the ſeveral judicatures of Athens, took care that no laws ſhould be paſſed contrary to the intereſt of the public, and proſecuted ſuch as endeavoured to perſuade the people to give their conſent to any ſuch laws; they were likewiſe obliged every year to examine the whole Corpus Juris, in order to diſcover whether there were any laws that contradicted each other, whether there was a multiplicity of ſtatutes about the ſame thing, or whether there were any ſo

[n] Pollux, ubi ſupra. [o] Demoſt. in Neær. & in Lacrit. [p] Pollux, ubi ſupra.

ſo doubtful as to render it impoſſible to know their true ſenſe, which if there were, then the Theſmothetæ drew up a report, wherein was briefly contained the ſtate of the caſe; this was hung up in a public place, and the next aſſembly of the people voted which of the laws ſhould be preſerved, and which repealed or altered [q]. Inferior to the archons there were many public magiſtrates; 'twill be neceſſary to mention ſome of them, becauſe they will frequently occur in the courſe of this hiſtory. In the firſt place they had Nomophylaces, who were alſo ſtiled the eleven, becauſe they were ſo many in number, one choſen out of each tribe, and a clerk or ſecretary who made up the eleventh. Their duty it was to look to the execution of the laws, they had authority to ſeize robbers and other capital offenders, and if they confeſſed to put them to death. Dr. Potter thinks they reſembled our ſheriffs [r]. The Phylarchi were the preſidents of the Athenian tribes; but in time this became a military title. The Philobaſileus was an officer in each tribe who did the ſame things within his juriſdiction, as the Baſileus did with reſpect to the ſtate. The Demarchi were the principal magiſtrates in wards, the Lexarchi were ſix in number, and were bound to take care, that the people came duly to aſſemblies; in their cuſtody was the public regiſter of citizens names; they had under them Toxotæ who were lictors or bailiffs; they were ſometimes a thouſand in number; theſe men were neceſſary, but like moſt of their ſort were in a manner infamous, as may be gathered from the comedies of Ariſtophanes; they were generally Scythians, raw-boned brawny fellows, ready to execute any thing they were commanded [s]. The Nomothetæ were a thouſand in number, their buſineſs was to watch over and inſpect into the laws. There were two ſorts of orators in the ſervice of the ſtate, ſome were appointed to defend an old law when a motion was made to repeal it; theſe had their fee from the ſtate, but the ſame man was incapable of being elected twice. Beſides theſe three were ten ſettled orators called Retores, elected by lots; their buſineſs was to plead public cauſes in the ſenate-houſe; for this they had their ſtated fees, and with reſpect to their qualifications the laws run thus; "Let no one be a public orator who hath ſtruck "his parents, denied them maintenance, or ſhut them out "of

[q] Æſchin. in Cteſiph. [r] Cicero de Legib. lib. iii. [s] Ariſtophan. ejuſq; Schol. Acharn. & Theſmoph.

" of his doors, who hath refuſed to ſerve in the army, " who hath thrown away his ſhield, who hath been ad- " dicted to lewd women, notoriouſly effeminate, or has " run out his patrimony. If any man who has been " guilty of theſe crimes dare to deliver an oration, let him " be brought to trial upon the ſpot [t]. Let an orator have " children lawfully begotten, and an eſtate within At- " tica [u]; if in his oration he talks impertinently, makes " idle repetitions, affects an unbecoming railery, digreſſes " from the point in queſtion, or after the aſſembly is over " abuſes the preſident, let the Proedri fine him fifty " drachmæ; and if that is not thought enough, let him " be brought before the next aſſembly and fined again" [x]. We ſhall conclude this draft of the Athenian government with an account of their courts of juſtice, which, excluſive of the Areopagus, were ten in number; four had cognizance of criminal, and ſix of civil, cauſes. Theſe ten courts were numbered with the ten firſt letters of the alphabet, and were thence ſtiled, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, &c. When an Athenian was at leiſure to hear cauſes he wrote his own name, that of his father, and the ward to which he belonged, upon a tablet; this he preſented to the Theſmothetæ, who returned it again to him with another tablet, with the letter which fell to his lot; then he went to the cryer of the court who preſented him a ſcepter, and gave him admiſſion. When the cauſes were over, every judge went and delivered his ſcepter to the Prytanes, and received a ſtated fee for every cauſe that was tried. But as this was intended only to compenſate their loſs of time, ſo that there might be no appearance of covetouſneſs, a man was forbid to ſit in two courts on the ſame day [y]. The firſt criminal court, after the Areopagus, was that of the Ephetæ, of the inſtitution of which the reader has already had an account; it conſiſted of fifty-one members, all upwards of fifty-one years old; Draco gave it a very extenſive juriſdiction, but Solon took away from them the power of judging in any other cauſes than thoſe of manſlaughter, accidental killing, and lying in wait to deſtroy; the Baſileus entered all cauſes in this court [z]. The ſecond criminal court was called Delphinium, becauſe it was held in the temple of Apollo Delphinius, it had cognizance of ſuch murders as were confeſſed by the criminal, but at the

[t] Æſchin. in Timarch. [u] Dinarch. in Demoſthen. [x] Æſchin. ubi ſupra. [y] Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. vi. [z] Pollux lib. viii, c. 10.

the ſame time juſtified under ſome pretence or other [a]. The Prytaneum was the third criminal court, it held plea of ſuch caſes where death enſued from inanimate things; cauſes were heard here with the ſame ſolemnity as in other courts, and, on judgment given, the thing, whatever it was, that had occaſioned the death of a man, was thrown out of the territory of Athens. This judicature was as ancient as the reign of Erechtheus, and the firſt thing tried therein was an ax, wherewith one of Jupiter's prieſts killed an ox which had eaten ſome of the conſecrated cakes, and who, as ſoon as he had committed the fact, ſecured himſelf by flight [b]. The laſt criminal court was ſtiled Phreatum, it ſat in a place not far from the ſea-ſhore, and ſuch perſons were brought before this court, as had committed murders in their own country and fled to Attica; the proceedings of this court were ſo ſevere, that they did not permit the criminal to come on ſhore, but obliged him to plead his cauſe in his veſſel, and if he was found guilty, he was committed to the mercy of the winds and ſeas [c]. Of the judicatures for hearing civil cauſes, the firſt was the Parabaſton, ſo called, as ſome think, becauſe in it no matter could be heard, if the cauſe of action was above one drachm [d]. The Cainon or new court was the ſecond tribunal [e]. The third was ſtiled the court of Lycus, becauſe it aſſembled in a temple dedicated to that hero, whoſe ſtatue, which was repreſented with the face of a wolf, was ſet up in all the courts of juſtice [f]. The Trigonon was ſo called, becauſe it was triangular in its form [g]. The court Metidius derived its appellation from the architect who built it [h]. The ſixth and laſt court was called Heliæa, it was by far the greateſt, and is generally conceived to have derived its name from the judges ſitting in the open air expoſed to the ſun. All the Athenians, as we obſerved before, who were free citizens, were allowed by law to ſit in theſe courts as judges. But before they took their ſeats were ſworn by Apollo Patrius, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would decide all things righteouſly, and according to law where there was any law to guide them, and

[a] Pollux ubi ſupra. [b] Ælian Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 3. Pollux ubi ſupra. [c] Sigonius de Repub. Athen. lib. iii. c. 3. [d] Pauſan. Atticis. [e] Ariſtoph. Veſp. [f] Pollux, Suidas, Ariſtoph. ubi ſupra. [g] Sigon. ubi ſupra. Ariſtoph. ubi ſupra. [h] Pollux, Harpocr.

and by the rules of natural equity where there was none. The oath taken by the judges, who ſate in the court laſt mentioned, is reported by Demoſthenes in theſe words; "I will give ſentence according to the laws and the de- "crees of the people of Athens and the council of five "hundred; I will not conſent to place the ſupreme pow- "er in the hands of a ſingle perſon, or a few; nor per- "mit any man to diſſolve the commonwealth, or ſo much "as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of "ſuch a revolution. I will not endeavour to diſcharge "private debts, nor to make a diviſion of lands or houſes: "I will not reſtore perſons ſent into baniſhment, nor par- "don thoſe that are condemned to die, nor expel any "man out of the city contrary to the laws and decrees "of the people and council of five hundred, nor permit "any other perſon to do it: I will not elect any perſon "into any public employ, and particularly I will not "create any man Archon, Hieromnemon, embaſſador, "public herald, or ſynedras, nor conſent, that he ſhall be "admitted into any of thoſe offices which are elected by "lots upon the ſame day with the archons, who has un- "dergone any former office and not given in his accounts; "nor that any perſon ſhall bear two offices, or to be "twice elected into the ſame office in one year: I will "not receive gifts myſelf, nor ſhall any other for me, nor "will I permit any other perſon to do the like by any "means, whether direct or indirect, to pervert juſtice in "the court of Heliæa: I am not under thirty years of "age: I will hear both the plaintiff and defendant with- "out any partiality, and give ſentence in all the cauſes "brought before me: I ſwear by Jupiter, Neptune, and "Ceres; if I violate this oath or any part of it, may I "periſh with my whole family; but if I religiouſly ob- "ſerve it, may we live and proſper"[i]. The Helæaſtic court conſiſted at leaſt of fifty, but its uſual number was five-hundred, judges: when cauſes of very great conſequence were to be tried, a thouſand ſate therein, and now and then the judges were increaſed to fifteen hundred, and even two thouſand; there were many inferior courts in Athens for the deciſion of trivial cauſes, but of theſe there is no neceſſity of ſpeaking, ſince we deſign no more than a ſuccinct view of the Athenian republic, as it was ſettled by, and in conſequence of, Solon's laws.

[i] Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis Herodot. lib. i.

We left that great lawgiver at his departure from Athens to viſit foreign climates for the ſake of acquiring wiſdom. He went firſt to Egypt, where he converſed with Pſenophis the Heliopolitan and Sonchis the Saite, the moſt learned prieſts of that age and country, from theſe he drew the knowledge of a multitude of things unheard-of by the Greeks, and particularly the ſituation and condition of the atlantic iſle, of which he wrote an account in verſe, which Plato continued. From Egypt he went to Cyprus, where he was extremely well entertained by one of the petty kings thereof; this prince reigned in a little city called Apeia, i. e. high, built by Demophoon the ſon of Theſeus on an eminence near the river Clarius, but in a ſoil craggy and barren. Solon, obſerving, that there was a very pleaſant plain below, engaged the king to remove his people thither, and to build a new and large city for their reception. Solon himſelf aſſiſted in the execution of the undertaking which he had projected, and his ſcheme ſucceeded ſo well, that numbers of people, invited by the beauty of the place, came to ſettle themſelves therein, whence the king, whoſe capital it was, changed its name out of gratitude, and called it Solos. He is thought to have viſited about this time Thales the Mileſian, with whom it is certain he had an intimate acquaintance; Plutarch hath recorded a very ſingular paſſage which happened at this time; Solon enquiring of Thales, why, conſidering the happy ſituation of his affairs, he had neither wife nor children, Thales for the preſent made him no anſwer. A few days after he introduced a ſtranger properly inſtructed, who ſaid, that he came ten days ago from Athens; Solon immediately aſked him what news he brought from thence: "I know of nothing "extraordinary (replied he), except that the whole city "celebrated the funerals of a young man, the ſon of a ci-"tizen, moſt eminent for his virtues, who, it ſeems, went "abroad upon his travels". Miſerable man, cried Solon: But did you not hear his name? I did, returned the ſtranger, but I have forgot it; this I remember, that he was particularly famous for his wiſdom and his juſtice; Was it Solon? (ſaid our philoſopher) It was, anſwered the ſtranger. Upon this our legiſlator began to beat his head, to weep, and to bemoan himſelf. But Thales interpoſing with a ſmile, addreſſed him thus: "Theſe, O Solon, are "the things which make me afraid of marriage and chil-"dren, ſince theſe are capable of affecting even ſo wiſe a "man as you; be not, however, concerned, for this is all

" a fiction " [i]. Whether on this occasion, or on the real loss of a son, is uncertain, Solon being desired by a person not to weep, since weeping would avail nothing; he answered, with much humanity and good sense, And for this cause I weep. At Delphi he had an interview with the rest of the sophists, and the year following at Corinth by Periander's invitation; some think, that at this time also he went to Crete, and visited Epimenides, he likewise conferred with Crœsus king of Lydia, as has been before related in the history of that prince [k] (M).

WHILE

[i] Plutarch. & Diogen. Laert. in vit. Solonis Herodot. lib. 1.
[k] vol. 5. p. 585.

(M) As to the interview between Solon and Crœsus, there were in Plutarch's time many who thought it a fiction; and this great writer himself, though he thought it necessary to insert it in Solon's life, owns, that none who mentioned it as a fact were able to solve the difficulties in chronology which attended it. The very learned M. Dacier has the following note upon that passage; " Solon, " they say, was archon the third year of the forty-sixth olympiad, " and Crœsus was overthrown by Cyrus the second year of the " 58th, which makes it impossible for Solon to be living at that " time, that is to say, 47 years after his archonship. This they " prove more strongly, by making it appear, that Solon died " when Hegestratus was archon, in the second year of the 51st " olympiad. Now Crœsus was not king till the first year of the " 56th olympiad, which was twenty-two years after the death of " Solon. How then are we to make this voyage of Solon into " Lydia fall in with the reign of Crœsus? Especially, if, accord- " ing to Plutarch, this voyage was performed even before the ty- " ranny of Pisistratus. This is so full of difficulties and contrarieties, " that it is impossible to reconcile them, unless we agree with " Plutarch, that the ancient chronological tables are by no means " exact, notwithstanding the great labour and pains several per- " sons have been at to regulate them (28) ". Mr. Stanly (following Laertius) and many others have thought, that the placing this interview, not before, but after Pisistratus made himself master of Athens, would set this business quite right, and accordingly Sir Isaac Newton places this conference in the year after Pisistratus assumed the sovereignty, or rather in the same year, and makes this the year before the death of Solon (29). But to return from so perplexed a subject to the mention of a point or two not taken notice of in the account before given of this conference in the histo-

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(28) In vit. Solonis. (29) Short Chronicle. p. 40.

WHILE Solon was abroad Athens fell all into confuſion again. The three factions before-mentioned began to be more troubleſome than ever; Lycurgus put himſelf at the head of the country people; Megacles the ſon of Alcmæon was the chief of thoſe who lived upon the coaſt, and Piſiſtratus placed himſelf at the head of the poorer ſort of people in the city, to protect them, as he pretended, from tyranny. The laws of Solon were indeed obſerved, becauſe none of theſe factions had found it for their intereſt to ſubvert them, but all looked for a change, and were uneaſy till it was effected, tho' how to change for the better none of them knew, nor pretended to know; in the interim, Solon returned, and his return ſeemed propitious for his country. All the factions paid their court to him, and affected to ſhew him the deepeſt reverence and reſpect, beſeeching him to reſume his authority, and to compoſe the diſorders of the ſtate. But this, however, he declined on account of his age, which, as he ſaid, rendered him unable to ſpeak and act for the public benefit as he was wont. However, he ſent for the chiefs of each party, and ſpoke to them in the mildeſt and moſt pathetic terms, beſeeching them not to ruin their common parent, but to prefer the public good to their private intereſt [1].

Piſiſtratus, among all the principal perſons of Athens, ſeemed to be moſt affected with Solon's diſcourſes. They were relations, intimate friends, and had a great ſimilitude in their diſpoſitions. Piſiſtratus was exceedingly courteous and affable, and as he was bleſſed with a fair eſtate, ſo he was generous without profuſion, and beneficent without oſtentation. He had always two or three ſlaves near him with bags of ſilver coin; when he ſaw any man look ſickly, or heard that any were dead inſolvent, he comforted

[1] Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. 1.

ry of Lydia: Plutarch ſays, that Æſop the fabuliſt was at the court of Crœſus at the ſame time with Solon, and that he was extremely concerned when he ſaw how much the king ſlighted ſo great a man. He could not therefore forbear giving Solon the following ſhort piece of advice, Let your viſits to kings be as ſeldom or as pleaſant as you can. To which our Athenian anſwered, No, rather let them be as ſeldom or as profitable as you can (30). The love of liberty was ſo ſtrong in Solon, that he could not gainſay ſo much as in a compliment.

(30) Plutarch ubi ſupra.

the one with a proper ſum, and buried the others at his own expence; if he perceived people melancholy, he enquired the cauſe, and if it was poverty, he furniſhed them with what might enable them to get bread, but not to live idly; in a word, he had, or ſeemed to have, all the virtues which could adorn a nobleman: he would not ſo much as ſuffer his ſervants to ſhut his garden or orchard gates, but allowed every body to go in and take what they pleaſed. His looks were eaſy and ſedate, his language ſmooth and modeſt; he ſeemed a great lover of equality, and a zealous friend to the conſtitution. Solon penetrated all theſe appearances, yet he did not immediately break with him, but endeavoured to ſhew him the iniquity of his diſſimulation, and would often tell him, Sir, were it not for your ambition, you would be the beſt citizen in Athens [m]; and when he found this made no impreſſion upon him, Solon ſaid the ſame thing to others, that men might beware of his deſigns, and not ſuffer his virtues to be fatal his country.

About this time Theſpis, who is generally eſteemed the inventor of tragedy, either introduced or reformed it at Athens, with which the people were mightily charmed. Solon, who piqued himſelf upon learning, even in his old age, went to ſee this new divertiſement, and, after the performance was over, addreſſed himſelf to Theſpis in theſe words: "I wonder you are not aſhamed of telling lies before ſo great an audience": Theſpis replied, That there could be no harm in giving a ſpecious form to falſhood, ſo that it were in jeſt; Ah, cried Solon, ſtriking the ground violently with his ſtaff, if once we are pleaſed with your falſhoods in jeſt, we ſhall ſoon have them creep into our more ſerious affairs [n].

Piſiſtratus aſſumes the ſovereignty. Years after the flood 2439. Before Chriſt, 560.

The miſchief, which Solon apprehended his kinſman Piſiſtratus would bring upon the ſtate, was not long before it came to paſs; that great politician, perceiving how much the people were at his devotion, reſolved to ſeize the preſent opportunity to cheat them out of that liberty they neither knew how to uſe or to keep. With this view having wounded himſelf and (as Herodotus ſays) the mules that drew his chariot [o], he laſhed into the market-place as if purſued by his enemies, and ſhewing his bleeding body, beſought the people to protect him from thoſe whom his kindneſs to them had rendered his implacable enemies; they teſtifying

[m] Dacier. Not. in vit. Solon. Plut. ubi ſupra. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii. [n] Plut. ubi ſupra. o Herodot. lib i.

teſtifying loudly their concern, Solon, who was by this time come to the place, drew near him, and ſaid, 'Son 'of Hippocrates, you do not act Homer's Ulyſſes well, 'ſince you deceive your fellow-citizens; whereas he, 'when he had wounded himſelf, practiſed only on the 'enemies of his country.' A general aſſembly was preſently convened, wherein Ariſton moved, that Piſiſtratus might have a guard of fifty perſons armed with clubs. Solon oppoſed it; he told the citizens, that if misfortunes befel them, they muſt not charge the gods with them, but themſelves, for that evils were not accidental, but puniſhments; that crafty perſons knew how to dreſs lies in the veſtments of truth, and that before they made innovations they ſhould well conſider the conſequences. After him Piſiſtratus ſpoke, and the people receiving all he ſaid with loud applauſe, Solon contented himſelf with ſaying,

" You doat upon his words and ſoothing ſpeech."

The meaner ſort of people adhering unanimouſly to the propoſition of Ariſton, and the richeſt Athenians remaining ſilent when they ſaw how things would go, Solon took his leave, ſaying, that he was wiſer than ſome, and ſtouter than others; wiſer than thoſe who did not penetrate Piſiſtratus's deſign, and ſtouter than thoſe who did not oppoſe it. When he was gone the aſſembly proceeded to vote Piſiſtratus a guard, but what number is not eaſily ſettled; it ſhould ſeem from Plutarch's account that he had but fifty [p]. Herodotus does not mention any number at all [q]. Polyænus makes them three hundred [r], but Solon [s] himſelf in his letter to Epimenides ſays expreſsly there were four hundred; however it was, he made uſe of his guard to ſeize the citadel, which having performed, he without more ado, according to Herodotus [t] and Plutarch [u], aſſumed the ſovereignty. But Polyænus hath given us a very ſingular account of the method which he took to put it out of the power of the Athenians to defend themſelves, even againſt the ſmall number of men under his command. He ſummoned an aſſembly to be held at the Anacium, and directed that the people ſhould come thither armed; when they were accordingly come together, Piſiſtratus harangued them, but in a very low voice; the people complaining

[p] ubi ſupra. [q] lib. i. [r] Strateg. lib. 1. c 21. [s] Vide Epiſt. Solon. ad Epimen. [t] ubi ſupra. [u] ubi ſupra.

that they could not well hear what he ſaid, he pretended, that it was the clangor of their arms which drowned his voice, and adviſed them to lay them down in the portico of a temple. This they did, and Piſiſtratus then entertained them with a long and eloquent oration, to which they liſtened with deep attention, Piſiſtratus's guard conveyed away their arms, ſo that when he had done ſpeaking, the Athenians ſaw themſelves naked and all power of reſiſtance taken from them [x]. All hiſtorians agree, that amidſt the confuſion which followed this tranſaction there was an aſſembly held, wherein Solon made a ſpeech, inveighing againſt the meanneſs of his countrymens ſpirit, and exciting them to take arms in defence of their liberty. When he found nothing would do, he ſet down his own arms, and contented himſelf with ſaying, 'To the utmoſt 'of my power I have ſtriven for my country and my laws.' Plutarch ſays, that he refuſed to leave his country, and that on Piſiſtratus's ſending to know what it was that inſpired him with boldneſs enough to treat him in ſuch a manner, he anſwered, My old age [y]. But other authors ſay, and with greater probability, that he immediately left the dominions of Athens. About this time it is moſt likely that he wrote the following letter to his friend in Crete [z].

Solon to Epimenides:

"NEITHER are my laws likely to benefit the Athe-
"nians long, nor have you done the city much good
"by your luſtration. For ſacred rites and wiſe lawgivers
"cannot alone benefit cities, ſince it is of great conſe-
"quence, of what diſpoſition thoſe are who influence the
"common people; ſacred and civil laws, if ſuch men
"execute them well, are profitable, but if not, are of
"little uſe. My laws are now in a very indifferent con-
"dition, thoſe in whom the government was lodged,
"making no oppoſition to Piſiſtratus's deſigns, abandoned
"the ſtate; this, when I foretold, I could not be believed,
"the Athenians crediting rather his flatteries than my
"truth. Perceiving this, I laid down my arms before
"the magazine, and ſaid, that I was wiſer than thoſe
"who did not ſee Piſiſtratus aimed at tyranny, and
"ſtouter

[x] Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. ſect. ii. [y] ubi ſupra. [z] Diogen. Laert. in vita Solon.

" ſtouter than thoſe who were afraid to reſiſt him. For
" this they looked upon Solon as a madman; however,
" I heſitated not to make this proteſtation before I departed;
" Behold, O my country, Solon ready to vindicate thee
" in word and deed; they again cried out that I was mad.
" Thus, finding myſelf alone in oppoſing Piſiſtratus, I
" left them; let them ſtill, if they pleaſe, guard with
" their arms this their tyrant, for you muſt know, my
" friend, that the man very artfully poſſeſſed himſelf of
" the ſovereignty; he complied at the firſt with the demo-
" cracy, afterwards wounding himſelf, he came into the
" Elioea, exclaiming, that he was thus wounded by his
" enemies, deſiring that they would grant him a guard of
" four hundred men, which they, regardleſs of all I could
" ſay, complied with; after this he diſſolved the popular
" government. In vain I laboured to beſtow freedom on
" the meaner ſort of people, ſince now the people of all
" ſorts are become Piſiſtratus's ſervants".

PISISTRATUS, in poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſupreme power in Athens, did not overturn the laws eſtabliſhed by Solon; on the contrary, he did all that in him lay to provide for their better execution, and loſt nothing of that moderation for which he had been before remarkable [a]. With reſpect even to Solon himſelf, he preſerved for him the higheſt veneration, and was ſo much diſturbed at his leaving his country, that he wrote to him the following letter to engage him to return [b].

Piſiſtratus to Solon:

" I am not the only perſon among the Greeks who
" have acted in this manner, nor am I without right to
" the kingdom I poſſeſs, being the deſcendent of Codrus.
" That which the Athenians ſwore to preſerve to Codrus
" and his heirs and yet took away, I have recovered. I
" offend neither againſt God or man. I take care to ſee
" thoſe laws framed for the Athenians ſtrictly put in
" execution, and ſuffer none to do wrong. I claim no
" other privileges, though a tyrant, than the honour and
" dignity, and accept no more than what was thought,
" due to the ancient kings. The Athenians indeed pay
" the

[a] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Ariſt. Polit. lib. v. c. 12. [b] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra.

" the tenths of their eſtates, not to me, but for defraying
" the expences of the public ſacrifices, the other charges
" of the commonwealth, and that we may have where-
" withal to carry on a war if we ſhould be engaged in one.
" I do not at all blame you for diſcovering my intention;
" you did it out of regard to your country, rather than
" out of hatred to me; you were ignorant of the form of
" government I meant to eſtabliſh: had you known it,
" you would perhaps have borne it, and not have gone
" into baniſhment; however, return, and believe me
" without an oath, Solon ſhall never ſuffer hurt from
" Piſiſtratus; my very enemies have nothing to charge me
" with of that kind. If you will be of the number of
" my friends, you ſhall be the firſt, for I never obſerved
" any thing of fraud or falſehood in you; if you are re-
" ſolved to continue otherwiſe, live at Athens as you
" will, only for our ſake do not deprive yourſelf of your
" country".

Solon to Piſiſtratus.

" I believe I ſhall not ſuffer any harm by you, for be-
" fore you were a tyrant I was your friend, and at pre-
" ſent am no more your enemy than any other Athe-
" nian who diſlikes tyranny. Whether it be better they
" be governed by a ſingle perſon or by a democracy,
" let both parties determine. I pronounce you the beſt
" of tyrants; but to return to Athens, I think not
" fitting, leaſt I incur cenſure, who ſettled an equality
" in the Athenian commonwealth, and would not ac-
" cept of the tyranny, by returning, I ſhould comply
" with thy actions".

Solon kept ſtrictly to his word, and returned no more to Athens, but died abroad. How old this great man was at the time of his deceaſe was not agreed even in the days of Plutarch [c], who ſays, that Heraclides Ponticus affirmed, that Solon lived a long time after Piſiſtratus aſſumed the ſovereignty, whereas Phanias the Epheſian reported, that he did not live after it quite two years; Ælian agrees pretty well with this computation [d], for he ſays he died a little after, being decrepid with age; Diogenes Laertius informs us, that he reached the age of fourſcore [e], but Lucian, however, will have it, that he lived a hundred and

[c] In vita Solonis, prope fin. [d] Hiſt. var. lib. viii. c. 16.
[e] ubi ſupra.

and upwards [f]; where he died is another very diſputable point; ſome ſay it was in Cyprus [g], others not [h]; Diogenes Laertius informs us, that he directed his bones ſhould be burnt, and their aſhes carried to Salamis and ſcattered over the iſland [i]. Plutarch treats this as a fable, but acknowledges at the ſame time, that many eminent writers had given into it, and mentions particularly Ariſtotle [k]. The Athenians, after the death of Solon, paid him the higheſt honours, and erected for him in the forum and at Salamis a ſtatue in braſs with his hand in his gown, the poſture in which he was wont to ſpeak; which he certainly deſerved for the mighty ſervices rendered by him to his country (N) [l]. But to return to Piſiſtratus:

At

[f] In Longævis. [g] Diogen. Laert. ubi ſupra. Valer. Max. lib. v. c. 3. [h] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [i] Ubi ſupra. [k] Ubi ſupra. [l] Æſch. in Timarch.

(N) We have already ſaid ſo much of the genius of Solon, that it would be tedious to dwell upon it here; we ſhall therefore take notice only of ſome remarkable paſſages which were related concerning his death, give a ſuccinct account of his writings, and of the praiſes beſtowed upon him by the moſt eminent among the ancient Romans as well as Greeks. The very laſt day of his life ſome friends of his ſitting in the chamber fell into a diſcourſe, to which he liſtened with great attention; being aſked the reaſon, he anſwered, "I do this, that when I have learned "whatſoever it is you diſpute about, I may die (31)". A little before his laſt agonies, hearing his brother ſinging an ode of Sappho, he was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he called the young man, and bad him teach it him; and the reaſon of this being alſo demanded, It is, returned he, "that I may learn while I am de-"parting out of this life (32). As to his writings, we ſtand indebted to Laertius for the following account; his laws; orations to the people; poems; the Atlantic hiſtory, which was his laſt work and left unfiniſhed; again attempted by his kinſman Plato, and by him alſo left unfiniſhed; occaſional epiſtles; amongſt theſe there is the following one, preſerved by Laertius, addreſſed to the tyrant of Corinth, who was eſteemed one of the ſeven ſages of Greece; it is very ſhort, and therefore we did not think fit to omit it.

Solon to Periander.

"You ſend me word there are many who plot againſt you; if you "ſhould put them all to death, it would advantage you nothing; "ſome

31 Valer. Maxim. lib. viii. c. 7. (32) Stob. Serm. xxix.

At the very beginning of his adminiſtration, Megacles and his family retired out of the territories of Athens, but they did this with a view only to preſerve themſelves from being cut off to render his principality the ſurer. They did not renounce all hopes of returning to their country, or all correſpondence with their countrymen; on the contrary, he and his aſſociates entered into a treaty with Lycurgus and his party, and having brought them into a ſcheme for overturning Piſiſtratus, they proſecuted this with ſuch an effect, that he found himſelf obliged to retire, and ſeek, as they had done, ſhelter in a foreign clime; and the Athenians, notwithſtanding all the inſtances of love they had ſhewn him, were ſo far wrought on by his enemies, as to order his goods to be publicly ſold. However, though this reſolution was not only taken, but put into execution, there was no body but Callias who would venture to buy any of them; from an apprehenſion, no doubt, that one time or other he would be reſtored [m].

As Megacles and his party had negotiated with Lycurgus the ruin of Piſiſtratus, ſo ſome time afterwards, finding, that Lycurgus and his faction were not implicitly governed

[m] Plut. ubi ſupra. Herodot. lib. i.

"ſome one there may be of thoſe whom you ſuſpect not who plots "againſt you, either fearing himſelf or diſdaining you, or de- "ſirous to ingratiate himſelf with the city, though you have "done him no injury. It is beſt, if you would be free from jea- "louſy, to acquit yourſelf of the cauſe; but if you will conti- "nue in tyranny, take care to provide a greater ſtrength of "ſtrangers than is in your own city; ſo ſhall you need to fear "no man, nor put any to death (33)".

Plato, in various places, commends the wiſdom, learning, and genius of Solon (34), ſo alſo does Ariſtides (35); Dion Chryſoſtom ſpeaks of him with the greateſt reſpect (36), as an orator and legiſlator, as a warrior and a patriot; Demoſthenes has in few words celebrated his praiſes (37); Cicero affirms, that before the times of Solon and Piſiſtratus eloquence was unknown (38); Seneca mentions Solon with great reſpect (39), and Valerius Maximus, as he records many things relating to him, ſo he fails not greatly to commend him. In fine, ancient and modern writers agree, that, without flattery, Solon might be ſtiled brave, wiſe, and honeſt; how ſhall we commend him more?

(33) Diogen. Laert. Vit. Solon. (34) In Amator. de Repub. &c. (35) Orat. Paraſth. (36) Orat. xxi. (37) In Amator. (38) De Orat. (39) Epiſt. xc.

verned by them, they began to treat with Pisistratus, and to offer him, in case he would marry the daughter of Megacles, to reinstate him in his principality, to which Pisistratus readily assented. It is easy to conceive, that this affair required rather fraud than force for its being conducted with success. Pisistratus and Megacles resolved to rest all upon an expedient which Herodotus stiles a ridiculous project; but, ridiculous as it appeared, it succeeded. They found out a woman, whose name was Phya the daughter of Socrates, a man of mean family and fortune; this woman was of prodigious stature, and otherwise very handsome; her they dressed in armour, placed her in a chariot, and having disposed all things so as to make her appear with all possible advantage, they conducted her towards the city, sending heralds before, with orders to speak to the people in these terms, "Give a kind reception, O "Athenians, to Pisistratus, who is so much honoured by "Minerva above all other men, that she herself conde- "scends to bring him back to the citadel"; when the heralds had published this in several places, the report was universally spread, that Minerva was bringing home Pisistratus, and in the city the multitude, believing this woman to be the goddess, addressed her with prayers, and readily received Pisistratus. When he had recovered the sovereignty, he married, as he had promised, the daughter of Megacles, and out of gratitude to Phya gave her in marriage to his son Hipparchus[n].

It was not long Pisistratus enjoyed in quiet that authority to which he had been so oddly restored; we have already observed, that he kept his word to Megacles in marrying his daughter, and it seems Pisistratus conceived that his word bound him to nothing more. But considering that he had children by a former wife, and that Megacles's family were held by the Athenians to be execrable, he never conversed with this new wife of his as a wife, which for a time she concealed; but at length mentioning it to her mother, the family so highly resented his proceeding, that Megacles instantly began to negociate with the malecontents, which Pisistratus perceiving, and seeing what an effect it produced on the minds of the people, he once more quitted Attica voluntarily, and retired to

[n] Herodot. ubi supra. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 21. Valer. Max. lib. i. c. 2.

to Eretria. There, as ſoon as he found himſelf in ſafety, he conſulted with his ſons what courſe was fitteſt to be taken in the preſent ſituation of their affairs. Hippias propoſed the reducing Athens by force, which was agreed to, and immediately Piſiſtratus applied to ſeveral of the Grecian cities to furniſh him with men and money for the carrying this deſign of his into execution. Several yielded him their aſſiſtance as they were deſired, but the Thebans exceeded all others in their liberality. Some troops of Argives were quickly levied by the help of theſe ſubſidies, and all things were much forwarded by the kindneſs of Lygdamis, a Naxian, who, as a volunteer, joined them with a conſiderable number of men, and advanced alſo a large ſum of money. In the eleventh year of their baniſhment, ſays Herodotus, Piſiſtratus, with his family and the army he had drawn together, marched from Eretria and entered Attica. The firſt place they poſſeſſed themſelves of was Marathon, and when they were incamped there they were joined by multitudes of Athenians, who loved the government of Piſiſtratus better than a democracy. It ſeems, the government of that city had not taken any very vigorous ſteps, though they knew that Piſiſtratus was raiſeing money; but when they heard he was marching directly towards Athens, they aſſembled all their forces to defend themſelves and to repel the invaders. In the mean time, Piſiſtratus, advancing with his army from Marathon, arrived at the temple of the Pallenian Minerva; and after they had placed their arms before the gates, Amphilytus, a prophet of Acarnania, by divine impulſe went to him, and pronounced this oracle in Hexameter verſe:

> The net is ſpread, and dexterouſly thrown,
> By the clear moon-light ſhall the tunnies come.

When the prophet had delivered theſe words, Piſiſtratus comprehending the oracle, and ſaying he accepted the omen, broke up with his army. In the mean time, the Athenians having drawn their forces out of the city and taken their dinner, betook themſelves afterwards to dice or ſleep. So that the army of Piſiſtratus, falling upon them by ſurprize, ſoon put them to flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, Piſiſtratus contrived

[o] Herodot. lib. i. c. 21.

contrived an artful ſtratagem in order to diſperſe them ſo intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his ſon to ride before with ſpeed, and in his name to inform all thoſe they ſhould overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every man might return to his own habitation [o]. Thus Piſiſtratus became a third time poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty of Athens, out of which that he might be no more driven, he took a method directly contrary to that which Theſeus made uſe of for aggrandizeing his kingdom; for whereas that prince made the inhabitants of Attica retire from the country, and live together in the city, Piſiſtratus obliged them to addict themſelves again to agriculture, that they might not meet together in the market places and cabal againſt him. By this means he greatly mended the ſtate of the Athenian territories, and procured great plantations of olives to be made all over Attica, which before was not only almoſt void of corn, but alſo bare of trees [p]. He likewiſe commanded, that in the city men ſhould wear a certain kind of ſheep-ſkin veſt reaching only to the knees, which in ſucceeding times became proverbially the habit of ſlavery [q]. The Athenians being ſo nice in reſpect to liberty, that if things right in themſelves were commanded by perſons void of lawful authority, they looked on obedience as the greateſt miſery. On this account it was, that Piſiſtratus's laws againſt idleneſs were held tyrannical, though they were enacted merely in ſupport of thoſe of Solon. He received as prince of Athens the tenth part of every man's rents, and even of the fruits of his grounds, which, though applied, as the ancient revenues were, viz. to the ſervice of the ſtate, ſeemed to the Athenians an intolerable grievance. It happened once, that Piſiſtratus being in the country, perceived an old man buſy in creeping over the rocks and picking ſomething, Piſiſtratu, aſked him what he was doing in that uncouth place, and what were the fruits of his labour. Troubles and a few plants of wild ſage, replied the old man, and of theſe Piſiſtratus muſt have the tenth: to which Piſiſtratus made him no reply, but on his return to the city diſcharged him from paying this duty [r]. He endeavoured by all means poſſible to eradicate the fierceneſs of the Athenians, but to little purpoſe, for as he was averſe to ſeverity,

[o] Herodot. lib. i. c. 6. [p] Dion. Chryſoſt. Orat vii. Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert. xiii. [q] Suidas in voce Κατουηκοι [r] Zenobius. Cent. iv. Prov. 76.

ty, ſo it was a difficult thing for them to learn ſubmiſſion. Some young men, who had been drinking at a feaſt, in their return met his wife and inſulted her groſsly; the next day, however, when their ſpirits were cooler, they went in the moſt humble manner to aſk him pardon. Piliſtratus heard their apology very graciouſly, and when they had done, I would adviſe you, gentlemen, ſaid he, to behave for the future more modeſtly; but as for my wife ſhe was not abroad yeſterday [s]. He adorned the city with fine edifices, particularly the temple of the Pythian Apollo; and when the Athenians, to ſhew their averſion to him, went and eaſed themſelves there, he firſt endeavoured by gentle means to reclaim them from ſo ſcandalous a practice, and finding this had no effect, he commanded a herald to make proclamation, that ſuch as for the future were guilty of that offence ſhould ſuffer death [t]. He laid the foundations of the famous temple of Jupiter Olympius, mentioned before in our deſcription of the city of Athens. He was the firſt who built a library for public uſe, and directed, that Homer's poems ſhould be digeſted into regular order as we have them at preſent. In all other reſpects he was a great encourager of learning, and converſed familiarly with Crotoniates the epic poet, who wrote the adventures of the Argonauts [u]. As to his military virtues, we have already ſhewn what a ſhare he had in the reduction of Salamis; he is alſo reported by Herodotus to have conquered the iſland of Naxus, which he put into the hands of Lygdamis; he alſo conquered the city of Sigeium, and purified the iſland of Delos; ſo that on the whole, it ſeems he wanted nothing but a legal title to have rendered him an excellent prince [x]. He not only maintained the laws as became him in his ſtation, but when he heard he was accuſed in the court of Areopagus of a murder, he came like a private man and ſubmitted himſelf to judgment [y]. At another time having ſome way offended certain Athenians of principal dignity, and they retiring to the caſtle of Phylæ, he went thither the next day with a cloak-bag on his back; when they aſked him what he meant, Either, ſaid he, to engage you to go back with me to Athens, or to ſtay with you my ſelf, and therefore you ſee I am come provided [z]. From the time of his firſt poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty to his death there intervened

[s] Plutarch. Apothegm. [t] And. Schot. Append. Vatic. Prov. Cent i. p. 82 [u] Suidas. Virtuvius. Præt. lib. vii. A. Gellius. Noct. Attic. vi. c 17. [x] Herodot. lib. i. [y] Ariſt. Polit. l. v. c. 12. [z] Plutarch. Apothegm.

vened thirty-three years, of which he reigned but seventeen, as we learn from Aristotle, and consequently his first and second exile included sixteen years; as to the latter, Herodotus tells us expressly, that it lasted eleven years; consequently his first exile was five years only [a]. He left behind him, amongst other children, two sons, both men of great capacity, viz. Hippias and Hipparchus, but which of these was the eldest is a point never to be determined. Thucydides more than once affirms that it was Hippias, and charges such as believe the contrary with being in a gross error [b]. Polyænus says the same thing [c], yet Plato is as positive that Hipparchus was the eldest [d]. Ælian follows him, and Heraclidus Ponticus seems to be of the same opinion. Thucydides supports his account of the matter by some arguments, which in the opinion of the learned Meursius are not very conclusive. Without troubling the reader farther with so perplexed a business, we will proceed to the relation of facts better asserted (O).

The

[a] Polit. l. v c. 12. Herodot. l. i. [b] Bell. Pelop. lib. i. & lib. vi. [c] Stratagem. lib. v. c. 14. [d] In Hipparch.

(O) It would have interrupted the current of our history too much to have dwelt therein on the family affairs of Pisistratus, and yet it is necessary, in order to have a perfect comprehension of the affairs of the Athenians during this space of time, that all the circumstances mentioned in ancient authors relating to the Pisistratidæ should be somewhere preserved and explained. As to the descent of Pisistratus himself, we see from his own letter to Solon that he was of the house of Codrus, the last king of Athens. Ancient authors assure us, that he was of the same family with Nestor (40), so that in point of nobility of birth, few princes have had greater cause to value themselves than Pisistratus. His father's name was Hippocrates, as we are more than once told by Herodotus; and as the ancients were very circumspect in noting whatever had relation to the birth of their children, so as to the nativity of Pisistratus something very extraordinary is recorded. Hippocrates, being at the celebration of the Olympic games, caused a victim which he had slain there to be put into a cauldron of water, which immediately began to boil without the assistance of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, being present when this prodigy happened, immediately addressed himself to the Athenian, advising him not to marry any woman by whom he might have children; in case he was married to such a one to divorce her, or, if he had a son,

(40) Herodot. lib. 5. c. 65. Eustath. ad Iliad. γ.

THE brothers Hipparchus and Hippias ſhared, as moſt think, the ſupreme authority between them, ſome ſay, that

to abdicate him ; but Hippocrates did not take his advice, for his wife being not long after delivered of Piſiſtratus, he educated the child with great care ; nor is it unlikely, that Hippocrates apprehended why the Lacedæmonian gave him this advice, ſince he called his ſon after the name of the ſon of Neſtor, that he might continuallly remember his lineage, and be from thence excited to hope and to do great things (41). As to his mother, we are not acquainted either with her name or family, or indeed with any thing relating to her, except the following paſſage, which ſhews that ſhe lived to be pretty far in years. When her ſon was poſſeſſed of the principality of Athens, ſhe fell in love with a young man with whom ſhe converſed ſecretly and with great caution ; however, Piſiſtratus had intelligence thereof, he therefore invited the young man to an entertainment, and when they roſe from table, What think you, my friend, ſaid Piſiſtratus, of your treatment to day ? That it was moſt excellent, Sir, anſwered he. Why then, replied, Piſiſtratus, you may be aſſured, that you ſhall meet with the like fare every day, as long as you pleaſe my mother (42). As to his affability and generoſity we have ſpoken ſufficiently already; but it may not be amiſs to note, that the wiſeſt, both of the Greeks and Romans, have left us high panegyrics on the eloquence of Piſiſtratus, which they agree was the chief inſtrument he uſed in acquiring the dominion of his country (43). And that it was wonderfully great, appears from another teſtimony ſtill ſtronger than the former, viz. from the mighty apprehenſions the Athenians were in, that Pericles would attempt to make himſelf a prince, becauſe in his countenance and manner of ſpeaking he was ſaid to reſemble Piſiſtratus (44). Cicero, writing to Atticus concerning Cæſar's conqueſt of the commonwealth, tells him, that it was yet uncertain, whether the victor would prove a Phalaris or a Piſiſtratus (45), whereby he plainly means to delineate the worſt of tyrannies and the beſt, It may therefore be affirmed of Piſiſtratus, that of all the ſovereigns who illegally acquired their principalities, he governed with the greateſt juſtice, ſince both Solon and Cicero teſtify as much, and ſince it was thought the higheſt compliment that could be paid Cæſar, that he governed like another Piſiſtratus. We have ſeen many inſtances of his humanity ; there is yet another which ought not to be ſuppreſſed. Thraſibulus or Thraſimedes was in love with Piſiſtratus's daughter, and it ſeems was not

(41) Herodot lib. 1. Diog. Laertius in vit. Chilonis. (42) Plutarch. Apotheg. (43) Dion. Chryſ. Orat. xxii. Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii. c. 34. Iſocrat, in Panathen, (44) Plutarch. in vita Periclis. (45) lib. vii. Epiſt. 20.

that the former only had the title, and others, that Piſiſtratus bequeathed his authority, not only to theſe two, but alſo to his third ſon Theſſalus [g]; clear it is, that

 Hippar-

[g] Athenæus Deipnoſ. lib, xiii. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Herac. Pont. Fragm.

not hated by her. When therefore ſhe was going in a public proceſſion to ſacrifice the young man imprudently kiſſed her, with which Piſiſtratus's family was ſo much diſguſted, that they entreated him to puniſh ſeverely this inſolent offender; to which Piſiſtratus mildly anſwered, If we are ſevere to thoſe who love us, what ſhall we do to thoſe that hate us? Thraſimedes, either encouraged by this, or diſtracted by his paſſion, drew in ſome young men of his acquaintance to aſſiſt him in carrying off the lady; this they performed as ſhe came to the ſhore to offer ſacrifice to the ſea, and having conveyed her into a bark, made all the ſail they could for Ægina. Hippias, being at that time employed in ſcowering the ſeas of pyrates, without knowing any thing of what happened, boarded this bark, and recovered his ſiſter. When the delinquents were brought before Piſiſtratus and threatened with death, they could by no means be induced to acknowledge their offence. Piſiſtratus, when he had a while conſidered them, told Thraſimedes that he beſtowed on him his daughter in marriage, that no broils might be created among the Athenians on account of his family; and by this means bound the relations and friends of that young man for ever to his intereſt (46). Amongſt the worthy acts of this great man, his collecting the works of Homer is generally looked upon as one of the chief. We think it therefore neceſſary to inform our readers how this was performed, the rather, becauſe it is contained in an extract from a Greek book, the whole of which is hitherto unpubliſhed; and this very extract not eaſily met with. Our author ſays, that Piſiſtratus, conſidering the various ways by which Homer's poems had been corrupted, and fearing leſt in the end they ſhould be totally loſt, cauſed public notice to be given throughout Greece, that all who were poſſeſſed of any genuine works of Homer ſhould bring them to him, promiſing to give them ſo much a line, which he punctually performed, even where ſeveral perſons brought the ſame verſes; becauſe to the firſt the money was due, and the latter he ſaid deſerved it for their good will; he cauſed the whole to be reviſed by the moſt experienced critics, amongſt whom Zenodotus and Ariſtarchus were the chief (47). He is ſaid to have had three wives, two before he arrived

(46) Polyæn. Strateg. lib. v. c. 14. (47) Diomed. in Comment. Dionyſ. Thrac. de Arte Gram. apud. Meurſ. in Præfat. Gronov. Theſ. Grec. vol. iv.

Hipparchus and Hippias lived and reigned together; as to the former, he was a perſon of great ſweetneſs of temper, a mighty favourer of learning, and alſo himſelf a very learned man. He directed, that the rhapſodiſts, a ſort of bards by profeſſion, ſhould at the great feaſt ſtiled Panathenæa ſing all the poems of Homer, that the Athenians might be generally inſtructed both in the ſciences and in the moral conduct of life. He treated Simonides the poet with great kindneſs, and kept him always near his perſon, and ſent a galley on purpoſe to bring the celebrated Anacreon to Athens [h], Onomacritus was another of his favourites, but he having been caught in the fact of interpolating the oracles of Muſæus, Hipparchus not only diſmiſſed him his court, but baniſhed him Athens [i]. So aſſiduous was this prince in cultivating the minds of the people, that he cauſed in city and country, but eſpecially in the latter, ſtatues of Mercury to be ſet up, and certain wiſe counſels in elegiac verſe to be inſcribed on both ſides of them. Sometimes there was only a ſhort ſaying, ſuch as

[h] Plato, ubi ſupra. [i] Herodot. lib. vii.

rived at their ſovereignty, and the third the daughter of Megacles, whom, as we have ſhewn, he married merely to keep his word. By the firſt he had Hipparchus, whom Juſtin calls Diocles, and Hippias, but her name is not known; the ſecond was called Timonaſſa, an Argive by birth, by whom he had Jophon and Theſſalus; when he was about to marry this woman, his ſons came to him and aſked him, If any miſbehaviour of theirs had induced him to think of another marriage? No, anſwered he, 'I approve your conduct ſo much, that I would have more children like you' (48). Yet he refuſed to have children by his laſt wife, becauſe her family, though noble, was ſtained with an indelible mark of infamy among the Athenians. The name of his daughter is not known. Beſides theſe children by his wives, he had a baſtard ſon by an Argive woman, whoſe name was Hegiſtratus, to whom he left the principality of Sigeium, whither his ſon Hippias retired when expelled by the Athenians (49). As to the dates when the ſeveral memorable tranſactions above-cited happened, authors are not thoroughly agreed about them, we ſhall therefore poſtpone what we have to ſay of them, till we come to the death of Hippias, and then conſider the whole matter together.

(48) Plutarch. de vit. Caton. (49) Herodot. Thucyd. &c. ubi ſupra.

as, ‘ This is the precept of Hipparchus, be thou ſtrictly ‘ juſt, or, deceive not thy friend’. On account therefore of theſe ſhining virtues he was greatly admired by his citizens, and the principality of the Piſiſtratidæ ſeemed to be thoroughly and quietly eſtabliſhed [k]. But when it was leaſt expected, a conſpiracy was formed for taking off both the brothers, which ſucceeded in reſpect to Hipparchus, and narrowly miſſed with regard to Hippias. Several authors report this fact with variety of circumſtances; as to the moſt material, however, they are pretty well agreed, and they are theſe: There were two young men in Athens, Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, the former was exquiſitely beautiful in his perſon, and on that account, according to the infamous cuſtom of the Greeks, violently beloved of the other; this Harmodius was alſo beloved by Hipparchus, who, if we may believe Thucydides, forced him; Ariſtogiton grievouſly reſented this, and with the injured youth determined to revenge it. Another accident concurred to heighten their reſentment, Hipparchus finding that Harmodius endeavoured to avoid him, publickly affronted him, by not permitting his ſiſter to carry the offering of Minerva, as if ſhe was a perſon unworthy of that office. The two young men, not daring to ſhew any public ſigns of reſentment, conſulted privately with their friends, among whom it was reſolved, at the approaching feſtival of the Panathenæa, when the citizens were allowed to appear in arms, to attempt, by the death of both the tyrants, to reſtore Athens to liberty; the conſpirators believing that the people would be unanimous in ſupport of a deſign ſo manifeſtly calculated for their advantage. When the day came appointed for putting this deſign into execution, and the conſpiracy appeared, as it had been agreed on, near the perſon of Hipparchus, they perceived at a diſtance one of their own number talking very familiarly with Hippias; this amazed them, they were afraid that he had diſcovered to him the conſpirators, taking courage therefore from the ſuppoſed deſperate ſtate of their affairs, they inſtantly fell on Hipparchus, and with a multitude of wounds diſpatched him. The people, however, did not ſecond them in this exploit, but ſuffered Harmodius to be killed upon the ſpot by Hipparchus's guard, and haveing ſeized Ariſtogiton themſelves, delivered him up [n]. Herodotus,

[k] Plato, ubi ſupra. Ælian, var. Hiſt. lib. xi. 8.

[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Plato, ubi ſupra.

rodotus, who was very curious in picking up ſtrange ſtories, relates a very odd one in relation to this tranſaction; Hipparchus, he tells us, in the night preceding the day on which he was killed, beheld in a dream a tall handſome youth ſtanding by him, who repeated diſtinctly theſe obſcure lines;

Lion unmov'd, ſuſtain the greateſt ill;
For puniſhment attends injuſtice ſtill.

At break of day he acquainted ſuch as had ſkill in dreams with what he had ſeen: what their interpretation was, Herodotus does not inform us; he adds, that at length Hipparchus, deſpiſing this omen, went to celebrate the feaſt, and was there ſlain in the manner we have related [o]. Hippias behaved on this occaſion with great prudence; he diſſembled his grief for his brother's death, that he might the better preſerve himſelf and family: he approached the great croud of people with his guards, and having picked out ſuch as either their looks or their wearing daggers engaged him to believe conſpirators, he diſmiſſed the reſt [p]. As for the Athenians in general, though they ſeemed to have a high eſteem for the Piſiſtratidæ, and had been governed by them with great gentleneſs for the ſpace of a long ſeries of years, and had not máde any general inſurrection in order to favour the attempt of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, yet they carried their reſpect for them after their deaths to a height ſcarce to be accounted for; they cauſed their praiſes to be ſung at the Panathenæa [q]; they forbad any citizen to call his ſlave by either of their names [r]; they erected brazen ſtatues for them in the forum, which ſtatues, as Pliny informs us, were the work of Praxiteles [s]; theſe ſtatues Xerxes afterwards carried into Aſia, from whence they were ſent back to Athens, either by Alexander [t], Antiochus [u], or Seleucus [x]; for authors do not agree which. They likewiſe granted ſeveral immunities and honorary privileges to the deſcendents of theſe patriots, and did all in their power to make their memory venerable, as we ſhall ſee elſewhere [y] (P).

[o] Herodot. lib. v. Thucydid. lib. vi. [q] Dion. Chryſ. Orat. xi. Philoſt in vit. Apoll. lib. vii. c. 2. [r] Liban. Declam. xxix. [s] H. N. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. [t] Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. iii. [u] Pauſan. in Atticis. [x] Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 10. [y] Demoſt. Orat. in Leptin.

(P) The hiſtory of Hipparchus's murder is variouſly reported. Thucydides ſays expreſly, that Harmodius, who was in the flower of

THE ſupreme power being now in the hands of Hippias, he began to alter his conduct towards the people, and to treat them with a ſeverity unknown to his family before, and which was the worſe borne, becauſe himſelf had been ſo mild a prince. The firſt effects of this change in his temper fell upon thoſe concerned in the late conſpiracy, he ordered Ariſtogiton to be put to the torture, in order to extort from him the names of thoſe who were privy to this tranſaction. This man, as ſoon as he began to feel the torments which were prepared for him, named ſome of Hippias's beſt friends, who were immediately put to death. He then named more, who received the ſame fate, and when Hippias aſked him if there were not ſtill ſome others, he replied ſmiling, 'I know of none now, but yourſelf, 'that deſerves to ſuffer death [z].' But it was not Ariſtogiton only who triumphed over the cruelty of Hippias; a woman he kept, whoſe name was Leæna, behaved with no leſs intrepidity than he. Hippias having directed her to be tortured in order to extort diſcoveries, ſhe bore it patiently as long as ſhe was able, but when ſhe found ſhe could endure it no longer, ſhe bit off her tongue, and ſpit it out that it might not be in her power to declare any

[z] Polyæn. Stratag. lib. i. c. 22.

of his age, was beloved by Ariſtogiton a citizen of the middle rank, and aſcribes the murder of Hipparchus to his rival's hatred (50). Ariſtotle calls Harmodius and Ariſtogiton lovers (51), and ſo does Maximus Tyrius. Juſtin differs from every body, and gives quite another turn to the whole affair. After Piſiſtratus's death, Diocles, one of his ſons, ſays he, having raviſhed a virgin, was killed by the brother of the maid (52). He had this probably from Trogus Pompeius, whoſe work he abridged; but where he had it is not known. Ariſtogiton is by ſome authors ſaid to have been an humble dependent on Harmodius, and his miſtreſs Leæna no better than a ſinging woman who uſed to attend at feaſts. On the whole therefore, whatever honours the Athenians thought fit to decree theſe men, their conſpiracy ſeems rather the effects of paſſion, than any deſire to do their country good; or, at beſt, the latter was pretended to cover the former; but it ſuited the Athenians, who were violent enemies to the government of a ſingle perſon, to magnify this action as glorious, and to give the actors therein the title of heroes.

(50) Thucyd. lib. vi. (51) Rhetor. lib. ii. (52) lib. ii. c. 9.

thing to the prejudice of the man ſhe loved. The Athenians, conceiving it indecent to ſet up the ſtatue of a lewd woman in their citadel, contented themſelves with erecting that of a lioneſs without a tongue, alluding to her name, on which was engraven theſe words, Her tongue herſelf bit off [a]. This conſpiracy being, as Hippias conceived, thoroughly quaſhed, he took all the meaſures, which human policy could ſuggeſt, to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dignity; he contracted leagues with foreign princes, he encreaſed his revenues by various methods, though till then he had been contented with the twentieth part of every man's annual income; he obliged the Athenians to bring in their ſilver coin at a certain price, and coined new. Theſe violent methods ſoon put an end to a government, the lenity of which had alone preſerved it ſo long. Hippias held the ſovereignty only three years after the demiſe of his brother, and in the fourth was expelled [b] (Q).

We

[a] Plut. de Garr. [b] Herodot. lib. v. c. 45.

(Q) It may ſeem a little ſtrange, that in ſpeaking of the government of the Piſiſtratidæ we have aſſerted, that they did not greatly violate the laws or conſtitution of their country. In order to explain this, we muſt deſcend a little into the particulars of Piſiſtratus's policy. He pretended, as we ſee in his letter to Solon, to act as a lawful monarch, yet he did not degrade any of the magiſtrates of the commonwealth, but ſuffered them to continue veſted with the ſame power they had before, taking care, however, that the archon ſhould be either of his family, or one whom he could depend on, ſo that he at once preſerved that ſuperiority over his countrymen which he affected, and that form of rule which was ſo pleaſing to them. That all the family of Piſiſtratus had in their turns a ſhare in the adminiſtration, might be made appear from various teſtimonies; at preſent we will inſiſt only on one. Piſiſtratus, the ſon of Hippias, and grand ſon of the great Piſiſtratus, as we learn from Thucydides (55), placed, during the time that he was archon, an altar in the forum of the twelve gods, and another in the temple of the Pythian Apollo; the inſcription on the former the Athenians demoliſhed, but that on the latter they ſuffered to remain, which runs thus: This monument, during the time of his magiſtracy, Piſiſtratus the ſon of Hippias placed in the temple of the Pythian Apollo. It is true, his name is not found in the table of archons, becauſe the year in which he was archon could not be ſettled; however, the authority before

(55) Thucyd. lib. vi.

WE have already obſerved, that Megacles, who was of the family of Alcmæon, left his country, when Piſiſtratus was a ſecond time reſtored, but he and thoſe who were with him carried away a great ſum of money; the Alcmæonidæ, for ſo the family of Megacles from their great anceſtor Alcmæon were ſtiled, ſettled at Lipſydrum in Pæonia, and there gave refuge to all who fled from Athens, which were not a few; for Piſiſtratus, as ſome ſay, or as others report, Hippias, baniſhed all that depended on that family, and ſuffered not ſo much as the dead to reſt in their graves, on the old ſuperſtitious account, it may be, of their being thought execrable [c]. This family reſiding, as we have ſaid, at Lipſydrum, buſied themſelves intirely in contriving means for expelling the Piſiſtratidæ, and at laſt deviſed a method which proved not unſucceſsful. They agreed with the Amphictyons or ſtates-general of Greece to rebuild the temple of Delphi; as they were poſſeſſed of great riches, they executed what they undertook with much greater magnificence than they were tied to by their contract, and particularly faced the frontiſpiece with Parian marble inſtead of common ſtone, to the uſe of which only they were obliged. While they were thus employed in the public ſervice of Greece, they ſerved themſelves too a little, for they corrupted the Pythia, i. e. ſhe who gave out the oracles, and engaged her to exhort all the Lacedæmonians who came to conſult the oracle, either on behalf of the ſtate or on their private account, to deliver Athens. This had the effect they expected, for the Lacedæmonians, finding this admonition inceſſantly inculcated, ſent Anchimolius, a man of great quality, at the head of an army into Attica to perform what the oracle had directed, notwithſtanding the Piſiſtratidæ were at that time their good friends and allies [d]. Hippias, however, receiving advice of theſe proceedings, ſent to the Theſſalians, who were his confederates, to demand their aſſiſtance, who

The Piſiſtratidæ expelled Athens, and the democracy reſtored.

[c] Suidas. [d] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

before produced may be aſſuredly relied on. The exceſſes committed by Hippias, after the death of his brother, are evident proofs of the mildneſs of the adminſtration preceding it; for few things that he did would have been thought extraordinary in another king. We will conclude this note with obſerving, that Auguſtus Cæſar affected, like Piſiſtratus, to leave the popular magiſtrates and the ſenate in the nominal poſſeſſion of their authority, tho' at the ſame time he held the ſupreme power himſelf.

who readily ſent him a thouſand horſe under the command of Cineas one of their princes. A ſhort time after, Anchimolius with his fleet arrived on the Athenian coaſt, and immediately after the army landed and incamped. The Piſiſtratidæ did not, however, abandon Athens, but Hippias, having cleared the adjacent country in ſuch a manner that the Theſſalian horſe might act with eaſe, attacked the Lacedæmonians ſuddenly, routed them with a great ſlaughter, ſlew their general Anchimolius, and obliged the ſhattered remains of his army to betake themſelves to their ſhips. The body of the Spartan general was honourably interred near the temple of Hercules in the Cynoſarges. The Lacedæmonians, incenſed at this unfortunate expedition, determined to ſend another army into Attica, which accordingly they did under their king Cleomenes, who marched by land, and having at his entrance into the Athenian territories defeated the Theſſalian horſe, who thereupon retired precipitately into their own country, he made uſe of this opportunity to beſiege Hippias, who had retired within the Pelaſgic wall; this ſiege, however, could not have produced any great matter, Hippias and his forces being well provided with all things within, Cleomenes and his army deſtitute of all things without; but an accident changed the ſcene, and conſtrained Hippias to abandon Athens. The Piſiſtratidæ were ſo careful of their children, that to prevent any unlucky accident from befalling them, they attempted to ſend them out of Attica; which meaſure of theirs, though intended for the preſervation of their offspring, proved the ruin of themſelves, their children falling into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. The Piſiſtratidæ, retaining ſtill the ſame affection for their children, agreed by treaty to retire in five days out of Attica in order to redeem them [e]. This accordingly they did, nor were they in any danger of wanting a place of refuge, the princes of Theſſaly invited them into their country, the king of Macedon offered them a city and territory if they would retire into his dominions [f]. But Hippias and his family choſe rather to go to the city of Sigeium, which Piſiſtratus had conquered and left behind him to his poſterity, Herodotus ſays to Hegiſtratus his natural ſon. From this time forwards the Athenians purſued this family with implacable hatred, retaining ſuch a ſenſe of their uſurpation, that, leſt other eminent perſons ſhould imitate them, and

[e] Ariſtoph. Lyſiſt. Pauſan. in Lacon. [f] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

and through their intereſt in the people aſſume the ſovereignty, they were moſt ready to baniſh even the moſt worthy of their citizens, that at all events they might be ſafe, as we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſhew in the ſucceeding pages of this hiſtory.

THE Athenians did not enjoy an uninterrupted quiet, as they expected, after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ. The people were quickly divided into two factions, at the head of the one was Clyſthenes, the moſt eminent of the Alcmæonidæ, and at the head of the other Iſagoras the ſon of Tirſander, a man of great quality and in high eſteem with the nobility of Athens. Clyſthenes, who was a perſon of great parts, as we may gueſs from his having a principal hand in corrupting the Pythia, which was the prime cauſe of Hippias's expulſion, applied himſelf chiefly to the people, and, in order thoroughly to engage them in his intereſt, ſought by all methods poſſible to encreaſe their power. With this view he altered many things in Solon's ſcheme of government; for whereas till this time the Athenian tribes had been but four in number, he augmented them to ten, and encreaſed the ſenate from four hundred to five. Iſagoras, penetrating his deſign, and readily conceiving that by this courſe he would get the better of him and his faction, immediately reſolved to ſeek aid from the Lacedæmonians. This ſeemed to him the more eaſy, becauſe in their laſt expedition he had contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with Cleomenes their king; he likewiſe deviſed a very proper expedient for the expulſion of his rival, viz. the ſo often mentioned ſtory of the putting to death Cylon's aſſociates after their taking ſanctuary in the temple of Minerva; but, as we have heretofore obſerved, the Alcmæonidæ were of the ſame family with Megacles, who was principally concerned in that tranſaction: the Lacedæmonians readily came into Iſagoras's propoſition, and Cleomenes ſuddenly diſpatched a herald to Athens, with a declaration of war in caſe the Alcmæonidæ were not immediately baniſhed. The Athenians, either dreading the Lacedæmonian power, or being tired already of Clyſthenes, made no great difficulty of the thing, but to avoid a war baniſhed their benefactors. The worſt of it was, that this did not anſwer their end, for Cleomenes, at the head of a Spartan army, ſoon after entered Attica. On his arrival at Athens he drove ſeven hundred families into baniſhment, excluſive of thoſe whom the Athenians had before baniſhed with Clyſthenes; after this he would have

diſſolved the ſenate, and have veſted the government in three hundred of the principal perſons of Iſagoras's faction; this was puſhing the matter too far; the Athenians therefore perceiving that either they muſt ſubmit to ſlavery or reſiſt the Lacedæmonian, immediately took up arms, and conſtrained Cleomenes and his troops to retire, together with Iſagoras and his friends, into the citadel, where they beſieged them for two days. On the third the king of Lacedæmon, being now convinced that force would do nothing with the Athenians, ſurrendered upon theſe terms, that all who were in the citadel, ſhould have leave to retire out of Attica unmoleſted. The Athenians, however, fell upon ſuch as were ſeparated from the army, and put them to death without mercy; amongſt theſe was Timeſitheus the brother of Cleomenes, ſo that the Athenians no longer kept any meaſures with the Lacedæmonians, looking upon them as avowed enemies, who above all things ſought to ſubvert that democracy, of which they were ſo fond, and to conſtitute an ariſtocracy, which in truth was ever the aim of the Spartans, who, where-ever they had authority, ſet up that form of rule. One reaſon of which among others was this, that they could the better depend on the friendſhip of ſuch ſtates than ſuch as were governed by the people, who very ſeldom know their true intereſt, and are frequently prevailed on to change their councils. But to return to the current of our hiſtory.

CLEOMENES and his Spartans had no ſooner quitted the Athenian territories, than the people of that country recalled Clyſthenes and all the families they had ſent into exile, that they might be the better able to ſupport a war which they foreſaw they ſhould be engaged in. Their conjectures were perfectly well founded, Cleomenes raiſed forces throughout all Peloponneſus, though without declaring poſitively his intention, which was to make Iſagoras, who was ſtill with him, tyrant of Athens. When all things were ready, the Lacedæmonian king engaged the Bœotians on one ſide, and the Chalcidians on the other, to attack the Athenians, while he at the head of the grand army entered the country of Eleuſis. The Athenians, knowing that it was impoſſible for them to ſet on foot armies ſufficient to look all their enemies in the face, reſolved to leave their territories to the mercy of the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and with all the forces they could draw together to march againſt Cleomenes. This reſolution of theirs they carried accordingly into execution, but before the

the armies were ready to engage, the Corinthians, who were among the forces of Cleomenes, began to doubt the juſtice of their cauſe, and, thinking it ſafeſt not to act where they were doubtful, marched back to their own country. Damaratus the ſon of Ariſton, the other king of Sparta and collegue of Cleomenes, was alſo againſt this expedition; and his oppoſition was the more remarkable, becauſe till then he had never differed with his collegue. The confederates obſerving, that neither the Lacedæmonian princes could agree amongſt themſelves, or prevail upon the Corinthians to remain with the army, began to diſtaſte this buſineſs, and, dropping, off by degrees, put the Athenians out or fear.

When the Spartans and their allies were withdrawn, the people of Athens determined to revenge themſelves upon the Chalcidians, againſt whom the army marched immediately; but finding the Bœotians had aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces between them and the Euripus, they determined to attack them, which they did accordingly with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Bœotians were intirely routed, a great number of them ſlain, and ſeven hundred taken priſoners. This victory opened a free paſſage into Eubœa, whither the Athenians paſſed over the ſame day, and falling upon the Chalcidians, obtained a glorious victory over them, taking a vaſt number of priſoners, whom with the Bœotians they carried back with them to Athens, leaving in Eubœa four thouſand men. All the priſoners taken in this battle the Athenians put in irons, though they afterwards ſet them at liberty on receiving two minæ for each man by way of ranſom. The fetters, however, they hung up in the citadel, and having conſecrated the tenth part of what they received for their ranſom, they purchaſed therewith a chariot with four horſes a-breaſt, which they ſet up in the portico of the citadel with this inſcription:

Warm with juſt rage, when the Athenian youth
O'ercame Bœotian and Chalcidian bands;
Their foes in fetters bound; to Pallas then
Theſe, as the tenth of all their ſpoils, they plac'd.

This happy ſucceſs of the Athenian arms falling out in a ſhort time after the expulſion of the Piſiſtratidæ, Herodotus makes the following obſervation thereupon; "thus the "affairs of the Athenians flouriſhed, yet they are not the "only example of this kind. For all places abound in "inſtances of the proſperity that attends an equal diſtribu-"tion of power. Under their tyrants indeed they were

"not

" not inferior in war to any of their neighbours: But they " had no sooner freed themselves from that servitude, than " they far surpassed all the rest, and became the principal " nation of Greece; which manifestly shews, that as long " as they were oppressed they acted remissly, and would " not exert their courage to the utmost, because they " knew their victories could only redound to the advantage " of their masters; whereas, after they had recovered their " liberty, every man contended who should do best, be- " cause they fought for themselves. And such was the state " of the Athenian affairs " [g]. That Herodotus had reason to introduce this reflection here, appears from the subsequent conduct of the people of Athens, who, no longer passive under any affronts, took up arms frequently against her insulting neighbours, and forced them to be both quiet and submissive.

The war with Æginæans.

The Bœotians, stung with the indignities offered to their countrymen, when made prisoners by the Athenians, resolved to revenge themselves; and, as the custom of those times was, before they began the war, sent to consult the oracle at Delphos. Having received its answer, and spent a considerable time in consulting on its meaning, they at last resolved to engage the inhabitants of Ægina to invade Attica at the same time, which it was easy for them to do, lying but a few miles from that coast. This nation, having an hereditary hatred to the Athenians, and being elate on account of their great wealth, readily embraced the proposal; and while the people of Athens bent all their attention towards the Bœotian war, landed a considerable army on the opposite side, and wasted all the sea-coasts. The Athenians immediately took fire at this, but sending to-and-fro to Delphi before they equipped a fleet against Ægina, they had suddenly a new affair upon their hands.

Cleomenes, when he returned to Sparta, after his unsuccessful expedition, produced certain oracles, which he said he had found in the citadel of Athens, while he was besieged therein; the purport of these oracles was, that Athens would in time rival Sparta. On the back of this came out the discovery of Clysthenes's confederacy with the priestess of Apollo, whereby the Lacedæmonians had been engaged to drive the Pisistratidæ out of Athens, or, in other words, to sacrifice their fast friends to such as by their interest were bound to be their enemies. The Spartans, repenting

[g] Herodot. lib. v.

penting ſorely of the folly they had committed, ſent for Hippias from Sigeium, in order to reſtore him to his principality. He readily obeyed their ſummons, and, though it coſt him a long voyage by ſea, came in perſon to Lacedæmon, where the kings of Sparta, and the deputies of the ſtates in alliance with them, were in deep conſultation. Socles the Corinthian made a long harangue againſt the propoſition for reſtoring Hippias, which had ſuch an influence on the deputies from the reſt of the confederates, that the Lacedæmonians found it impoſſible to engage them in this deſign, and were therefore conſtrained to abandon it themſelves, ſo that Hippias was obliged to return to Sigeium, without relinquiſhing, however, his hopes of one day reducing Athens.

ARISTAGORAS the Mileſian having ſet on foot a revolt in Ionia, and having failed in his attempt to engage the Lacedæmonians to abet it, came to Athens, and, as Herodotus obſerves, found it eaſier to manage all the citizens thereof by his eloquence, than to perſuade the Lacedæmonian king. In conſequence of his fine ſpeeches, they decreed, that twenty ſhips ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Ionians under the command of Melanthius, an Athenian nobleman univerſally eſteemed; by the aſſiſtance of which fleet the Ionians did many great exploits, and amongſt the reſt ſacked Sardis, of which when the Perſian king had advice, he declared himſelf the ſworn enemy of Athens, and ſolemnly beſought God, that he might one day have it in his power to be revenged of them. This was the ſource of thoſe wars which followed afterwards between the Perſians and the Greeks, and which were ſo fatal to both nations. In the end, however, the Ionians were unſucceſsful, and the Perſians reduced them again under their yoke. **The Ionian war.**

WHEN the Ionian war was ended, the Perſian king ſent to demand Earth and Water, as tokens of ſubmiſſion, from the Greeks, to which, out of fear of his mighty power at ſea, moſt of the iſlanders yielded, and amongſt the reſt the inhabitants of Ægina. The Athenians, as ſoon as they received notice of this, took it into their heads, that this nation had ſubmitted themſelves to the great king, that they might be at liberty to act againſt the Athenians, under colour of their being ſubjects to the Perſian crown. On this account they, that is the Athenians, ſent embaſſadors to Sparta to accuſe the inhabitants of Ægina of treachery towards the Greeks. The Spartans upon this complaint ſent their king Cleomenes to Ægina, who

on

on his arrival attempted to ſeize the perſons principally concerned in making their ſubmiſſion to the Perſians. But when he attempted this, Crius the ſon of Polycritus interpoſed, and told him, he ſhould not carry away any of his countrymen, becauſe he apprehended what he did was of his own head, and not by any commiſſion from the Lacedæmonians. This exceedingly irritated Cleomenes, who notwithſtanding was conſtrained to return without effecting what he deſigned; his collegue Damaratus having accuſed him at home. But having after he came back procured his collegue to be depoſed, and his own kinſman Leotychides to be crowned in his ſtead, he brought the laſt mentioned prince with him into the iſland of Ægina, and having ſeized ten of the principal perſons of that iſland, and amongſt them Crius before mentioned, he brought them away priſoners, and delivered them up to the Athenians. Not long after having in his phrenzy killed himſelf, all his tyrannical acts were diſapproved by the Spartans, who on the inhabitants of Ægina's accuſing Leotychides for the injury he had done them, delivered up that prince to them, who, however, deſired nothing more of him, than that he would go with them to Athens in order to ſolicit the releaſe of Crius and his aſſociates. When they arrived there the Spartan king made a long oration, in which he endeavoured to ſhew, that the hoſtages were only depoſited by him and his collegue in Athens that they might be ſafe, and that, now, when he came again to demand them, it was their duty to deliver them up. But this either the Athenians did not, or would not, underſtand, ſo that the war between them and the people of Ægina was ſtill carried on with various ſucceſs. The latter being informed, that the Athenian galley, which went annually to Delphi, lay at anchor at Sunium, they reſolved to intercept it, which they did, and took many perſons of diſtinction aboard it. The Athenians, to revenge this indignity, entered into a treaty with one Nicodromus, a perſon of great intereſt in Ægina; he had been formerly baniſhed his country by thoſe who then governed it, and in order to be revenged on them reſolved to betray it to the Athenians. The Athenians for this purpoſe fitted out a conſiderable fleet, but not thinking it ſufficient for their purpoſe, Ægina being then miſtreſs of thoſe ſeas, they had recourſe to the Corinthians for their aſſiſtance; this ſtate, being the faſt friend and ally of Athens, did not give her a denial, but alledged a law of theirs, whereby they

:hey were forbidden to lend their ſhips; but with much ado an expedient was found, whereby the Athenians obtained what they wanted; and yet the Corinthians did not break their law, the latter yielding to the former five of their ſhips in conſideration of their paying them five drachmæ for each. The length of this treaty fruſtrated the Athenian hopes, for Nicodromus, depending on their arrival, on the day prefixed ſeized on the old town and declared for the Athenians; but he and his party not being able alone to reſiſt the whole force of the iſland, they were obliged to ſecure themſelves by flight, which they did the very day before the Athenian and Corinthian fleet appeared before Ægina. This defection of Nicodromus, however, proved very beneficial to the Athenians, for they having aſſigned to him and his aſſociates land on the ſhore oppoſite to Ægina, they from thence committed continual piracies and depredations upon their countrymen. What the iſſue was of this war, Herodotus does not inform us: It is generally conceived, that its continuance was a thing fortunate for the Athenians and for Greece in general, for it exerciſed that people in maritime affairs, and taught them the uſe and conſequence of a naval force, which hitherto they had little underſtood. When the firſt news came, that the Perſian had in view the conqueſt of Greece, the Athenians and the inhabitants of Ægina, as well as the reſt of the Grecian ſtates, compromiſed their differences, that they might be the better able to reſiſt the power of the great king, who threatened at leaſt the liberties of the Greeks in general, in revenge for the Athenians aſſiſting the Ionians when they ſought to recover their freedom [g].

Hippias endeavours to be reſtored to the principality of Athens.

We have already taken notice of the diſpleaſure which Darius had taken againſt the Athenians on account of the ſacking of Sardis; but we hitherto forbore to mention the intrigues of Hippias in order to obtain by force the principality of Athens, from whence, as we have before related, through the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, he had been expelled. This old man, after his returning from Lacedæmon to Aſia, went to Artaphernes, governor of the adjacent provinces for the Perſian king, and excited him to make war upon his country, promiſing, that himſelf would be obedient to Darius, and greatly further all his

[g] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

his deſigns, in caſe he could be reſtored to that authority which formerly he had enjoyed at Athens. The Athenians were not ignorant, either of his journey, or of the propoſitions he had made to Artaphernes, they therefore ſent embaſſadors to this nobleman, to entreat him not to give any heed to Hippias's propoſals, but to ſuffer the people of Athens to remain free and quiet as they were. But Artaphernes, conceiving that it would be more for his maſter's intereſt to have a prince governing Athens, than to leave it under a democratic form of rule, anſwered the Athenians haughtily, that if they would have peace with the great king, they muſt receive Hippias and obey him; but this was ſo diſtaſteful to that generous people, that they immediately reſolved to give the enemies of Darius all the aſſiſtance they could, and to endeavour, if it were poſſible, to cut him out ſo much work near home, that he might have no opportunity to attempt any thing either againſt them or Greece. At laſt, however, Darius commiſſioned Mardonius to revenge him of the inſults which he conceived had been put upon him by the Greeks, but Mardonius and his troops, through a ſtorm at ſea and other accidents, having been able to do nothing, Datis and Artaphernes, the ſon of Artaphernes, were commiſſioned to do what he was to have done [h].

The Perſian war.

THE misfortune which the Perſians had had in ſuffering ſhipwreck, when their fleet doubled the promontory of Athos, made ſuch an impreſſion on the commanders laſt mentioned, that they reſolved to avoid that dangerous navigation, by drawing their forces into the plains of Cilicia, and paſſing over from thence through the Cyclades to Eubœa in order to deſtroy Eretria; and from thence to proceed to Athens, they having it in charge from Darius to ruin both places, and to bring away the inhabitants, that they might be at his diſpoſal. The Eretrians, as ſoon as they had advice of the arrival of the Perſian fleet among the Cyclades, ſent to demand aſſiſtance from the Athenians. That ſtate, with a magnanimity ſcarce to be paralleled, ordered the four thouſand men whom they had left in the Chalcidian territory to advance to the aid of the Eretrians, which they did. But the inhabitants of that city were neither ſteady nor honeſt; one party was for receiving the Athenian ſuccours into the city and holding out to the laſt extremity; a ſecond was for abandoning the city

[h] Id. ibid.

city and retiring to the mountains of Euboea; a third party sought to betray their country to the Persians for the sake of private advantage. Æschines the son of Nothon, a man of principal authority among his countrymen, perceiving the situation things were in, generously informed the commanders of the Athenian troops, and advised them to return home: in consequence of which advice they immediately retired to Oropus, and thereby escaped that total destruction which would have befallen them, if they had remained in the neighbourhood of Eretria. For that city, being betrayed to the Persians by some of its inhabitants, was pillaged, burnt, and its inhabitants sold for slaves, according to the command of Darius.

The Athenians, who, as we often remarked before, were generally divided among themselves, and persecuting one another when they wanted foreign wars to employ them, united now with great zeal and earnestness, when they heard that the Persians were so near them. They raised with the utmost expedition all the forces they were able, and yet could not draw together above nine thousand men. These, with a thousand Platæans who afterwards joined them, were commanded by ten general officers, who had equal power. Among these were Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, all men of distinguished valour and great abilities. But it being generally conceived, that it would be impossible for them, with their small forces, to give any interruption to the Persians, they sent Phidippides to Sparta to entreat the immediate assistance of that state. This man, as Herodotus informs us, affirmed afterwards to the Athenians, that passing by mount Parthenius, he heard himself loudly called by his name, upon which turning about, he beheld the god Pan, who, after asking him why the Athenians held him in no greater esteem, assured him, that he had deserved very well of their state, and would continue to do so, of which when the people of Athens had information, they caused a temple to be erected to his honour near the citadel, and honoured him thence-forward with annual sacrifices, and a lamp continually burning. Phidippides, after this strange adventure, arrived on the second day at Sparta, where he communicated his business to the senate in the following terms: Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians desire you to assist them, and not to suffer the most ancient of all the Grecian cities to be enslaved by the Barbarians. Eretria is already destroyed, and Greece consequently weakened by

loſs of ſo conſiderable a place. The Lacedæmonians readily agreed to what he propoſed, and ordered their troops to be ready to march, but at the ſame time declared, that they would not depart in leſs than five days, one of their laws forbidding them to begin an expedition, but at the full of the moon, of which it was then but the ninth day. The Perſians in the mean time being informed by Hippias, that the plains of Marathon would be the moſt advantagious place for them to engage in, becauſe it would afford them room to act with their horſe, following his advice, after the deſtruction of Eretria, made all the haſte they poſſibly could thither, of which when the Athenians had advice, they immediately ordered their forces to march to Marathon alſo. An act of amazng confidence, conſidering the mighty diſproportion between the Perſian and Athenian army.

The battle of Marathon. Year after the flood, 2509. Before Chriſt, 490.

THE Athenians, being encamped at the temple of Hercules, were there joined by a thouſand men, the whole ſtrength of the little city of Platæa, which ſhe now hazarded in the cauſe of Athens out of gratitude for former favours (R). A council of war being held here, the generals

(R) The city of Platæa was in old times free. Herodotus has given us a very full account of the reaſons which induced its inhabitants to raiſe their utmoſt force in the cauſe of Athens. We cannot therefore deliver it better to our reader than in his words; "The Platæans were already under the protection of "Athens, and the Athenians had gone through many dangers in "their defence. For when the Platæans ſaw themſelves oppreſſed by the Thebans, they firſt offered their ſubmiſſion to "Cleomenes the ſon of Anaxandrides and to the Lacedæmonians. "But they rejected the offer in theſe terms: We are placed, "ſaid they, at ſuch a diſtance from you, that in time of neceſſity our ſuccours will prove ineffectual. For your country "may be frequently ravaged before we can be informed of "your danger. We adviſe you therefore to put yourſelves under the protection of the Athenians, who are your neighbours, "and ſufficiently able to defend you. This counſel the Lacedæmonians gave, not out of any good will to the Platæans, "but becauſe they were deſirous to ſee the Athenians weakened "by a war againſt the Bœotians. However, the Platæans, approving their advice, went to Athens, and arriving there, "when the Athenians were met to ſacrifice to the twelve gods, "they ſat down by the altar in the poſture of ſuppliants, and made "their ſubmiſſion to that place. Which when the Thebans "heard,

generals were very much divided in their opinions; ſome were for fighting, others not; Miltiades, obſerving this, and conſidering the great importance of the matter in debate, addreſſed himſelf to Callimachus of Aphidna, who was Polemarch, and whoſe power was equal to that of all the other generals, in theſe words; "You alone, O "Callimachus, muſt now determine, either to ſee the "Athenians reduced to the condition of ſlaves, or, by pre- "ſerving the liberty of your country, have an eternal mo- "nument of your fame, ſurpaſſing the glory of Harmo- "dius and Ariſtogiton. For the Athenians were never in "ſo great danger from the time they were firſt a people. "If they fall under the power of the Medes, one may "eaſily imagine what uſage they muſt expect from Hip- "pias: But if they conquer, Athens will be the princi- "pal city of Greece. To let you know then by what "means theſe things may be effected, and from what "cauſe the fate of Athens is now in your hands, I ſhall "acquaint you, that we are at this inſtant divided in "opinion touching a battle; ſome of us propoſing to fight, "and others adviſing the contrary. If we decline a battle, "I foreſee ſome great diſſenſion will ſhake the fidelity of "the army, and induce them to a compliance with the "Medes. But if we fight before the corruption ſlides "into the hearts of the Athenians, we may hope from the "equity of the gods to obtain the victory. All theſe things

"are heard, they ſent an army againſt Platæa, and at the ſame time "the Athenians marched to aſſiſt the Platæans. But as they were "ready to engage in battle, the Corinthians apprehending the "conſequences, interpoſed their good offices to reconcile the con- "tending parties, and, with the conſent of both ſides, determined "the diſpute on this agreement; That the Thebans ſhould per- "mit all thoſe Bœotians, who would no longer be accounted "members of Bœotia, to do as they thought moſt convenient "for themſelves. After this reconciliation the Corinthians re- "turned home, and as the Athenians were retiring likewiſe, "the Bœotians fell upon them in their march, but were re- "pulſed with loſs. Upon which ſucceſs the Athenians enlarged "the frontiers of the Platæans, and, inſtead of that appointed "by the Corinthians, fixed the limits of the Thebans at Aſopus "and Hyſia. In this manner the Platæans came under the "protection of the Athenians, and joined their forces at Mara- "thon (55)".

(55) Herodot. lib. vi.

" are in your power, and entirely depend upon the reſo-
" lution you ſhall take. For if you would ſupport my
" opinion with the acceſſion of your vote, you will ſee
" your country free, and Athens the moſt illuſtrious city
" of Greece: But if you join with thoſe who would diſ-
" ſuade us from a battle, you can expect no other conſe-
" quences, than ſuch as are moſt contrary to theſe hopes".
Callimachus, whoſe voice was deciſive according to the Athenian laws, joined directly with Miltiades, and declared for giving battle immediately. Each of the captains commanded in chief by turns, but Ariſtides giving up his day to Miltiades, the reſt did ſo too. That excellent perſon accepted this compliment for the good of his country, but he would not fight till his own proper day of command came about, for fear that, through any latent ſparks of jealouſy and envy, any of the generals ſhould be led not to do their duty. But when the day before-mentioned came, he, without waiting for any farther ſuccours, diſpoſed the troops in order of battle, placing the chief of his ſtrength in the wings. Callimachus, as Polemarch, commanded on the right, the Platæans were poſted on the left, and the ſacrifices being offered, they began inſtantly to advance with inexpreſſible ardour towards their enemies. The Perſian army was ranged in battalia near a mile off, and when they beheld the Athenians running towards them, they imputed it to folly and ignorance of military diſcipline, and were convinced of this, when they obſerved that they had neither horſe nor pikemen. However, they ſoon found their error when the charge began: For the Athenians and Platæans fought with ſuch obſtinate valour on the right and left, that the Barbarians were forced to fly on both ſides. The Perſians and Sacæ, however, perceiving that the Athenian center was weak, charged with ſuch force that they broke through it: This thoſe on the right and left perceived, but did not attempt to ſuccour it, till they had put to flight both the wings of the Perſian army; then bending the points of their wings towards their own centre, they encloſed the hitherto victorious Perſians, and cut them to pieces. This put an end to the engagement, for the remains of the army fled, as faſt as they could, to their fleet, whither the Athenians purſued them. When therefore the Perſians in haſte hurried on board the booty they had acquired in Eretria, and ſought to eſcape by ſea that ill-fate which attended them

on

on ſhore; the Athenians, in order to hinder this, began to ſet the ſhips on fire, and to board ſuch as lay neareſt the ſhore; in which bold attempt, though they had ſome ſucceſs, yet the Perſians at laſt got under ſail, and bore away for Athens [i]. It was reported in thoſe times, that the Alcmæonidæ encouraged the Perſians to make a ſecond attempt, by holding up, as they approached the ſhore, a ſhield for a ſignal; however it was, the Perſian fleet endeavoured to double the cape of Sunium with a view to ſurprize the city of Athens before the army could return. But Miltiades ſeeing the danger his countrymen were in, leaving Ariſtides with a thouſand men to guard the priſoners and the ſpoil, marched at the head of the other nine thouſand with ſuch diligence, that they arrived at the temple of Hercules in Cynoſarges, which was but at a ſmall diſtance from the city, before the Barbarians were in a condition to attack it. Which when the Perſian admiral had notice of, he ſailed from the port of Phalerum for Aſia, and ſo put an end to a very unfortunate expedition [k].

THE battle of Marathon makes deſervedly a great figure in hiſtory; Cornelius Nepos aſſigns a juſt reaſon, becauſe never before had ſo ſmall a body of forces overcome ſo vaſt a hoſt [l]. Herodotus tells us, that ſix thouſand three hundred of the Perſians were ſlain there, and of the Athenians one hundred ninety-two [m], which is infinitely more probable than what Juſtin relates of the Perſians loſing two-hundred thouſand men in the battle and by ſhipwreck [n]. The ſame author ſays, that the Athenians took many of the ſhips, and deſtroyed many more; Herodotus ſays, there were only ſeven ſhips taken. Certain it is, that the Athenians behaved with amazing intrepidity, and that ſeveral amongſt them diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner. Callimachus the Polemarch, after having done all that a brave and wiſe officer could do, loſt his life in the field; Staſileus the ſon of Thraſylus, one of the ten commanders, was alſo killed; Cynegyrus the ſon of Euphorion laid hold on the prow of one of the Perſian ſhips with both his hands, and having them ſtruck off by an ax died of his wounds; this is Herodotus's account. Juſtin carries matters much farther;

[i] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Miltiad. Valer. Max. &c. [k] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. [l] ubi ſupr. [m] ubi ſupra. [n] lib. ii. c. 9.

he ſays that Cynegyrus, having done wonders in the fight, purſued the Perſians to the ſhore, and laid hold of a ſhip ready to ſail with his right hand, when that was cut off he ſeized it with his left, of which being likewiſe deprived, he caught hold of it with his mouth, his ſpirit being ſuch, that, untamed by long fatigue and the loſs of both his hands, he, with the rage of a wild beaſt, fought at laſt with his teeth. Herodotus, who ſpeaks ſo modeſtly of Cynegyrus's bravery, tells us a very extraordinary tale of one Epizelus the ſon of Cephagoras, he ſays, that fighting in his rank with a becoming valour, he of a ſudden loſt his ſight without receiving any blow, and continued blind all the reſt of his life. This would not have been worth repeating, if Herodotus had not affirmed that he heard this man declare, that he thought he ſaw a man of uncommon height ſtanding by him in complete armour, holding a ſhield, which was covered by his beard; and that this phantom afterwards, paſſing by him, killed the perſon who was poſted next to him. Whatever we may think of the Athenian ſtory, this muſt be admitted an indubitable proof, that Herodotus's account of this battle deſerves credit in all probable circumſtances, ſince what he relates he had from the mouths of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes. The numbers of the Perſians is very differently reported; Juſtin ſays, that they were ſix-hundred thouſand, Cornelius Nepos makes them ten times the number of the Athenians, that is one hundred thouſand, which is probably not far from truth [o].

AMONGST the many eminent perſons who were preſent in this famous engagement, was Hippias the ſon of Piſiſtratus, who hoped through the power of the Perſians to be reſtored to the principality of Athens. He it was, who, as we have ſaid before, conducted the Barbarians into the plains of Marathon, when, as Herodotus tells us, he dreamt one night that he lay with his mother, and from thence concluded, that he ſhould be reſtored and die peaceably at home in his old age; but a day or two after, when he was buſy giving direction as to the diſpoſal of the booty taken at Eretria, and putting the Perſian troops in order on the ſhore, he was ſeized with ſuch a fit of coughing and ſneezeing, that moſt of his teeth grew looſe, and one of them fell out of his head upon the ſtrand, for which when thoſe about him had long ſought in vain, Hippias, fetching a deep

[o] In vit. Miltiad.

deep ſigh, ſaid, This country neither belongs to us, nor will ever be ſubdued by us, and I ſhall have no other part here than that where my tooth lies. This was his ſecond, and, as it happened, the more juſt, conſtruction of his dream [p]. As to what became of him in the battle, both Herodotus and Thucydides are ſilent thereupon. Juſtin [q] and ſome other later authors ſay, that he was killed there; if he was, the Athenians loſt in him an implacable enemy, very capable of contriving miſchiefs againſt them, and one who was alike indefatigable in thinking and in acting (S).

ARISTI-

[p] ubi ſupra. [q] ubi ſupra.

(S) We have more than once in the text promiſed to ſpeak of the family of Hippias; he married Myrrhine the daughter of Callias, by whom he had five children (56); he had alſo another wife of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of one Charinus (57). Among theſe children was Piſiſtratus junior, whom we have before mentioned; he had alſo a daughter whoſe name was Archidice, who married the ſon of the tyrant or prince of Lampſacus. This lady was honoured with a fine tomb, whereon was an inſcription to the following effect; This earth covers Archidice the daughter of Hippias, a man in his time famous throughout Greece, who, tho' her father, husband, and brothers were princes, ſuffered not her mind to be elated therewith (58). Hippias viſited her before he went to the Perſian court, in order perhaps to take his leave of her, from an apprehenſion that the expedition, in which he was about to embark, might ſome way or other prove fatal to him. The dream above recorded was certainly according to the uſual rules of interpretation, fortunate, and ſo it was accounted to Julius Cæſar (59); but it may be that this interpretation was with a reſtriction, that the perſon dreaming was to have been on good terms with his country, whereas Hippias at the time of this dream was in the Perſian hoſt warring againſt his country. There is yet another account of this matter, if a dream deſerves any farther account, viz. that among the Perſians it was held ominous, and a ſign that a man would repent what he was about (60). As to his death, Cicero ſpeaks of it in theſe terms, Nefarius Hippias Piſiſtrati filius, qui in Marathonia pugna cecidit, arma contra Patriam ferens (61). Tertullian ſpeaks of it likewiſe (62); yet Suidas tells us quite another ſtory; he ſays, that the Barbarians being

(56) Thucyd. lib. vii. (57) Clidem. ap. Athæn. lib. xiii. (58) Thucyd. ubi ſupra. (59) Suetonius in vit. J. Cæſaris. cap' vii. (60) Achem. Oenocrit. cxxviii. (61) Ad. Attic. lib. ix. c. 10. (62) Ad. Gentes.

ARISTIDES, who remained on the field of battle while Miltiades marched back to Athens, diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him with the greateſt integrity; for tho' there was much gold and ſilver in the Perſian camp, and though the tents and ſhips they had taken were full of riches of all ſorts, yet he neither took any thing himſelf, nor omitted to the utmoſt of his power the neceſſary precautions to prevent other people's meddling therewith. Yet ſome there were, who, in ſpight of his orders and his care, found means to enrich themſelves by private plunder, particularly Callias the torch-bearer, Ariſtides's couſin-german (T).

For

ing routed, Hippias retired to Lemnos, and there laboured under a very grievous malady, which at length made him blind, and the blood flowing through his eyes brought on a miſerable and painful death, which he reckons a puniſhment for his having conducted the Perſian forces into the plains of Marathon. The reader will pardon the length of our hiſtory of the Piſiſtratidæ, when he conſiders, that from the time of Piſiſtratus his aſſuming the ſovereignty to the death of Hippias at the battle of Marathon, there intervened upwards of fourſcore years.

(T) Torch-bearers, ſtiled in Greek Daduchi, were perſons dedicated to the ſervice of the gods, and admitted even into the moſt ſacred myſteries. On this account, Pauſanias ſpeaks of it as a great happineſs to a woman, that ſhe had ſeen her brother, her huſband, and her ſon, ſucceſſively enjoy this office (63). We have obſerved in the text from Plutarch, that Callias was miſtaken for a king, becauſe of his flowing hair bound with a fillet, which was not unlike the royal ornaments in uſe among the eaſtern nations; the reaſon of this was, that amongſt the ancients it was an opinion almoſt univerſally received, that there was a very near affinity between the offices of king and prieſt; on this account the Romans preſerved the title of Rex among their ſacred officers when they expulſed the Tarquins, and the Athenians, as we have heard, ſtiled their ſecond archon, who preſided in the public ſacrifices, Baſileus; ſo that in affairs relating to the gods, both the Athenians and the Romans, though they hated monarchy, made uſe of kings. The ſame notion prevailed through the eaſt, for we find Jeroboam ſtanding by the altar at Bethel, when the prophet came to denounce its ruin (64). And Uzziah king of Judah, when he had been victorious over the Philiſtines, Arabians, and Ammonites, was lifted up in his heart, and deſired to add to his royal dignity the honour of being prieſt of the moſt High God (65).

(63) In Atticis. (64) 1 Kings xiii. (65) ii Chron. xxvi. 16.

For this man having long hair and a fillet about his head, one of the Perſians took him for a king, and falling down at his feet diſcovered to him a vaſt quantity of gold hid in a well; Callias not only ſeized it and applied it to his private uſe, but moſt inhumanly put to death the poor man who ſhewed it him, to prevent his diſcovering what he had done. By this action he not only blemiſhed his own reputation, but tranſmitted infamy to his poſterity, who, notwithſtanding their eminency in the ſtate, were ſtiled by the comic poets, Laccopluti, i. e. enriched by the well [r], an example which merits conſideration perhaps as much as any other recorded in hiſtory. The Athenians in token of their reſpect towards thoſe brave men who fell in this engagement, erected for them public monuments in the field of battle, with inſcriptions containing their names and the names of their tribes and families. At ſome diſtance they erected other monuments for the Platæans, Bœotians, and ſlaves, who were ſlain here. They likewiſe cauſed this battle to be painted in the Pœcilian portico, where the Platæan auxiliaries were repreſented, as well as the Athenian ſoldiers, and at the head of theſe their ten captains, Miltiades holding the firſt place [f], which was all the reward they beſtowed upon them.

It cannot ſeem ſtrange, that the Athenians were highly elate on this victory. In the firſt tranſports of their joy they granted all the Platæans the freedom of their city; as for Miltiades, Ariſtides, and Themiſtocles, who had exceedingly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, they were for the preſent treated with all the marks of gratitude and reſpect they could have wiſhed, though in their turns we ſhall ſee them all ſlighted, proſecuted, and condemned. While Miltiades was thus high in the people's favour, he propoſed in a general aſſembly of the people, that he ſhould be intruſted with a fleet of ſeventy ſhips well manned and provided, promiſing them, that he would put them in poſſeſſion of great riches, and make the expedition in other reſpects turn to vaſt account. The Athenians readily embraced this project, and fitted out ſuch a fleet as he deſired, of which Miltiades taking the command ſailed to Paros. The reaſon he pretended for invading this iſland was, that the inhabitants thereof had aſſiſted the Perſians with ſhips in the expedition of Marathon, but the true ground of his hatred to that people was, that

[r] Plutarch ubi ſupra. [f] Corn. Nepos. in vit. Miltiad.

that one Lyſagoras a Parian had done him ill offices with Hydarnes the Perſian. As ſoon as he arrived on the iſland, he ſent heralds to the capital thereof, requiring a hundred talents to be paid him, threatening in caſe of refuſal to beſiege the city, and in caſe he took it, to give it up to the plunder of his ſoldiers. The Parthians, however, were not to be terrified, they refuſed ſo much as to deliberate on his propoſition, but, on the contrary, provided themſelves the beſt they could for an obſtinate defence. Miltiades cauſed the place to be inveſted, and carried on the ſiege with great vigour, till one Timo a Parian woman, who was a prieſteſs, pretended to inform him how he ſhould take the city. In conſequence of what this woman told him, he went to the temple of Ceres the lawgiver, and not being able to open its gates, he got to the top of the wall, and from thence leaped down; but being ſeized with a ſudden horror and reſolving to go back, he re-aſcended the wall, and from thence leaped down, but his foot ſlipping he fell, and either broke his thigh, or diſlocated his knee-pan; however it was, he was conſtrained to raiſe the ſiege, after having lain twenty-ſix days before the town, and to return, wounded as he was, without affecting any thing to Athens [u]. An unfortunate man was never welcome there! The whole city began to murmur, and Xanthippus the father of the famous Pericles accuſed him to the general aſſembly for deceiving the Athenians, as Herodotus ſays; of treaſon, as Cornelius Nepos informs us; or rather of peculation, as Juſtin from Trogus Pompeius acquaints us, for that is much the moſt probable opinion, and for this he demanded that they ſhould paſs upon him ſentence of death. The unhappy Miltiades was in no condition to defend himſelf, nature had already paſſed that judgment which his enemies fought; his wound through lowneſs of ſpirits had induced a mortification, ſo that he could not be moved out of his bed. His brother Tiſagoras ſpoke for him; he repreſented to the Athenians, that this Miltiades, who had failed in his laſt expedition, had ſaved Athens at Marathon, and had conquered for them the iſland of Lemnos; he therefore entreated them to remember his paſt ſervices, as well as his preſent error, and to pity him to whom they owed the power of deliberating, whether they would pity him or no. Having heard both parties, the people declared that he had not deſerved capital puniſhment, but at the

[u] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

the ſame time fined him fifty talents, which was the whole expence of the Parian expedition; and becauſe he was unable to pay this great ſum, they put him into a goal, ſays Cornelius Nepos, where he died; but Herodotus ſays, that his ſon Cimon paid the fine, which is true, but not till after his father died in priſon, himſelf being alſo ſent thither on the ſame account, and remaining confined, till Callias furniſhed him with the money to pay his fine in lieu of his wife Elpinice, who was alſo his ſiſter by the one ſide [x]. Such was the gratitude of the Athenians towards Miltiades and his family. If the nature of this work would have allowed it, we ſhould have digreſſed in favour of ſo great a man, who, out of his paſſion for his country, quitted ſovereignty to ſerve the Athenians; but conſidering that this manner of writing would protract the Athenian hiſtory exceedingly, we have contented ourſelves with throwing into a note at the bottom of the page ſuch circumſtances relating to Miltiades as are neceſſary to be known (U).

THE

[x] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Cornelius Nepos in vit. Miltiad. & Cimon.

(U) The hiſtory of the family of Miltiades, and their becoming princes is related by Herodotus; he ſays, that the Thracian Dolonces, inhabiting a part of Cherſoneſus, and having ſuffered much in a war againſt the Abſynthians, ſent to enquire of the oracle at Delphi whom they ſhould elect king, to which they received for anſwer, that they ſhould invite him to lead a colony into their country, who ſhould firſt invite them into his houſe, after their leaving the temple in order to return home. Accordingly the Dolonces paſſed by the ſacred way, through the territories of the Phocians and the Bœotians, and, receiving no offer of entertainment, turned into the road of Athens. In that time Piſiſtratus had indeed the ſupreme power, but Miltiades the ſon of Cypſelus was not without authority in Athens, being of an illuſtrious family anciently deſcended from Æacus and Ægina, and afterwards eſtabliſhed among the Athenians by Philæus the ſon of Ajax, the firſt of that blood who ſettled there. This Miltiades ſitting before his gates, and ſeeing the Dolonces paſſing by cloathed and armed in a different manner from the Athenians, called out to them, and upon their coming to him deſired they would be his gueſts, and accept the entertainment of his houſe. They accepted his invitation, and after they had been hoſpitably entertained acquainted him with the oracle, and requeſted him to act in conformity to the admonition of the god. Miltiades hearkened to their propoſition, and complied with

more

The contests between Aristides and Themistocles.

THE people of Athens, being now released from all apprehensions of foreign war, fell as usual into dissentions among themselves; they were divided on the old subject, whether more readiness, because he grew impatient of the government of Pisistratus, and desired an opportunity to withdraw. In these sentiments he went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether he should yield to the request of the Dolonces, and received an encouraging answer from the Pythian. Upon which Miltiades the son of Cypselus, who had formerly been victorious in the Olympian chariot-race, taking with him all such Athenians as were willing to join in his expedition, set sail with the Dolonces, and arriving in their own country was invested with the sovereign power. The first thing he did was to build a wall upon the isthmus of Chersonesus, from the city of Cardia to that of Pontya, in order to prevent the Absynthians from infesting the country for the future with their incursions; this isthmus is thirty-six stades in breadth; and the whole length of Chersonesus beginning in that place is four hundred and twenty stades. When Miltiades had built this wall on the neck of Chersonesus, and by that means excluded the Absynthians, he in the next place made war upon the Lampsacenians, and falling into an ambuscade was taken alive by the enemy. Crœsus, king of Lydia being informed of this event, threatened the people of Lampsacus with his displeasure, in case they did not release Miltiades; which they taking into consideration, and being afraid to disoblige so great a monarch, restored Miltiades to freedom. Thus having escaped by the means of Crœsus, and afterwards dying without children, he left his dominion and riches to Stesagoras the son of Cimon, his brother by the same mother. The Chersonesians honour him with sacrifices, as the founder of their city, in the accustomed manner, having instituted gymnastic and equestrian exercises on that occasion, in which no Lampsacenian is permitted to contend for a prize. During the war which still continued against the people of Lampsacus, Stesagoras likewise died without children; being killed by the blow of an ax he received on the head from the hand of one who, pretending to be a deserter, was indeed a most cruel enemy. After his death the Pisistratidæ sent Miltiades, the son of Cimon and brother of Stesagoras, to Chersonesus with one ship, to take upon him the government, having been already favourable to him in Athens, as if they had not had any part in the murder of his father Cimon, who was assassinated by their order. Arriving in Chersonesus, he kept himself retired under colour of honouring the memory of his brother Stesagoras; which the Chersonesians hearing, the principal persons of every city assembled together, and coming to his house with intentions to condole with him,

whether all things ſhould be in the power of the people, or whether the ſtate ſhould be governed only by the beſt. Ariſtides, whom we have already often mentioned, was at the head of one party, and Themiſtocles was chief of the other. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the character of each of theſe great men, that the nature of their diſputes and the conſequences of them with reſpect to the ſtate may be the better known. Ariſtides was the ſon of Lyſimachus,

him, were all ſeized and impriſoned. By this means Miltiades made himſelf maſter of Cherſoneſus, entertained five hundred auxiliaries for his guard, and married Hegeſypla daughter of Olorus king of Thrace. But he had not long been in poſſeſſion, before he met with greater difficulties than he had yet experienced. For in the third year of his government he fled out of the country, not daring to wait the coming of the Scythian Nomades, who, having been irritated by the expedition of Darius, had aſſembled their forces, and advanced to the frontier of Cherſoneſus. Nevertheleſs upon the departure of the Scythians, he was again reſtored by the Dolonces; and in the third year after this, hearing that the Phœnicians were at Tenedus, he put all his riches on board five ſhips and ſailed for Athens. The reader may poſſibly think this note very long, but there was a neceſſity for it, ſince ſo eminent an author as Cornelius Nepos hath rendered the hiſtory of this great man unintelligible by confounding him with his grandfather, and attributing promiſcuouſly the deeds of one to the other. As to his putting Lemnos into the hands of the Athenians, it happened thus: The inhabitants of that iſland, having had long differences with the Athenians, and being admoniſhed by the Delphian oracle to compromiſe them, they ſent to Athens to know upon what terms it might be done; the Athenians offered them no other than the abſolute ſurrender of their country, to which the Lemnian deputies anſwered, that they would obey when a ſhip from the Athenian dominions ſhould come with a north-wind in one day into a haven of Lemnos, which, becauſe Attica was ſituatedon the ſouth of Lemnos, they conceived impoſſible; but Miltiades, being poſſeſſed of the Cherſoneſus and ſailing from a port in the Helleſpont, arrived in one day at Lemnos, driven thither by a ſtrong north-wind, upon which he immediately demanded that the iſland ſhould be given up to him, which, partly through terror, partly by force, he obtained, and united it to the Athenian territories. As to the impriſonment of his ſon as well as himſelf, and the manner in which his fine was at laſt diſcharged, Cornelius Nepos expreſsly aſſerts it, as delivered in our text, whereas the account given of it by Plutarch is neither clear nor conſiſtent.

Lyſimachus, of the tribe of Antiochis and ward of Alopece. Themiſtocles was the ſon of Neocles of the tribe of Leontes, by his mother's ſide a ſtranger, neither of them of any extraordinary family; Plutarch tells us, that they were boys together, and that they were always at variance, not only in ſerious matters, but even in their ſports and plays; nor could it well be otherwiſe, for Ariſtides is ſaid by him to have been firm and ſteddy in his behaviour, immoveable in every thing that appeared juſt, and incapable of uſing the leaſt falſhood, flattery, or deceit, even in jeſt; whereas Themiſtocles was of an impetuous nature, full of ſpirit, ſubtle, daring, complaiſant, and in fine one who could put on any appearance to carry his point; he ſpent even his times of recreation in ſtudy, and was wont to divert himſelf with compoſing orations, in which he either excuſed or accuſed ſome of his companions, whence his ſchoolmaſter pronounced thus of him; Boy, thou wilt never prove an ordinary perſon, but will at ſome time or other become either a mighty bleſſing, or an outragious curſe, to thy country. As they grew up, they differed ſtill the more in their ſentiment and conduct; Ariſtides ſtudied the laws of Lycurgus, and by the reaſoning of that great man became a favourer of ariſtocracy. Themiſtocles, rather out of ſpleen to him than any other motive, favoured exceedingly the cauſe of the people: and thus childiſh quarrels, ripening into a ſtrong averſion in the breaſts of two private men, created great diſorders in a potent ſtate, and ſhook the very conſtitution of Athens [z].

How much ſoever the diſſentions between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles might in fact injure the Athenian ſtate, and how ready ſoever they might be to oppoſe each other, even in points where they were conſcious that what they oppoſed was right, yet it muſt be owned, that they ſincerely loved their country, and were aſhamed and ſorry for the very things they did. Ariſtides was the honeſter man of the two, and therefore the moſt frank. When Themiſtocles had one day propoſed to the aſſembly of the people ſomething much for their advantage, Ariſtides made a long oration againſt it, which ſo far miſled the people, that they rejected what Themiſtocles had propoſed. Ariſtides was, however, ſo much affected with what he had done, that when he went out of the aſſembly he could not help ſaying, The Athenians can never be perfectly ſafe, till

[z] Plut & Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ariſtid. & Them.

till they have sent Themistocles and me to goal [a]. We have before shewn, how not only men of rank in Athens, but all Athenian citizens, had seats in courts of judicature. As these rivals differed in every thing, so they were opposite in their notions of what a man's duty was in such a station. Aristides conceived, that he ought to be inflexibly upright, and to be void alike of affection and passion; whereas it was a common saying with Themistocles, God forbid, that I should ever sit on a tribunal, where my friends should not have more favour than strangers. Aristides's conduct was certainly the more laudable, and he piqued himself so much upon acting strictly up to the maxims he laid down, that he acquired the sirname of just, and was looked upon as the most worthy and virtuous of the Athenians. Themistocles, instead of repining, rejoiced at this, for knowing well the nature of the people, he conceived it an easy thing to destroy a rival arrived at so high a reputation [b]. The ostracism was already introduced into the Athenian state, though it is not certain by whom, some say by Pisistratus, or rather by his sons; others by Clysthenes; but this not being clear, we did not think fit to attribute it to him, or to mention the ostracism till we come to a particular instance of it. By this men, eminent to such a degree as to threaten the state with danger, were banished for ten years. Plutarch says, this exile was not a punishment for any crime, but a kind of honourable retirement, used as the curb of too great power, and the remedy of the people for those apprehensions with which they were so often taken. The method in which they proceeded to inflict the ostracism was this; every citizen took a piece of a broken pot or shell, on which having wrote the name of the person he would have banished, he carried it to a certain place of the market-place which was inclosed with rails; then the magistrates began to count the number of the shells; for if they were less than six thousand, the vote did not take place; but if they surpassed that number, they laid every name apart, and the man whose name was found on the greatest number of shells was of course exiled for ten years, with free leave, however, to make what use he thought fit of his estate

[a] Plut. ubi supra. [b] Plut. in vit. Themist. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Arist.

eſtate (X) [c]. It may ſeem ſtrange, that Themiſtocles could raiſe the popular reſentment againſt a man amiable from peaceable virtues; yet he affected by cauſing it to be whiſpered about, that Ariſtides, having aſſumed the name

[c] Plut. in vit. Ariſt.

(X) The oſtraciſm makes ſo great a figure in all the Greek hiſtory, and occurs ſo often in that which we are now writing, that it is fit, that we ſhould give the reader a more particular account of it in a note, than we found it proper for us to do in the text. It derived its name from oſtracon, which ſignifies a tile, becauſe at firſt the names of perſons baniſhed in this manner were wrote on pieces of tiles, or broken earthen veſſels (66). Diodorus Siculus ſays, that ſuch as were ejected from their country by the oſtraciſm were allowed to return in five years (67); but in this he is miſtaken, for all writers agree that the time limited was ten years (68), and the time allowed him on whom this puniſhment fell to quit the Athenian territories was ten days (69). The fundamental rule of telling the groſs number of the ſhells, and rendering the oſtraciſm void, if they did not amount to ſix thouſand, was a great point in favour of eminent perſons, ſince it is a city where there were not above 18 or 20,000 free citizens, it muſt have been a very difficult thing to engage a third part of them to enter upon ſuch a deſign. It may ſeem ſtrange, that the author of ſo extraordinary a law as this ſhould not be known; and yet it is certain, that about no hiſtorical point authors differ more. Ælian aſcribes it to Clyſthenes before-mentioned (70); Diodorus Siculus ſays it took place under the Piſiſtratidæ (71), and many are of that opinion beſides him. For Plutarch reports, that Hipparchus was baniſhed under their adminiſtration (72). Heraclides fixes this general aſſertion to Hippias, whom he expreſsly declares the author of this ſevere practice (73). Photius, in his extracts from Ptolemy Hephæſtion, aſcribes it to Achilles the ſon of Lyſon (74; but Suidas and Euſebius both ſet it far higher than the days of the commonwealth, viz. under the reign of Theſeus. However uncertain its beginning is, there is no diſpute, that it ended in the baniſhment of Hyperbolus. This practice Ariſtotle ſeems to aſcribe to all the democracies of his time (75), and we are aſſured by various authors, that the Argives, Mileſians, Megarentians and Syracuſans had the ſame law, though under different titles, amongſt them.

(66) Suidas. Heſychius. (67) Biblioth. lib. xi. (68) Pollux, Plutarch. in vit. Ariſt. (69) Scholiaſt. Ariſtophan. ad. Equit. (70) Var Hiſt. lib. xiii. c. 14. (71) Biblioth. lib xi. (72) In vit. Niciæ. (73) De Rep. (74) Biblioth. lib. vi. (75) Polit. lib. iii, c. 13.

name of juſt, and acting frequently as an umpire between contending parties, had inſenſibly erected a monarchy, though without pomp or guards; for what (ſaid the agents of Themiſtocles) conſtitutes a tyrant but giving laws? On a ſudden, and when it was leaſt expected, citizens and countrymen flocked to the forum, and demanded the oſtraciſm. One of the clowns from a borough in Attica, who could neither write nor read, brought his ſhell to Ariſtides, and ſaid, Write me Ariſtides upon this. Ariſtides ſurpriſed aſked him, if he knew any ill of that Athenian, or if he had ever done him any hurt. Me hurt! (ſaid the fellow) no, I don't ſo much as know him, but I am weary and ſick at heart on hearing him every where called the juſt. Ariſtides therefore took the ſhell, and wrote his own name upon it. This was certainly a ſtrong proof of his firmneſs of mind, but he gave yet a greater. When the magiſtrates ſignified to him that the oſtraciſm fell upon him, he retired modeſtly out of the forum, and as he went out he lifted up his eyes to heaven and ſaid, I beſeech the Gods, that the Athenians may never ſee that day which ſhall force them to remember Ariſtides [f].

The war againſt the inhabitants of Ægina revived after the battle of Marathon, and was carried on by both parties with great animoſity; the nobles and their party had fallen upon the remains of Nicodromus's party, and put many of them to death, with ſuch circumſtances, as not only irritated the exiles, but made many of their own citizens uneaſy. The Athenians had revenged the death of their confederates in ſeveral expeditions, but the inhabitants of Ægina had in their turn done the ſubjects of Athens conſiderable damage, which was entirely owing to their great power at ſea, their fleets being more numerous, and their ſhips better, than their neighbours. Themiſtocles conſidering this, continually exhorted the Athenians to obſerve and weigh it in their minds. He alſo gave them to underſtand, that in his opinion the Perſian war was ſo far from being ended that it was but begun, becauſe it was unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that Xerxes, who ſucceeded his father in his empire, would not alſo ſucceed him in his hatred to the Grecians, from whom the honour of his empire had ſuffered ſo much. Having often inſiſted on theſe topics, he had at laſt the boldneſs to move, that the money produced by the ſilver mines, which hitherto the Athenians had divided

[f] Plutarch & Corn. Nepos in vit. Ariſt. & Themiſt.

amongſt themſelves, ſhould be applied to building ſhips, with which, being thoroughly poſſeſſed of the nature of the thing, they complied, and a hundred gallies were immediately put upon the ſtocks; and this ſudden increaſe of the Athenian fleet, with their addicting themſelves continually afterwards to maritime affairs, proved the means of preſerving, not only Athens, but all Greece in the enjoyment of its liberties, as Themiſtocles rightly foreſaw it would [g].

The Greeks prepare to reſiſt the Perſians.

By this time, that is, about three years after the baniſhment of Ariſtides, the Athenians found, that Themiſtocles had ſpoke the truth, where he affirmed that the Perſian war, inſtead of being ended, was but juſt begun; for Xerxes, after having made prodigious preparations for the total conqueſt of Greece, ſent meſſengers with a Greek interpreter to its ſeveral republics to demand Earth and Water. Themiſtocles, deſiring to make the breach ſtill wider between theſe two nations, engaged the Athenians to ſeize the interpreter, and put him to death, for preſuming to publiſh the decrees of the king of Perſia in the language of the Greeks. This act of ſeverity was followed by another; one Arthmius of Zele a town in Troas had ſettled at Athens, and had an half freedom granted him; this man, having received large ſums of money from the king of Perſia, endeavoured to corrupt ſome of the principal perſons of the city therewith, for which Themiſtocles procured him to be baniſhed Attica by ſound of trumpet, and his family to be degraded. Laſtly, with the aſſiſtance of Chileus the Arcadian, he engaged the ſeveral ſtates of Greece to lay aſide their quarrels, and to provide for their mutual defence [h].

When it came to be debated who ſhould be appointed the general of the Athenians, in caſe the Perſians ſhould invade them, one Epicydes, a great orator, but a man otherwiſe little capable of the charge, influenced the people ſo much by his ſpeeches, that it was generally believed he would be elected to that important office. Themiſtocles, ſeeing the danger of his country, and knowing the man to be covetous, ſtrained his own circumſtances and bought him off. By engaging him to deſiſt, he made way for his own election, for there was no body then left capable of contending with him, ſo he was preſently elected [i].

When

[g] Herodot. lib. vii. Plut. in Themiſt. [h] Æſchin. cont. Cteſiph. Plut. in vit. Themiſt. [i] Plut. in vit. Themiſt.

When news came to Athens, that the Perſians were upon the point of invading Greece by the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, and that to this end they were tranſporting their forces by ſea, Themiſtocles adviſed his countrymen to quit their city, embark on board their gallies, and go and meet their enemies, yet at a diſtance; to this they would by no means yield. He then put himſelf at the head of their army, and having joined the Lacedæmonians marched towards Tempe. But when advice came, that the ſtreights of Thermopylæ were forced, and not only Theſſaly, but Bœotia, had yielded to the Perſians, the army returned without effecting any thing [k].

The Athenians in this diſtreſs ſent meſſengers to the Delphian Apollo, who, on their arrival having performed the uſual ceremonies, ſat down in the ſanctuary, and there received from Ariſtonica, who was at that time prieſteſs, the following oracle. The reſponſes of the Delphian oracle.

Fly to the fartheſt regions of the earth,
Unhappy men, and ſhun the impending ill.
Fly from your houſes, and deſert your walls;
For total ruin ſhall ſubvert that place.
An angry Mars in Aſia born ſhall come,
And all your ſtately piles, and temples burn.
I ſee the ſacred walls trembling for fear,
The lofty roofs cover'd with ſweat and blood.
Depart, and be prepar'd to bear your fate [l].

The Athenian deputies were extremely amazed at this anſwer, they therefore humbled themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner before the god, holding olive-branches in their hands, beſeeching a better anſwer, or vowing to remain in the temple till they died. The prieſteſs, feeling herſelf a ſecond time inſpired, delivered at length the following reſponſe:

Pallas in vain has uſed her utmoſt art,
To pacify the wrath of angry Jove.
So that my preſent anſwer muſt again
Of almoſt adamantin hardneſs be.
Yet for Minerva's ſake the god will give
A ſafe protection under walls of wood
To all that lies contained within the bounds
Of Cecrops, or Citheron's ſacred hills,
Theſe, theſe alone impregnable ſhall prove,
But never ſtay to fight the dreadful troops

[k] Id. ib. [l] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

Of horse and foot, advancing thro' the plains:
If e'er you see them, save yourselves by flight,
The divine Salamis shall lose her sons;
Tho' Ceres be brought home or left abroad [m].

THE Athenian deputies having wrote down this answer brought it away, and produced it to the general assembly at Athens, where the people were mightily divided about its true sense and meaning; many were of opinion, that by walls of wood the citadel was to be understood, because, as we observed before, it was pallisadoed, but others imagined, that it could intend nothing but ships, and therefore advised their countrymen to place all their hopes in their fleet; but the maintainers of the former opinion urged against such as supported the latter, that the two last lines of the oracle were directly against them, and that they without question portended the destruction of the Athenian fleet near Salamis. Themistocles, however, declared for trusting in the fleet, and in answer to what was urged from the last lines of the oracle, alledged, that if the oracle had intended to foretel the destruction of the Athenians, she would not have called it the divine Salamis, but the unhappy; and that whereas the unfortunate in that oracle were stiled the sons of women, it could mean no other than the Persians who were scandalously effeminate. All discreet people concurred in their sentiments, that Themistocles had most judiciously interpreted the oracle, and that the Athenians could only hope for freedom by following his advice. The many, however, had much ado to be reconciled thereto; the leaving their country and estates bore hard upon them; their forsaking their houses and employments still harder; their leaving the tombs of their ancestors and the temples of their gods hardest of all. But Themistocles had a set of arguments in store for them, he made the very notions which would have kept them, contribute to drive them away; for having drawn over the priests who attended in the temple of Minerva, he caused them to give out that the dragon refused to eat, that the offerings set before him were found untouched, that at last it disappeared, so that without doubt the goddess had quitted the city, and taken her flight before them towards the sea. By degrees the populace were so intoxicated with these pious frauds, that they made no manner of question of the Persians being defeated,

[m] Herodot. ubi supra.

feated, and that Salamis would be the place. They therefore decreed, that the city ſhould be recommended to the protection of Minerva, that all ſuch as were of age to bear arms ſhould embark on board the fleet, and that all poſſible care ſhould be taken for the preſervation of children, women, and ſlaves. One Cyrſilus an orator vehemently oppoſed the decree, he urged all the common topics of love to the place of one's birth, and affection for wives and helpleſs infants; but the Athenians, conceiving that the falling in with his propoſition would betray a mean deſire of preſerving life, though at the expence of liberty, ſtoned him in the midſt of his diſcourſe, and the women, to ſhew how little they reliſhed ſuch arguments, and how far they were from deſiring that the cauſe of Greece ſhould ſuffer for them, ſtoned his wife. And thus Themiſtocles not only perſuaded his countrymen to do what he conceived was expedient for their ſafety, but even infuſed into them the ſame ſpirit with which he himſelf acted [n].

The Athenians quit their city.

When they began to prepare for this extraordinary embarkation, they had recourſe to the council of Areopagus, who, from funds to us unknown, diſtributed eight drachms to every man who went on board; but this ſum not being ſufficient, Themiſtocles with his uſual quickneſs deviſed an expedient for furniſhing the reſt of the money. He gave out, that in the preſent hurry ſomebody had ſtolen from the ſtatue of Minerva her ſhield, whereon the head of Meduſa was engraven, and having authority granted him to ſearch for it, under colour of this he took away all the money he could lay his hands on, and applied it to the uſe of the public. The people, in this their great diſtreſs, began to lament the loſs of Ariſtides, and to expreſs their apprehenſions, leſt he, to revenge himſelf of the ingratitude of his country, ſhould go over to the Perſians. Themiſtocles thereupon propoſed a decree, that all who were baniſhed might return again, in order to aſſiſt the Greeks with their counſels and perſons; thus he who had been baniſhed by the artifices of Themiſtocles was recalled by his virtue. Ariſtides, on his return, behaved himſelf with more than ordinary civility to Themiſtocles, and did not ſuffer any averſion to that general's perſon to influence him in his conduct as to public affairs [o] (Y).

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. [o] Id. ib.

(Y) At the ſame time that the Greeks thought of defending the paſs of Thermopylæ by land, they ſent a fleet to hinder the paſſage

NOTWITHSTANDING the Athenian fleet was ſuperior to that ſent by any of the confederates, nay to all the reſt of the fleet taken together, yet ſuch was the power of the Lacedæmonians, that the command thereof was committed to Eurybiades a Spartan, a man either unſkilful, or wanting fortitude enough for ſuch an undertaking; for he, when danger approached, was for ſtanding away for the gulph of Corinth in order to join the land army; which when Themiſtocles vehemently oppoſed, Eurybiades was pleaſed to ſay, Such as riſe up before the reſt at the olympic

paſſage of the Perſian navy through the ſtreights of Eubœa, which fleet rendezvouſed at Artemiſium. We have taken no notice of this in the text, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to enter into a detail of this matter elſewhere; but inaſmuch as the Athenians ſent a ſquadron of ſhips, and on board them Themiſtocles, to this place, we are obliged to take ſome notice of his conduct here. The Eubœans, not being able to prevail with Eurybiades to remain on their coaſt till they could carry off their wives and children, addreſſed themſelves to Themiſtocles, and made him a preſent of thirty talents. He took the money; with five talents he bribed Eurybiades. Then Adiamanthus the Corinthian being the only commander who inſiſted on weighing anchor, Themiſtocles went on board him, and told him in few words, 'Adiamanthus, you 'ſhall not abandon us, for I will give you a greater preſent for 'doing your duty than the king of the Medes would ſend you 'for deſerting the allies'. Which he performed by ſending him three talents on board. Thus he did what the Eubœans requeſted, and put 22 talents into his pocket. In the ſucceeding engagement Themiſtocles and all the Athenians behaved with extraordinary bravery, for which they received the applauſe of all Greece. At length, when it was thought neceſſary to retire from Artemiſium, Themiſtocles cauſed certain ſtones to be ſet up in all the ports, with inſcriptions, intreating the Ionians either to deſert the Barbarians and join the Greeks, who were fighting for their liberty, or at leaſt to act but faintly in the cauſe of their maſter, remembering, that they were originally Greeks themſelves, and that this very quarrel began on account of the aſſiſtance given by the Greeks to them. This he did with double intent; firſt to influence the Ionians to act as he deſired; ſecondly to give the Perſian monarch a jealouſy of them, that he might be the leſs inclined to truſt thoſe in whoſe power it was to do them moſt ſervice, ſince the Ionians were by far the beſt ſeamen in his fleet (76).

(76) Herodot. lib. vii.

olympic games are laſhed. To which the Athenian wiſely anſwered, But they that are left behind are never crowned. Eurybiades at this lifting up his batoon, as if he would have ſtruck him, Themiſtocles cried out, Ay, ſtrike if you will, but hear me; upon which Eurybiades laid down his ſtaff, and patiently attended to his diſcourſe. One of the Lacedæmonians, however, who had not ſo much ſenſe as the admiral, replied to Themiſtocles's oration, that it did not become ſuch, as had neither houſe nor home of their own, to endeavour to prejudice others by hindering them from returning to their habitations. Themiſtocles, taking fire at this, ſaid, "We have indeed, baſe fellow, "left our houſes and our walls, not thinking it fit to be-"come ſlaves, for the ſake of thoſe things that have nei-"ther life nor ſoul, and yet our city is the greateſt of "all Greece, as conſiſting of two hundred gallies, which "are here to defend you, if you pleaſe; but if you run "away and leave us, as you did once before, the Greeks "will ſoon perceive, that the Athenians can find for them-"ſelves as fair a country, and as large and free a city, as "that they have left". In a word, he took ſuch pains to demonſtrate to this aſſembly, and to the general in particular, that it would be madneſs to think of fighting anywhere but where they were, that the wiſeſt of the Grecian captains concurred with him. The chief of his arguments were theſe; he ſhewed them, that if once they retired from Salamis, the fleet would never fight at all, becauſe being made up of quotas from different ſtates, the ſeveral ſquadrons would immediately ſail back to their own ports, and leave the common cauſe of Greece without defence; that fighting before the iſthmus, which was the ſcheme of the oppoſite party, would be attended with two dreadful conſequences; the one, that Salamis and Ægina, with all the women and children in them, would be abandoned to the enemy; the other; that with a ſmall fleet they would be obliged to engage a very great one, and that in an open ſea; that, on the contrary, if they fought in the channel of Salamis, the Perſians would not have near ſo great an advantage from the number of their ſhips, becauſe the front of the line would be on both ſides nearly equal, that fighting here would effectually ſave Peloponneſus, whereas retiring to the coaſt thereof would draw the Perſians thither, and induce all thoſe conſequences which thoſe that propoſed it ſought to ſhun. As to the wall built croſs the iſthmus upon which ſome depended, he ſhewed,

that

that it was a fooliſh and ridiculous defence, in caſe they yielded the ſuperiority of the ſea to the Barbarians, who would then make their deſcents on every ſide of it without being obliged to force the wall at all. Theſe arguments, with the dread Eurybiades was in, that, in caſe he took other meaſures, the Athenians would deſert him and ſail to Italy, as Themiſtocles had hinted, engaged that general to declare for fighting, and in this reſolution they remained for ſome time.

THE courage of the Athenians on this occaſion can never be enough commended, ſince the chief cauſe of that fear which ſpread itſelf among the reſt of the Greeks was the miſerable deſtruction of the city of Athens. We have already given ſo full an account of this matter in the Perſian hiſtory, that there is no neceſſity of repeating it here. We ſhall content ourſelves with noting two or three things, which will illuſtrate the hiſtory now before us. Such of the Athenians as had fled to the Acropolis or citadel, out of a fond opinion that it was the place pointed at by the oracle, were all put to the ſword. The Perſians, with whom the deſcendents of Piſiſtratus returned, ſhewed no mercy to ſuch as obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit themſelves again to their obedience. As to pillaging the temples and ſetting fire to all the ſacred things, which gave ſuch high offence to the Greeks, theſe were not ſo properly to be aſcribed to the barbarity of their enemies, as to their zeal; for we have ſhewn before, that the Perſians were deiſts in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, and looked upon temples, images, and altars, as they were the marks of polytheiſm, to be ſo many indignities offered to the Supreme Being, which was the cauſe that they deſtroyed them without pity, as their reſentment of the injuries done them by the ſtates of Athens engaged them to ſhew no mercy to ſuch of its people as fell into their hands.

Debates amongſt the generals of the Greeks.

WHEN Xerxes drew down all his land-forces to the ſea-ſide, and at the ſame time cauſed his fleet to approach that of the Greeks, the Peloponneſians, who were in that navy, fell again into their old opinion of leaving all to preſerve Peloponneſus from being ravaged. To this end a council of war was ſummoned, for their murmurs ran ſo high, that Eurybiades was afraid of their deſerting; in this council their opinion prevailed, for they would neither liſten to arguments, nor pay any reſpect to authority. Themiſtocles

P Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch ubi ſupra.

Themiſtocles therefore, ſeeing his opinion ſet aſide by the Peloponneſians, reſolved to take meaſures for forcing them to ſtay; for, as Herodotus informs us, withdrawing privately from the aſſembly, he ſent away a man to the enemy's fleet in a ſmall veſſel, properly inſtructed; the name of this man was Sicinus, he was tutor to Themiſtocles's children, and every way capable of being made the inſtrument of great things. When he arrived in the Perſian fleet, he was conducted to their council of general officers, to whom he delivered the following meſſage, as from Themiſtocles. "The general of the Athenians, who is in "the intereſt of the king, and deſires your affairs may "proſper rather than thoſe of Greece, has ſent me pri- "vately away with orders to let you know, that the Gre- "cians in great conſternation have determined to betake "themſelves to flight, and that you have now an oppor- "tunity of atchieving the moſt glorious of all enterprizes, "unleſs your negligence opens a way to their eſcape. For "being divided in their opinions, they will not oppoſe "your forces; but you will ſee thoſe who are your friends "fighting againſt thoſe who are not of your party". This meſſage had its deſired effect, the Perſians conceived, not without ſome ſhow of reaſon, that the Athenians, finding it to no purpoſe any longer to oppoſe the great king, were reſolved by this piece of intelligence to make their peace with him at once, and thereby procure their city and country to be reſtored [q]. They therefore made all the preparations neceſſary for ſhutting up the Grecian navy, and reckoned that they were already ſo many prizes, and that now they ſhould regain their honour, and compenſate themſelves for the loſs which they had ſuſtained at Artemiſium. Ariſtides was the firſt who perceived what the Perſians aimed at; he immediately went to Themiſtocles, and when they were alone he addreſſed him, if we may believe Plutarch, who in the mean time is ſupported by Herodotus, in theſe terms: "If we are wiſe, Themi- "ſtocles, we ſhall now for ever lay aſide that vain and "childiſh contention that has hitherto been between us, "and begin a more ſafe and honourable emulation, by "contending which of us two ſhall do moſt towards the "ſafety of Greece; you by performing the part of a wiſe "and great general, and I by obeying and aſſiſting you "with my perſon and advice. I underſtand, that you alone

[q] Herodot. lib. viii.

" alone have determined rightly, adviſing to engage in the " ſtreights without delay. Your allies are of a different " opinion, but the enemies themſelves ſeem to confirm and " ſtrengthen your advice; for the ſea all round us is covered " and ſhut up by their fleet, ſo that they who have oppoſed " coming to an engagement muſt be forced to fight, and " ſhew themſelves men of courage, there being no room left " for flight." To this Themiſtocles replied, " I am " aſhamed, Ariſtides, at your having got the ſtart of me " in this noble emulation; I ſhall uſe my utmoſt endea- " vours to outdo this beginning, which is ſo much to your " honour, and to obſcure, if poſſible, this glorious ſtep of " yours by the luſtre of my future actions". At the ſame time Themiſtocles acquainted him with the ſtratagem made uſe of to compel the enemy to take the meaſures they did, and which in fact compelled alſo the Grecians to take thoſe which were moſt adviſeable for their own intereſt, and to which he had ſo often preſſed them, though to little purpoſe. Thus ended the interview between theſe two rivals for reputation, whoſe new cemented friendſhip proved of the utmoſt conſequence to the cauſe of Athens and Greece.

The battle of Salamis. Year after the Flood, 2519. Before Chriſt, 480.

THE detail of the battle of Salamis is unneceſſary here, ſince the reader has met with it before in our account of the Perſian affairs. We ſhall therefore content ourſelves with obſerving, that the Athenians reaped the higheſt honour from their behaviour on that remarkable occaſion, though Herodotus is for beſtowing the palm on the inhabitants of Ægina. We have more than once noted, that till Themiſtocles perſuaded the Athenians to apply themſelves to maritime affairs, the people of this little iſle were lords of the ſea. It is not therefore to be wondered, that their long experience enabled them to perform great things in a ſea-fight, of which the Perſian emperor was a ſpectator in perſon, and on the event of which their own liberty and that of all their confederates depended. The Athenians, after the Perſian fleet was once broke, drove their ſcattered ſhips towards the coaſt of Attica. The ſquadron of Ægina, ſtretching out to ſea, got on the other ſide of the flying Perſians, and ſunk many of thoſe veſſels which outſailed the Athenians. Thus the ſkill and conduct of thoſe two nations preſerved all their confederates, and not only carried away victory from the prodigious fleet of their enemies,

[r] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid.

enemies, but likewise obliged the Persians to account it a great happiness, if after this extraordinary defeat they preserved any part of that navy which had so lately darkened the coasts, and struck a panic through Greece.

The morning after the battle of Salamis, the Greeks, perceiving the enemy's land-forces still encamped in the same place, conjectured, that their fleet was retired into the Phalerum, one of the ports of Athens; but they were mistaken, for Xerxes had given orders, that they should sail with the utmost diligence to the Hellespont, while himself with his land-forces pretended to throw up an artificial isthmus, in order to unite the island of Salamis to the continent of Attica. The Greeks, in the mean time, were for pursuing the Persian fleet, in hopes of taking straggling ships in order to increase their booty; but coming to Andros without discovering any of the enemy's ships, they there called a council of war, in which Themistocles gave it as his opinion, that they should shape their pursuit by the way of the islands, and make all the sail they could for the Hellespont, in order to destroy the bridge which Xerxes had thrown over it, and thereby cut off that monarch's communication with Asia. Plutarch says, that he communicated this to Aristides, who opposed it; but Herodotus, with greater probability, ascribes this opposition to Eurybiades. That Themistocles communicated his sentiments to Aristides might be, but that he informed Eurybiades of them is morally certain, because he commanded in chief. It is therefore more likely, that he and not Aristides opposed the carrying them into execution, because he thought, that shutting Xerxes into Europe with such a mighty army would be to compel him to repair his former omissions, and to exert himself with vigor against the Greeks. When Themistocles perceived that this reasoning prevailed, and that the Grecian chieftains were likely to come into it unanimously, he formed another scheme, which Plutarch says, he likewise communicated to Aristides, and that was this; he sent a trusty messenger to Xerxes to inform him, that the Greeks intended to break down his bridge over the Hellespont; wherefore he advised him to march back with the utmost speed, promising to delay, as much as he was able, the intended project of his countrymen. Herodotus says, that he actually advised the Athenians to give over the pursuit, in order to return to their country and rebuild their houses, into which they readily gave, as it was natural for people to wish for a quiet

retreat,

retreat, after having ſo long endured ſo violent a tempeſt; but at the ſame time our author intimates, that Themiſtocles had in view the ſafety of the Perſians, and not the intereſt of the Athenians, which he attributes to his foreſight of following misfortunes, and his willingneſs to ſecure an aſylum, when the envy of his countrymen ſhould doom him to baniſhment. Theſe ſort of cenſures are the tribute paid by the great for the luſtre of their actions. Whether Themiſtocles really intended his country ill or no is what none can tell; that he generally meant its good is univerſally allowed, and that this advice ſuited his ſcheme of making Xerxes of his own accord abandon the war in Greece, is plain from the nature of the thing. It is hard therefore to tarniſh his glory by receiving ſuch inſinuations, and we had better ſuppoſe, that he did not foreſee his diſgrace, than by a conjectural magnifying of his prudence diminiſh the reputation he acquired as a true patriot [f].

HERODOTUS relates another thing of Themiſtocles; he ſays, that while the Grecian fleet and army were employed in beſieging Andros, this general ſent to Paros and other iſlands, and threatening the inhabitants of them, that the Greeks would invade their country, extorted from them vaſt ſums of money, which he inſinuates he applied to his own private uſe. Plutarch relates another paſſage, which muſt have happened pretty near this time, viz. that when the Grecian fleet was arrived at Pegaſa, a maritime town of Magneſia, where it wintered, Themiſtocles made an oration to his countrymen, in which he declared, that he had it in his mind to do ſome-thing which would prove of infinite conſequence to Athens; but that it was of ſuch a nature, that he could not communicate it to the aſſembly. Upon this the Athenians directed him to communicate it to Ariſtides only; and in caſe he approved it, to put it in practice. When therefore theſe great men were alone, Themiſtocles diſcovered in few words, that his ſcheme was to burn the reſt of the Grecian fleet, which would leave Athens miſtreſs of the ſeas. Ariſtides made his report to the people, that what Themiſtocles intended was indeed the moſt advantageous thing that could poſſibly happen to them, but at the ſame time it was the moſt unjuſt; upon which they readily directed him to think no more of it, eſteeming it far better to ſacrifice their intereſt to their fame,

[f] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt.

fame, than for the ſake of preſent advantage, how great ſoever it were, to hazard the cenſure of ſucceeding ages, and the ſtain of infamy never to be blotted out.

When the fleet was returned to Salamis, and the booty was divided amongſt all who had ſerved on board it, the Greeks reſolved to ſail to the iſthmus in order to confer there the cuſtomary honours on him, who by the free votes of the chiefs had deſerved beſt, and theſe being aſſembled in the temple of Neptune, and directed to write down his name who deſerved beſt, and alſo his who deſerved next, each chief put down his own in the firſt place, and the name of Themiſtocles in the ſecond, whereby, without deſigning it, they unanimouſly proclaimed him the moſt worthy of the Greeks. From thence he went to Lacedæmon, where he was received with the greateſt honour and reſpect, and the Spartans, partial as they were to their own countrymen, after decreeing the prize of valour to Eurybiades, aſſigned that of prudence to Themiſtocles, and crowned him with a wreath of olive; they preſented him alſo with the moſt magnificent chariot in Sparta, and when he returned to Athens he was eſcorted by five hundred horſe, an honour never paid to any ſtranger but him.

The Perſians attempt to treat with the Athenians.

On Themiſtocles's coming back to Athens, there were not wanting ſome who endeavoured to inſinuate, that his receiving ſuch high honours from the Lacedæmonians was injurious to his country; but he, confiding in his innocence, treated theſe clamours with contempt, and contented himſelf with exhorting the people, not to entertain any doubts of their confederates, but to be careful in maintaining the mighty reputation they had acquired, and the reſpect paid them by all the ſtates of Greece. About this time ſome of the families of the Athenians returned from Salamis to Trœzene, where they had taken refuge while the Perſians ravaged Attica; the former belonged to the Athenians, but the latter was free. They gave, however, a very kind reception to the women and children committed to their charge, they appointed them a maintenance out of their public funds, and paid alſo the beſt ſchool-maſters they could find for taking care of their youth; ſuch a high regard had the generoſity of the Athenians in abandoning all for the ſake of liberty drawn from every ſtate in Greece. The Perſians themſelves were no leſs ready in preferring them to all the Greeks: Mardonius, whom Xerxes had left to command the army deſtined for carrying on the war, choſe to treat with the Athenians, rather than to fight with them;

them; to this end he made use of Alexander king of Macedon, a person well known and highly respected at Athens. Him, as a tributary and ally of the Persian king, he sent to make proposals of peace, not in his own name, but in that of his master. When he arrived the Athenians entertained him like a friend, but delayed giving him audience, from a foresight, that the Lacedæmonians would not be long after hearing this news before they sent embassadors, which accordingly came to pass. They then appointed a day for Alexander to have audience of the people, on which, as Herodotus informs us, he spoke to this purpose: "Athenians, I am sent by Mardonius to tell you, "that he has received a message from the king in these "words; I forgive the Athenians all the injuries they have "done me, and therefore, Mardonius, observe the follow-"ing orders: Reinstate them in the possession of their "own territories; give them moreover whatever other "country they shall chuse; let them govern by their own "laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, "if they will come to an agreement with me. Having "received these orders, I am obliged to put them in exe-"cution, unless you prevent me; and now I my self "would ask you, what madness pushes you on to make "war against a king you will never conquer, nor always "be able to resist? You are not ignorant of the nume-"rous forces and great actions of Xerxes; you have heard "of the army I have, and if you should happen to be vic-"torious and to defeat us, which you can never hope so long "as you have the use of reason, another much more pow-"erful will come against you; suffer not your selves then "to be dispossessed of your country, and continually alarmed "for your own lives, by measuring your strength with the "king; but be reconciled to him, since you have now "so favourable an opportunity in your hands from the "present disposition of Xerxes. Enter therefore into an "alliance with us sincerely and without fraud, and con-"tinue to be a free people. These, O Athenians are the "words which Mardonius ordered me to say to you: "For my own part, I shall not mention my constant af-"fection to your state, because you have had sufficient "proof of that in former time. I beseech you then, "hearken to the counsel of Mardonius; for I see you "will not always be able to make war against Xerxes. "Had I not known this, I should never have undertaken

" to bring you such a message; but the king's power is " incomparably greater than that of all other mortals, " and his reach so extensive, that, unless you immediately " accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the " consequences to you, who, lying in the way of dan- " ger more than any other of the confederates, and " possessing a country placed as a prize between the con- " tending parties, must be always most exposed to ruin. " Let these reasons prevail with you, and consider the " important advantages you will receive, if the great " king forgives you alone among all the Grecians and " becomes your friend". The Lacedæmonian embassadors spoke in their turns, as soon as Alexander had made an end of his oration; they said, " that they were com- " missioned to exhort the Athenians not to listen to the " propofals of the Barbarians, because it was a thing un- " reasonable on many accounts; First, because the ori- " ginal quarrel was between the Persians and Athenians, " into which the rest of the Greeks were drawn merely " through their respect to them: Secondly, that the A- " thenians were always wont to be the foremost in the " cause of liberty, which it would not now become " them to desert: Thirdly, that there were no grounds " to believe the Persians would observe any terms with a " people they so much hated, when occasion would serve; " that the Spartans were exceedingly grieved for their " misfortunes, and as a mark of their regard would in " conjunction with their allies take care of their wives " and children till this war was at an end, and give them " what other assistance was in their power." The Athenians having deliberated on this proposition, answered first that of Alexander. They said, " they were well ac- " quainted with the great power of the king, but that " they were also well assured of the justice of their own " cause; that as long as the sun and moon endured they " would never desert the cause of Greece, nor forget " the injuries done them by the Persians." To the Lacedæmonians they answered, " they were sorry they " should conceive so meanly of them, as to think they " would ever compare interest with glory; that they " would continue firm to their confederates without being " a burden to them; but that, it being probable Mar- " donius would be ready for action in the spring, they " hoped the Lacedæmonians would think it more rea-

" ſonable to meet him with united forces in Bœotia,
" than to ſuffer him to ravage Attica again."

Athens a ſecond time deſtroyed.

WHAT the Athenians foreſaw came exactly to paſs; Mardonius, according to the orders of his maſter, marched directly into Attica, and began to waſte and plunder the country, levelling even the ruins of ancient buildings, and throwing to the ground ſuch as the Athenians had either erected or repaired. He proceeded to Athens, which its inhabitants were forced a ſecond time to abandon, the Spartans ſending help ſo ſlowly, that the enemy arrived long before their confederates, ſo that the Athenians were conſtrained to retire with their families to Salamis, and to ſend the army which they had raiſed, under the command of Ariſtides, to join that of the Spartans and other ſtates of Greece, which, under the conduct of Pauſanias tutor of king Pliſtarchus, was preparing to reſiſt the Perſians. This army ſoon after advanced into Bœotia, where they fought the famous battle of Platæa, in which they made a far greater ſlaughter of the Perſians than they had ever done before. It would be foreign to our preſent purpoſe to ſay any thing more of this battle here, becauſe it was fought out of the territory of Athens, and the Lacedæmonians had the ſupreme command. It will be neceſſary, however, to obſerve, that Ariſtides, with the body of troops under his command, behaved with ſuch bravery and reſolution, as procured him the praiſe of all the Greeks who were their cotemporaries, and hath tranſmitted their fame, both for valour and prudence, even to this far diſtant age. The ſame day that the battle of Platæa was fought in Greece, the Perſians were alſo defeated at Mycale in Ionia. The Grecian fleet conſiſted of two hundred and fifty gallies, under the command of Leotychides the Lacedæmonian and Xanthippus the Athenian. It is univerſally allowed, that the Athenians behaved better than any of the reſt of the Grecians in this engagement, of whom Herodotus ſays, that Harmolycus the ſon of Euthoinus, a famous wreſtler, deſerved the firſt place. When they had defeated the Perſian navy, the Greeks had the boldneſs to land and to attack the forces they found on ſhore. whom having alſo routed, they plundered all the country, and carried off an immenſe booty.

Year after the Flood, 2521. Before Chriſt, 478.

Havin

[t] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. & Themiſt. Juſtin. lib. ii.

Having done this they sailed to Samos, where it was debated in their council, whether or no it would be fit to transport the Ionians into Greece and leave Ionia to the Barbarians, since it would be very difficult, if not impracticable, for the Athenians, or indeed for the rest of the confederates, to assist them at all times, and in case they were not protected, their present revolt might prove fatal to them. It was likewise proposed, in case they were transported to Greece, to give them the territories of such Greek states as had in this war sided with the Persians; but after all the Athenians changed their minds, and shewed a visible reluctance, when this design should have been put in execution. They were apprehensive, that if the Ionians were transported into Greece they would rival them in point of trade, or at least throw off that obedience and respect which hitherto they had paid Athens, as their mother city and constant protectress. They were likewise uneasy at the Peloponnesians interfering in matters relating to their colonies, and as the Athenians were at this time the state of greatest consequence in Greece, their confederates thought it necessary to satisfy them by their particular condescension in this point, and therefore, after promising the Ionians such assistance as they should have occasion for from time to time, the fleet left their coast. The Lacedæmonians sailed back to Laconia, but the Athenians, under the command of Xanthippus, resolved to make some farther attempts before they quitted these seas [u].

The strong fortress of Sestos taken.

This resolution being taken, the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and besieged Sestos. It was a strong place, and had a great garrison under the command of Artayctes a Persian, whom Herodotus represents as a man of very dissolute morals. The siege was long and troublesome, and autumn drawing on, the Athenians were very desirous of returning home, but their general Xanthippus declared, that he would not depart till he had either taken Sestos, or was recalled by a decree of the Athenian people, because Artayctes had been guilty of sacrilege in rifling the sepulchre of Protesilaus, and taking thence a vast sum of money. At last, the garrison, being pressed with hunger and having no hopes of relief, resolved to shift for themselves, and accordingly made their escape in two parties, the one led by Oibazus, the other by Artayctes; Oibazus

[u] Herodot. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Justin, &c.

and his party were overtaken by the Thracians, who, after ſurrounding him and his guards, killed moſt of them, and took him and his family priſoners; after which they ſacrificed him to Pliſtorus a Thracian god, and put the reſt of their captives to the ſword. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were maſters of the place, ſent out detachments to ſcour the country, and one of theſe coming up with Artayctes and his corps of troops, near the river Ægos, engaged, routed them, and made him and his ſon priſoners. When they were brought back to Seſtos and put under a guard, Herodotus relates a very extraordinary prodigy, which he attributes to the ſacrilege before mentioned. He ſays, that one of the Athenian ſoldiers, to whoſe cuſtody this Perſian general was committed, broiling ſome dried fiſh, ſaw them leap upon the coals, as if they had been juſt taken out of the water, upon which Artayctes addreſſed himſelf to him in theſe words; "Athenian friend, be not afraid, you are not at all concerned "in this prodigy. Proteſilaus, though dead, and embalmed "at Eleus, admoniſhes me by this ſign, that the gods "have given him power to revenge the injury he "has received: Reſolving therefore to make him repara-"tion, I will conſecrate a hundred talents to his divinity, "inſtead of the riches I took out of his temples; and I "will give two hundred talents to the Athenians, if they "will ſpare my life and the life of my ſon". But their general Xanthippus would not be perſuaded by theſe promiſes, partly becauſe he himſelf was averſe to the thing, and partly becauſe the people of Eleus, to avenge the injuries done to Proteſilaus, earneſtly ſolicited him, that Artayctes might be put to death. Having therefore conducted him to that part of the ſhore, where the bridges of Xerxes terminated, or, as others ſay, to an eminence ſtanding near the city of Madytrus, they cauſed him to be impaled on a ſtake fixed in the ground for that purpoſe, and at the ſame time ſtoned his ſon before his eyes. When the Athenians had done theſe things, they returned with their fleet to Greece, carrying, beſides other riches all the materials of the bridges, in order to be conſecrated in their temples, and nothing more was done that year.[x] (Z)

THI

[x] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi.

(Z) The ſtory of Artayctes's ſacrilege we have from Herodotus who relates it thus: "The government of the whole provinc

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THE victories of Platæa and Mycale ſealed the freedom of Greece, and particularly eaſed the Athenians of their apprehenſions; they therefore brought back all their families into Attica, and began to think of rebuilding their city, not only with the utmoſt expedition, but alſo with ſome degree of magnificence [y]. The people were more elate than ever, they were conſcious of the mighty ſhare they had in driving the Barbarians back into Aſia, and were therefore reſolved to preſerve that freedom uninvaded by citizens, for which they had ſo warmly contended againſt ſtrangers. Themiſtocles, who was always for a popular government, encouraged them in theſe expectations, and Ariſtides, having thoroughly conſidered the genius of his countrymen, thought it would be better to concede to them freely what they ſo much deſired, than to hazard new diſturbances by the riſing up of different factions. He therefore propoſed, that every citizen ſhould have an equal right to the government, and that the archons ſhould be choſen out of the body of the people without preference or diſtinction; with this the commons were ſatisfied, and the men of figure were alſo contented [z]. Themiſtocles propoſed alſo

[y] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. c. 5. [z] Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid.

" was in the hands of Artayctes, a perſon of profligate and de-
" teſtable manners, who had been placed in that ſtation by Xer-
" xes, and, by impoſing a fraud upon him when he marched to
" Athens, had rifled the treaſures of Proteſilaus, the ſon of Iphi-
" cles, which were at Eleus. For in the city of Eleus in Cherſo-
" neſus the ſepulchre of Proteſilaus was erected in the midſt of
" this temple, and a great ſum of money, with gold and ſilver
" plate, veſſels of braſs, and other offerings, were taken from
" thence by Artayctes, in virtue of a grant from the king, which
" he obtained by this artifice: Sir, ſaid he, here is the habita-
" tion of a certain Grecian, who having entered your territories
" with an army, periſhed as he well deſerved. Give me the houſe
" of this man, that for the future none may dare to invade any
" part of your dominions. By this repreſentation he doubted not
" to obtain the houſe from Xerxes, becauſe he could have no
" ſuſpicion of his project; and told him Proteſilaus had invaded
" the royal dominions, becauſe the Perſians imagine that all Aſia
" is the property of their kings. Thus after Artyactes had ob-
" tained his requeſt, he brought away the treaſure to Seſtos, con-
" verted the ſacred place into paſture and arable land; and when
" he was at Eleus, lay with divers women in the ſanctuary (76).

(76) Herodot. lib. ix. prope fin.

ſo at this time, that Athens ſhould be inſtantly fortified in the beſt manner poſſible, to prevent the misfortunes which they had lately ſuſtained by the ſudden invaſions of the Perſians. He had other views than this, but they were not then ripe for diſcovery, ſo he contented himſelf with moving that firſt which was firſt to be put into execution. The Lacedæmonians, as ſoon as they received this news, were exceedingly alarmed: they had been hitherto the principal people in Greece, and were, of conſequence, very jealous of a rival. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to Athens, who on their arrival declared to the aſſembly, that the Spartans, having nothing in view but the general good of Greece, could not avoid remonſtrating againſt the proceedings of the Athenians in fortifying their city, ſince it was clear to them, that this meaſure muſt prove very diſadvantageous to their confederates, becauſe if the Perſians ſhould again make an irruption into Attica, with the ſame ſucceſs as before, and poſſeſs themſelves of a fortified city, they would make uſe of it as a bridle on Greece, and fill it with ſuch a gariſon as would render it inexpugnable. Theſe arguments ſeeming to have no great weight with thoſe to whom they were urged, the Spartan embaſſadors proceed to exert an authority which had been admitted in other Grecian cities, that is, they abſolutely forbid the Athenians to carry their walls any higher. The people, infinitely offended at this, and at the ſame time doubtful how it might be remedied, liſtened readily to Themiſtocles's advice, which was to the following effect: He ſaid, that conſidering their own imbecillity and the power of Sparta, they were in this caſe to make uſe rather of prudence than proweſs. That to free themſelves from the Lacedæmonian embaſſadors, who were but a kind of ſpies, they ſhould promiſe not to proceed any farther in walling their city, till by an embaſſy of their own they ſhould give ſatisfaction to Lacedæmon and the reſt of their allies. He then offered to go himſelf at the head of that embaſſy, and undertook to bring all things to a happy concluſion [a].

The Lacedæmonians deceived by Themiſtocles.

THEMISTOCLES, according to his own propoſal, being named with ſome other Athenians ambaſſadors to Sparta, he ſet out before the reſt, having intimated to the ſenate that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate, if they delayed as long as poſſible ſending the reſt of the embaſſadors to Sparta. When he arrived at Lacedæmon, he put off

[a] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

off ſome time receiving audience, on account of his being alone, and expecting daily his collegues. Theſe in the mean time exhorted the Athenians to proceed in building their walls with all imaginable application; this they readily gave into, ſparing neither houſes nor ſepulchres for materials, while women, children, ſtrangers, ſervants, and citizens, all wrought night and day, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were almoſt finiſhed. The Lacedæmonians having received advice of this, and the collegues of Themiſtocles being arrived, they ſummoned them before the Ephori, who began immediately to exclaim againſt the perfidiouſneſs of the Athenians in thus violating their promiſe. Themiſtocles denied the charge; he ſaid his collegues aſſured him of the contrary, that it did not become a great ſtate to depend on flying rumours, but that the Lacedæmonians ought to ſend deputies back with the Athenian embaſſadors to take cognizance of the affair, while himſelf remained as a hoſtage to be anſwerable for the event. This being agreed to, Themiſtocles engaged his aſſociates to adviſe the Athenians to commit the Spartan embaſſadors to ſafe cuſtody till he ſhould be releaſed. He then publickly avowed the whole tranſaction at Lacedæmon, took the ſcheme upon himſelf, and ſaid, That all things are lawful for our country. The Spartans, ſeeing no remedy, concealed their reſentment, and ſent him home in ſafety [b].

THE next year, which was the laſt of the ſeventy-fifth olympiad, Adiamanthus being archon, Themiſtocles opened himſelf further to his citizens, as to the ſchemes he had formed for raiſing their power, and encreaſing their wealth. He obſerved, that the port Phalerum was very narrow and inconvenient, he therefore adviſed them to make the Pyræum the port of Athens, from whence he ſaid that he was ſenſible, that great advantages would accrue to the ſtate, but that it was not proper for him to diſcloſe them to the aſſembly, or to lay down publicly the methods, by which his deſign might be carried into execution. He intreated them therefore to chuſe two perſons of rank and capacity, to whom he might communicate the whole of his project. The aſſembly thereupon made choice of Ariſtides and Xanthippus, to whom Themiſtocles freely imparted his contrivance, which was to render the Pyræum the moſt capacious haven in Greece, and to unite the city thereto by

[b] Plut. in vit. Themiſt. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

long walls, for he did not conceive it fit that the port ſhould be made part of the city, becauſe, knowing that ſailors are generally diſſolute, he was afraid, that their mixing with the citizens would work a corruption of manners. He obſerved, that the Ionians were originally from the ſame ſtock with themſelves, and that of conſequence, if Athens were miſtreſs of the ſea, they would attach themſelves to her rather than to Lacedæmon, which he ſaid would be the caſe of the iſlanders alſo, who, having no idea of a land-force, would ſue for protection to that ſtate whoſe naval power was greateſt; he concluded with ſhewing the eaſineſs with which his ſcheme might be put in practice, if its ends were kept ſecret, and the danger there would be of its coming to nothing, if the Spartans had once an idea of what was intended. Ariſtides and Xanthippus went then out to the people, and told them, that Themiſtocles's project was of the utmoſt advantage to the ſtate, and yet might be performed with the greateſt eaſe. This, inſtead of ſatisfying the aſſembly, inſpired them with new ſuſpicions, they therefore directed Themiſtocles to apply himſelf to the ſenate, and, if they approved his deſign, they empowered them to furniſh him with what he wanted; accordingly Themiſtocles addreſſed himſelf to that venerable body, and they went unanimouſly into all his meaſures. In the firſt place embaſſadors were diſpatched to Sparta, to inſinuate there how fit it would be for the Greeks to have ſome great port, where a fleet might always continue in ſafety, in order to watch the deſigns of the Perſians; having thus prepared the Lacedæmonians not to take offence at their firſt preparations for enlarging and eſtabliſhing the harbour of Pyræum, Themiſtocles took ſuch care, that every thing was finiſhed, and the place in a poſture of defence, before it was well known at Sparta what the Athenians were about [c].

The ſovereignty of ſea transferred to Athens.

THE Greeks continuing the war all this time againſt the Perſians, Ariſtides and Cimon the ſon of Miltiades were ſent commanders of the Athenian forces, Pauſanias the Lacedæmonian having the command in chief. This Pauſanias, elate with the ſucceſs he had had at Platæa and full alſo of new deſigns, having engaged in a treaſonable correſpondence with the Perſian king, treated all the captains under his command with ſuch haughtineſs and ſtate, that they were not able to bear it; for he never ſpoke to them

[c] Plutarch. in vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

them but in very harsh terms; he would not allow them to provide forage, or draw water for themselves or their soldiers, till his Spartans were all served. As for the private men, under colour of preserving discipline, he treated them as if they had been all slaves, making them for the smallest offences stand with an anchor bound down on their shoulders, so that it almost sunk them into the earth. On the other hand, the justice of Aristides and the candour and generosity of Cimon attracted the hearts both of captains and soldiers, they saw, that the Athenians were far more powerful at sea than the Lacedæmonians, and that the authority of the latter was founded only in their pride; they therefore applied themselves first to Aristides, to desire, that he would interpose with Pausanias, in order to hinder him from behaving so roughly; but when Pausanias turned from him disdainfully, and said he was not at leisure to hear him, they unanimously besought the Athenian commanders to take them under their protection, promising for the future to acknowledge Athens as the first city of Greece. Aristides upon this proposition told them, that he saw clearly not only the fitness, but the necessity, of what they proposed; but as he would never hazard either the safety or honour of his country, by attempting to do what might not succeed, so he would never comply with their request, till by some public act they put their sincerity out of question, and fix the concurrence of all the troops beyond a possibility of retracting. Upon this Uliades the Samian and Antagoras of Chios, having agreed together, ran foul of Pausanias's galley as she rode at the head of the fleet before Byzantium, and upon his threatening to make them know they had not affronted him, but his country, they not only slighted his menaces, but also told him in answer, that the best thing he could do was to retire and thank fortune for her favours at Platæa, for that nothing but the regard they had for that great action restrained the Greeks from resenting and revenging the ill treatment they had received at his hands. Thus the Lacedæmonians lost that pre-eminence which they had hitherto maintained, and the supreme command was transferred to the Athenians [d].

Aristides taxes all Greece by common consent.

THE conduct of Aristides derived yet greater honour and advantage to his country; the states of Greece saw very clearly, that it was necessary for them to be always on

[d] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. c. 6. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Aristid.

on their guard againſt the Perſians, and they had already learned, that war was not be made without money; they therefore inferred, that a ſtanding fund would be convenient for the maintainance of that force which it behoved them to keep on foot; but then the ſettling the proportions of this fund, according to the abilities of the ſeveral ſtates, ſeemed to be a difficult thing. Under this dilemma all Greece caſt her eyes on Ariſtides, they demanded him of the Athenians as the only perſon who could be intruſted with ſuch a plenitude of power. He executed his commiſſion in ſuch a manner, that his taxation was unanimouſly ſtiled, The happy lot of Greece, all its ſtates being perfectly well ſatisfied with the ſums he allotted them to pay. The groſs account of this tax was four hundred and ſixty talents. When he had finiſhed this buſineſs, he obliged all the people of Greece to ſwear to the obſervation of all the articles of their grand alliance, himſelf taking the oath in the name of the Athenians, throwing at the ſame time pieces of red-hot iron into the ſea, when he pronounced curſes againſt all ſuch as ſhould violate any article of the alliance they ſwore to. Afterwards indeed, when neceſſity compelled the Athenians to act a little againſt the letter of that treaty, Ariſtides adviſed them to transfer the curſes on him, adding, that he would willingly bear the puniſhments of their perjury, rather than behold them fall upon the ſtate. Themiſtocles ſaw with great concern the mighty honours heaped upon his rival, and, in order to leſſen his reputation, he was pleaſed to ſay in a public aſſembly, that the praiſes beſtowed on Ariſtides were not praiſes worthy of a man, but of a money-cheſt, which ſafely keeps what is depoſited therein. But this did not avenge him of an obſervation which Ariſtides had made on a former ſpeech of his, wherein he declared, that he thought it the greateſt excellency in a general to penetrate the deſigns of his enemy; to which Ariſtides replied, that it was indeed a moſt neceſſary qualification, but that there was another equally illuſtrious, which was to have clean hands, and not to be a ſlave to money. Thus when the Athenians were free from foreign wars and from any contentions with their confederates, they were continually employed in domeſtic quarrels; the diſſentions of eminent men were never failing to raiſe diſturbances among their fellow citizens. An obſervation which we ſhall content ourſelves with making here once for all, though the verification thereof

thereof will occur to our readers in almoſt every page of the Athenian hiſtory [c].

THE Lacedæmonians, though at firſt they made a ſemblance of ſubmitting to the pleaſure of the Greeks, who transferred the pre-eminence with reſpect to maritime affairs from Sparta to Athens, yet in a ſhort time they began to look on this as a mighty diminution of their authority; and they were the more concerned at it, becauſe it was reported among them, that an oracle had bid them beware, that they enjoyed not half an empire, yet their anger being moderated by the wiſdom of ſome of their citizens, they laid aſide all thoughts of war, and the Athenians, who had proviſionally built ſome ſtout gallies, reaped thereby ſome advantage from their threatenings. There ſeems juſt reaſon to believe, that the Lacedæmonians acted more politically in remaining at peace, than if they had taken arms; for a little after they accuſed Themiſtocles to his countrymen of having conſpired with their king Pauſanias to betray the cauſe of Greece. When this matter came to a hearing, it did indeed appear, that Pauſanias had diſcovered his intrigues to Themiſtocles; but it appeared likewiſe, that Themiſtocles did all in his power to perſuade him to let them fall, ſo that he was acquitted of this accuſation with honour. But the minds of the people being once ſtirred againſt him, as well to gratify their own private reſentment as to make their court to the Spartans, there were enow found to calumniate Themiſtocles. We have already ſhewn ſome of the reaſons which induced the people of Lacedæmon to hate this great man, there remains yet one more, which deſerves the reader's notice, becauſe of all others it exaſperated them moſt. A little after the battle of Platæa, it was propoſed in the council of the Amphictyons, or ſtates-general of Greece, that all ſuch cities as had not fought againſt the Perſians ſhould loſe their right of ſending deputies to that aſſembly. This Themiſtocles oppoſed, for he foreſaw, that if the cities of Thebes, Argos, and many others ſhould loſe their right of ſending repreſentatives to this aſſembly, the Lacedæmonians would rule all; wherefore he repreſented to the members there preſent, that there were but one and thirty cities, and moſt of them very ſmall ones, which had concurred in the war againſt the Perſians, and that if the deputies of thoſe only had ſeſſion in their council, it would undoubtedly

Themiſtocles baniſhed Athens, and driven out of Greece.

[c] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid.

undoubtedly come to paſs, that this auguſt ſenate would be entirely under the influence of two or three great cities, which would be at once diſadvantageous and diſhonourable to Greece. Theſe ſuggeſtions of his having deſtroyed the Lacedæmonian ſcheme of empire, the chiefs of that city ever after befriended the rivals of Themiſtocles, and ſought to bring him into odium with the Athenians. Timocreon the Rhodian, who was a famous poet in thoſe times, wrote libels againſt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides, and Cimon promoted exceedingly that ſpirit of jealouſy which began to ſpring up againſt him. Themiſtocles himſelf gave them a handle, by erecting near his own houſe a temple which he dedicated to Diana, the giver of the beſt counſel; intimating, that himſelf had given the beſt counſel both for the ſafety of Athens and Greece. The end of theſe diſputes was, that the Athenians by the oſtraciſm baniſhed Themiſtocles. The Lacedæmonians, not ſatisfied with this, accuſed him afreſh of having been concerned in Pauſanias's conſpiracy, which obliged that great man to fly from one place to another, and at laſt to take ſhelter in the court of Admetus king of the Moloſſians; but the Spartans ſending embaſſadors thither to threaten that king with the Greeks making war upon him by a confederacy, he furniſhed Themiſtocles with money to make his eſcape into Aſia, where learning not only the Perſians manners, but the language alſo, he raiſed himſelf to greater favour with Artaxerxes, than any of the native Perſians, ſo that in time he beſtowed on him a Perſian wife, a large eſtate, and great privileges, which deſcended to his poſterity, inſomuch, that Plutarch affirms, that he knew one of them, whoſe name was alſo Themiſtocles, who lived at Magneſia in full poſſeſſion of them, above five hundred years after the ingratitude of the Athenians ſent this excellent perſon to receive his bread from ſtrangers, and to make known to Perſia thoſe virtues of which Greece was no longer worthy [f] (A).

THE

[f] Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. c. 12. Plut. in vit. Themiſt.

(A) As far as the affairs of Themiſtocles were mingled with thoſe of the ſtate of Athens, we have followed his various fortunes in the text; but now, when they are no longer connected, we think it neceſſary to throw together ſome memoirs of the latter part of this great man's life in a note. It does not appear, that Themiſtocles

THE popular party in Athens carried all things before them, after Themistocles was banished; and such a number of false

Themistocles when banish'd had any design either to revenge himself on Athens, or to take refuge in the court of the king of Persia. The Greeks themselves forced him upon this, or rather the Lacedæmonians; for as by their intrigues his countrymen were induced to banish him, so by their procurement, after he was banished, he was never suffered to remain in quiet, let him take refuge where he would. His journey into Persia, if we may believe Plutarch, was very dangerous; the great king having promised by proclamation two hundred talents for apprehending him. Nicogenes the Æolian found means to convey him to court in safety, for having put him into a close litter he caused the servants who attended him to give out, that they carried a young Grecian lady out of Ionia to a nobleman attending on the king's person; thus he arrived safely at the court of Artaxerxes, where he addressed himself to Artabanus, and informed him that he was a Grecian, who desired to be admitted to an audience of the king, which Artabanus having promised, demanded whom they should say he was; for you seem, said he, to be no ordinary person. Themistocles answered, no man must be informed of this before the king himself. When admitted to the royal presence, and commanded to declare who he was, he spoke thus: "I am Themistocles the Athenian, banished and "persecuted by the Greeks; I fly to thee for refuge, mighty "monarch: The evils I have done to the Persians are easily to be "forgiven, in consideration of the many atchievments performed "for them when I hindered the Grecians from pursuing the Medes "after the fatal battles of Salamis and Platæa; when having "freed my country, and placed the Greeks in safety, my ambi-"tion led me on to greater enterprizes; in which being suc-"cessful, I gratified the far-extended Persian empire, and per-"formed services acceptable to the greatest prince on earth: "Since which all things having conspired to augment my present "calamities, suitable to such a condition, I come hither hoping "to receive mercy from a gracious reconciled emperor, who hath "laid aside his anger, and is no longer mindful of former evils; "humbly imploring you, that taking the Greeks for witnesses of "the services I have done for Persia, you will make use of this "occasion to shew the world the nobleness of your virtue, rather "than the greatness of your resentment. Hereby you will pre-"serve an humble suppliant, if otherwise, you destroy a servant "of the Persians, and a public enemy of the Greeks (77)".

Thucydides mentions a letter sent by Themistocles to Artaxerxes, differing

(77) de Bello Pelop. lib. i.

falſe witneſſes aroſe, that thoſe who were moſt concerned in that affair were in danger of repenting of it. Ariſtides alone,

differing very little from this ſpeech, attributed to him by Plutarch. Cornelius Nepos hath copied this letter from Thucydides; and all agree, that the Perſian monarch received him with great kindneſs. Plutarch ſays, that he was ſo well pleaſed with him, that he cried out thrice, the night of his audience, in his ſleep, I have Themiſtocles the Athenian (78). The next morning the king ſent for him again, and as ſoon as the firſt compliments were over, ſaid, 'I am in your debt two hundred talents, for ſo 'much I promiſed to him who brought Themiſtocles;' he likewiſe promiſed him far greater favours, and deſired he would ſpeak his mind freely of the affairs of Greece. Themiſtocles anſwered by his interpreter, 'That diſcourſe, like a Perſian carpet, 'had in it a variety of figures, which never appeared to advan-'tage, but when it was thoroughly unfolded, and was ſcarce to 'be apprehended when wrapt together in the piece;' he therefore deſired that he might have time to learn the Perſian language, which would enable him to diſcloſe his own ideas without the help of another. This anſwer of Themiſtocles is a noble proof of his extenſive genius, it was entirely in the oriental taſte, the ſentiment great, and the figure expreſſive; he delivered himſelf like a native Perſian the very firſt day that he appeared in the court of Perſia; the king readily granted him a year for the purpoſe he intended. At the end of that ſpace he appeared frequently at court, Themiſtocles being in a ſhort time ſo great a favourite, that it became afterwards a proverb, and the Perſian kings were wont to promiſe any Greek whom they ſought to bring over to their intereſt, 'That he ſhould live 'with them as Themiſtocles did with Artaxerxes.' He was alſo in favour with the queen-mother, became a convert to the Perſian religion, and was inſtructed therein by the magi. He had three cities beſtowed upon him, which, alluding to their ſituation, the king of Perſia ſaid in pleaſantry, that they ſhould ſerve to provide him bread, wine, and meat; theſe cities were Magneſia, Myon, and Lampſacus; the firſt brought him in a yearly revenue of fifty talents, and the laſt had in its neighbourhood the nobleſt vineyards in the eaſt. Themiſtocles fixed his reſidence at Magneſia, where he liv'd with all the ſplendor of a Perſian grandee, inſomuch, that he ſaid one day at table to his children, 'We had been undone, my little ones, if we had not been 'undone.' He was ſo far from expreſſing any hatred againſt his ungrateful country, that Plutarch aſſures us the tenderneſs he retained

(78) Plut. in vit. Themiſt.

alone, when things came to extremity, ſhewed himſelf more a friend to virtue, than an enemy to Themiſtocles; he refuſed to join with Alcmæon and Cimon in proſecuting him capitally, and was ſo far from inſulting him in his misfortunes, that he ſpoke of him with greater reſpect than ever. The war with Perſia was not yet let fall, the Greeks found that great advantage accrued to them from carrying it on, eſpecially the Athenians, who, by means of their great force at ſea, were continually enriching themſelves, at the expence of ſome or other of the Perſian emperor's ſubjects. They therefore deviſed various reaſons for ſending fleets to ſea, though the real intent

retained for it had like to have coſt him his life; for ſeeing at Sardis a brazen ſtatue of a virgin which he had ſet up in Athens, when he was ſurveyor of the aqueducts, he attempted to perſuade the governor of Lydia to ſend it back to Athens; who, far from giving into his opinion, fell into a great paſſion, and threatened to inform the emperor, ſo that Themiſtocles, in order to extricate himſelf from danger, was forced to make large preſents to his woman. Authors differ exceedingly as to the manner in which this noble Athenian died. Plutarch ſays, that being preſſed by the king of Perſia to undertake an expedition againſt Greece, he made a ſolemn ſacrifice, at which having kindly entertained his friends, he drank a porringer of bull's blood, and ſo put an end to his life. Thucydides, who was cotemporary with Themiſtocles, ſpeaks very doubtfully of this buſineſs; 'He died, ſays 'he, of a diſtemper, but ſome report that he poiſoned himſelf, 'ſeeing it impoſſible to accompliſh what he had promiſed the 'king.' He was ſixty-ſix years old at his death; he was honoured with a ſtately tomb at Magneſia, but his bones by his own command, were privately carried back into Attica and buried there. Some ſay, that the Athenians, repenting afterwards of their ill uſage of this great man, honoured him with a tomb in the Pyræum. And Plutarch in ſupport of this quotes the following verſes from Plato the comedian:

Thy tomb is juſtly raiſed upon the ſtrand,
Where from all parts admiring ſtrangers land;
In that fair port by thy great genius made
The ſeat of empire, liberty, and trade:
So that thy aſhes on this famous ſhore,
Both ſea and land may honour and adore (79).

(79) Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Themiſt.

tent was to aggrandize and enrich themselves, by the skill and valour of their troops and their commanders. With this view, in the latter end of the seventy-seventh olympiad, they equipped a navy for the relief of such of the Grecian cities in Asia as were under subjection to the great king. This expedition was pleasing to the Athenians, and no less grateful to the Greeks in general, since it seemed to be for the advantage of others, though they had in truth no less regard to their own [g].

Cimon establishes the Athenian greatness.

CIMON, the son of Miltiades by the daughter of the king of Thrace, was unanimously chosen admiral and commander in chief on this occasion: He will make a great figure in the succeeding part of this history, and therefore it is necessary that we should give the reader his character here. Cimon's abilities were fair and solid, yet less so than his virtues; his father had distinguished himself by the firmness of his courage, Themistocles by the strength of his judgment, Aristides by his probity, Cimon was equal to them all; his distinguishing perfection was an openness of temper, which made him above deceiving, the only stain on Themistocles's character; and an inflexible honesty, which raised his reputation above his father's. It was this Cimon whom the merciful Athenians put in chains for his father's fine, and for whose release his sister gave up her charms to Callias, remarkable only for being at the same time worthless, and worth money. In his youth Cimon did not promise much, he was little inclined to learning, which in an Athenian was a strange thing; he was much addicted to magnificence and the love of women, which were also thought blemishes in a young nobleman like him; but of a sudden he gave his citizens to understand, that the greatest virtues are not the soonest seen; for, when on the first news of the Persian invasion, Themistocles advised the Athenians to quit their city, and go on board their gallies, and was thereupon universally decried, Cimon went immediately to the temple of Minerva, and offered up a bridle, to signify that horsemen were no longer of use, but that they ought to trust to their ships; after which he went chearfully about taking down his goods, and carried them on board the fleet. Aristides, observing the integrity of this young man, took great care to train him up to business, that his candour might balance the craft of

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

of Themiſtocles, in which he ſucceeded very happily; for Cimon only of all the Athenian generals was always beloved, and never ſuſpected [h]. In this expedition he took the city of Eion from the Perſians, but with little advantage to the Athenians, becauſe Butes, who commanded in that city for the Perſian king, ſet fire to the place, and burnt himſelf, his gariſon, and all the riches that were therein; however Cimon ſettled colonies in that neighbourhood after revenging himſelf on the Thracians, who had aſſiſted the Perſians in Ionia with proviſions. He afterwards reduced the iſland of Scyros, from whence he brought the bones of Theſeus, which were honourably interred at Athens (B). After this he returned to Athens, and

[h] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd.

(B) This note hath the ſame ſubject with the laſt; we are to ſpeak of the honours paid by the Athenians to the aſhes of a great man, whom they treated ill when living, and ſent to beg his bread; this was no leſs a perſon than Theſeus, to whom in a great meaſure they owed their being a people. The oracle, in the latter end of the ſeventy-fifth, or beginning of the ſeventy-ſixth, olympiad, commanded the Athenians to bring home the aſhes of this prince. When therefore Cimon made himſelf maſter of the iſle of Scyros, he ſought with great diligence for the tomb of Theſeus; but being able to find no ſuch thing, he inquired of the people of the iſland, who either could not or would not give him any intelligence; at laſt obſerving an eagle upon a riſing ground pecking it with her bill, and tearing up the earth with her talons, it came into his head to dig there. This being done, there was found a coffin of a man of more than ordinary ſize, the brazen head of a launce, and a ſword lying by him, all which he took on board his galley, and brought them with him to Athens. The Athenians, tranſported with joy, went out to meet and receive the reliques of this great man with all the pomp imaginable. They interred them in the middle of the city, and made his tomb an aſylum or ſanctuary for ſlaves and people of mean condition, who fled from the perſecution of men in power, becauſe in his life-time he had been a protector of the diſtreſſed, and above all things delighted in doing the injured juſtice. They likewiſe ſacrificed ſolemnly to him on the 8th of October, becauſe he was reported to have returned from his Cretan expedition on that day. Thus the Athenians, who injured Theſeus living, revered him dead (80)!

(80) Plut. in vit. Theſ.

Year after the deluge 2531. Before Christ 468.

and having increaſed his fleet to three hundred ſail, he ſteered for the coaſt of Caria, and having performed great things there, he ſailed for Cyprus, where he was informed the Perſian fleet lay at anchor. He found them at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, their land army, which was very numerous, being encamped not far off. Cimon, though the fleet was much ſtronger than his, attacked it, and after a very obſtinate engagement gained a complete victory, taking one hundred ſhips, their crews abandoning them to ſeek refuge on ſhore. Unſatisfied with this, he debarqued his forces, and attacked their land-army; the Perſians fought better than ever they had done, and yet after a very long and bloody battle the Athenians prevailed, and not only routed the Perſians, but poſſeſſed themſelves of their camp with all the riches contained therein; thus in one day he gained two important victories, one at ſea the other at land, equal to thoſe of Salamis and Platæa [i]. Plutarch ſays, that he afterwards made himſelf maſter of eighty Phœnician veſſels which lay in a port of Cyprus, and were intended to ſtrengthen that navy which Cimon had deſtroyed. However it was, he gained ſuch an immenſe booty, that the Athenians were enabled thereby to build the ſouth wall of the citadel, and to lay the foundation of thoſe far extended walls which united the port to the city, and which being built in a mooriſh ground, they were firſt of all forced to ſink great ſtones, that they might have whereon to erect a ſuperſtructure, beſides various other things for the accommodation of the citizens, and beſides what Cimon himſelf did out of his proportion of the ſpoils, which were very great; for he adorned the forum with palm-trees, and beautified the academy with delightful walks and pleaſant fountains. The wealth of Cimon, as it enabled him to do many things for the public, ſo it likewiſe put it in his power to live in his private capacity with that magnificence which he ſo much affected; he therefore demoliſhed the incloſures about his grounds and gardens, and permitted every body to enter and take what fruits they pleaſed; he likewiſe kept an open table, where not only the rich found delicacies, but the pooreſt Athenians eat of them freely. When he went abroad he was conſtantly attended by a train of young gentlemen extremely well dreſſed, and whoſe pockets were well

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

well furniſhed with money. But if by chance he met any ancient citizen in a tattered ſuit, he made ſome of his domeſtics change cloaths with him; or if the quality of the perſon rendered that kindneſs unſuitable, he took a ſum of money from one of his attendants, and conveyed it into the pocket of the diſtreſſed perſon privately. Thus, as one of the ancients ſaid of him very juſtly, he gained riches that he might uſe them, and uſed them ſo as to get credit. Yet he was far from doing theſe things from a deſire of becoming popular; on the contrary he ſided always with the nobility, and oppoſed openly ſuch as ſought to make their court to the people, by putting all things into their power. The riches which his victories poûred into Athens, brought along with them their conſtant attendant corruption; but though the tide was ſtrong, yet Ariſtides, in the midſt of a voluntary poverty, and Cimon, who lived with the greateſt magnificence, eſcaped it, and were never taxed with partiality, or being under the influence of money [k].

The Thaſians revolt, and are reduced by Cimon.

THE affairs of Athens were now in ſuch a proſperous condition, that they would not ſuffer any thing to be tranſacted to their prejudice without revenging it. The Perſians having invaded the Cherſoneſus, and by the help of the Thracians made themſelves intirely maſters of it, Cimon was ſent thither in a great hurry; he had with him but four ſhips, ſo that the Barbarians and their allies looked upon this as a very raſh attempt; however, Cimon, falling upon them ſuddenly, took thirteen of their gallies, and afterwards reduced all Cherſoneſus under the Athenian power, after which he went againſt the Thaſians, who, revolting from the Athenians, had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines, which lie between the rivers Nyſſus and Strymon, which tempted the Athenians to fall upon them. But before we enter into the event of this war, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Cimon put the Athenians into a method of becoming irreſiſtible at ſea, and of ſaving their neighbours, not at their own expence, but at the expence of thoſe they awed. It was thus: Many of the Greek ſtates, who, by the treaty concluded with Ariſtides, were bound to furniſh men and gallies, as well as to pay the tax for their ſupport, when they ſaw themſelves out of danger from the Barbarians, were very

[k] Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

unwilling to furniſh their quota of men and ſhips; this moſt of the Athenian generals diſliking, would have compelled them by high fines to remedy; but Cimon took a contrary courſe, he permitted ſuch as were deſirous of ſtaying at home to remain there, and took a certain ſum in lieu of a galley completely manned. By this means he inured the Athenians, whom he took on board his gallies, both to hardſhip and diſcipline, while the allies, who choſe to excuſe themſelves in this manner, were enervated through idleneſs, and ſo from confederates dwindled by degrees into tributaries, and almoſt ſlaves. The people of Thaſus, perceiving this, thought to have ſhaken off the Athenian yoke; but Cimon proved too many for them, though the Thraſians behaved very bravely; for having firſt ſuſtained a great loſs at ſea, they afterwards ſhut themſelves up in their city, and made a very obſtinate defence; while in the mean time they ſent privately to the Lacedæmonians, and endeavoured to ſtir them up to make war with the Athenians; but their affairs not permitting them to comply with their requeſt, the Thaſians were obliged at laſt to ſubmit; and ſo the gold mines, about which this war was commenced, fell into the power of the Athenians, who ſent a great colony to Amphipolis a city of Thrace, which for a time made a great figure, but afterwards attempting to penetrate into the country of the Edones, a great part of them were deſtroyed. In the laſt year of the ſeventy-ſeventh olympiad, the Lacedæmonians finding themſelves extremely vexed by their Helotes, who were revolted from them, and were ſupported by the Meſſenians and ſome other of their neighbours, ſent to demand aid from Athens, which produced very great diſputes there; Ephialtes, a great orator, who was at the head of the popular party, oppoſed the motion for ſending, as the Spartans deſired, an army to their aſſiſtance. Cimon, who favoured the nobility, and who was a great friend to the Lacedæmonians, by whoſe intereſt he had been ſupported againſt Themiſtocles, earneſtly preſſed the Athenians to lay hold of this opportunity of ſhewing their virtue and magnanimity, by ſuccouring their companion, who was the other eye of Greece. Ephialtes ſought to bring the people into his opinion, by ſhewing that Sparta had always been, and from the nature of her conſtitution would always be, an enemy to Athens, and therefore ought not to be ſuccoured now, when the enemies her pride had excited

were

were about to lay her low. The Athenians, however, liſtened rather to Cimon than to his adverſary, and, full of a generous concern for Greece, ſent that fortunate general at the head of a great army to the aſſiſtance of Lacedæmon, which ſervice he very willingly performed, and returned from thence with great honour; ſome time after, the Lacedæmonians, being engaged in the ſiege of Ithome, ſent again to the Athenians for ſuccour, and were again relieved, Cimon marching with a numerous body of troops to their aſſiſtance; but the Spartans, finding that their other confederates had ſent troops ſufficient to enable them to make an end of the war ſucceſsfully, diſmiſſed the Athenian ſuccours, as being either afraid of them, or caring leaſt to be obliged by them. This grievouſly offended the people of Athens, who thenceforward not only hated the Lacedæmonians, but all of their own citizens, who were reputed to be friends to that ſtate [l].

The Athenians make war on Ægina, and ſend a fleet into Egypt.

THE Athenians engaged themſelves in two new wars, one againſt the inhabitants of Ægina, who, having been always free, bore very ill thoſe acts of ſovereignty which the Athenians exerciſed over them, as well as the reſt of their allies; the ſecond was againſt the great king in Egypt, which now revolted from him, and ſet up one Inarus for king. The fleet which the Athenians ſent hither performed wonders; for they enabled the Egyptians to beat the Perſians in the field, and to ſubdue two diſtricts of the great city of Memphis; but the third, which was called the white, they could not reduce, the Perſians, who retreated thither, having carried with them a vaſt quantity of proviſions and ammunition, which enabled them to hold out a ſiege of three years; but, this affair being already exactly related in our account of the Perſian monarchy, we need ſay no more of it here, than that it ended not much to the credit or advantage of the Athenians [m].

State of the factions in Athens at this time.

THEIR great buſineſs abroad did not ſo much take up the time of the people of Athens, but that they continued as much divided as ever at home; the popular party were continually making efforts againſt thoſe ſmall remains of power which were yet in the hands of the nobility; they had at their head two very great and famous men, Pericles

[l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos vit. ejuſd. Thucyd. lib. i. [m] Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 157.

and Ephialtes; the former of theſe was the ſon of Xanthippus, the famous Athenian captain who won the battle of Mycale, by Agariſte the niece of the celebrated Clyſthenes, who had ſo great a hand in expelling the Piſiſtratidæ. He ſtudied under Damon and Anaxagoras; from the former he learned politics, though he pretended to teach him muſic, and from the latter natural philoſophy and the art of ſpeaking. He had prodigious talents, and above all an eloquence ſuperior to that of any of his cotemporaries; but he was obliged to conceal theſe ſhining qualifications, becauſe the Athenians had taken it in their heads that he reſembled Piſiſtratus very much in his face, and ſtill more in his eloquence, which was ſo nervous and elevated, that it procured him afterwards the ſurname of Olympius. Notwithſtanding therefore that he was of a great family, had a good eſtate, and many relations who filled the firſt poſts in the commonwealth, yet he not only declined ſtanding for public employments, but even ſpeaking or appearing in public, that he might not draw upon himſelf the envy of the great, or become formidable to the people. But when Ariſtides was dead, Themiſtocles in baniſhment, and Cimon, generally ſpeaking, employed in foreign affairs, Pericles began to apply himſelf ſtrictly to public buſineſs, but in a manner very different from that in which hitherto the great men of Athens had acted; for, inſtead of courting the rich and the great, he applied himſelf wholly to the lower ſort of people, notwithſtanding that it was contrary to his natural diſpoſition, which by no means inclined him to a plauſible inſinuating behaviour. The reaſon was, that there appeared no other method than this, by which he could poſſibly attain to that eminence and ſuperiority which he affected. Cimon, by the greatneſs of his birth, the luſtre of his actions, and the largeneſs of his eſtate had placed himſelf at the head of the nobility, and was by them conſidered as their chief, being revered for his magnanimity, as he was beloved for his generoſity and condeſcenſion. The multitude therefore were the ſole reſource of Pericles, who, as he was a great and deep politician, foreſaw exactly the dangers he muſt be expoſed to in conſequence of his making court to them. To avoid theſe, he practiſed a behaviour equally ſingular and extraordinary; he left off all company, he neither received or paid viſits, and but once in all his adminiſtration was preſent at a feaſt, and then he went away early. When he went abroad, it was either to the Prytaneum or aſſembly; he preſerved an unſhaken gravity in his

his look, his geſtures, and his ſpeech, and always prayed, before he delivered an oration, that nothing might ſlip from him diſpleaſing to the people. With all theſe abilities he perceived it impracticable to carry his point, unleſs he could be as liberal as Cimon, to whom though his will was equal, yet his fortune fell ſhort; but he overcame this difficulty by making bold with the public money, and doing what all artful politicians have done ſince, obliging the people at their own expence. He encreaſed the ſalaries given to ſuch of the Athenian citizens as ſat in courts of juſtice, the money given to the poor citizens for attending at aſſemblies, and to enable them to pay for ſeats in theatres [n] (C).

[n] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.

(C) The reader might be juſtly offended, if we had ſuffered Ariſtides's ſubſequent fortunes to have ſlipped without notice. We have already marked his public character, his notions of government, and the ſhare he had, like the reſt of the great men of Athens, in the favour and in the hate of his countrymen. In this note therefore we will draw together ſuch ſcattered paſſages in relation to this great man, as the courſe of the hiſtory did not permit us to take notice of in the text. Plutarch tells us, that one Ariſto, an hiſtorian of Chios, or, as M. Dacier will have it, of Ceos, ſaid, that the contention between Ariſtides and Themiſtocles took riſe from their being both enamoured of Steſileus of the iſland of Ceos, the moſt beautiful youth of his time, in which if there be any truth, it is an inconteſtable argument, that the morality of the Greeks was far from being pure or perfect, ſince Ariſtides, who valued himſelf ſo much on his probity, could perſiſt in ſo baſe and unnatural a vice. What a high eſteem all his cotemporaries had of the rigid virtue of Ariſtides, is better known to us from an accident, than from all the laboured panegyrics of the writers of hiſtory. It happened, that Ariſtides was preſent the firſt time that Eſchylus's tragedy was played, which has this title, The ſiege of Thebes by the ſeven captains. A courier being therein introduced, relating to Eteocles the name and qualities of thoſe that commanded, thus deſcribes the genius and temper of Amphiaraus.

> He aims at real worth without the ſhow,
> Reaping thoſe fruits which in his rich mind grow;
> Whence ſage advice and noble actions flow.

As ſoon as theſe words were out of the actor's mouth, the whole audience turned their eyes upon Ariſtides, to ſhew that in their opinion this was his character alſo. He was appointed treaſurer, of Athens, and executed that office with great integrity; but inaſmuch

INASMUCH as Pericles never pretended to any of the great offices of the commonwealth, he could not of conſequence be choſen

aſmuch as he had expoſed ſome of Themiſtocles's frauds, that artful politician accuſed him of miſapplying public money, and though nothing was falſer than this charge, got him condemned. But, the court of Areopagus interpoſing, his fine was remitted, and he choſen treaſurer for the next year, when he ſuffered all the collectors and under-officers to act as they thought fit, who thereupon extolled him to the ſkies, and, when the end of the year came, would have perſuaded the people to chuſe him a third time, when Ariſtides, riſing up, addreſſed himſelf to the aſſembly in theſe words: "When I diſcharged my office with care, and ma-
" naged your treaſure faithfully and like an honeſt man, I was re-
" viled and evil ſpoken of; but now when I have taken no care
" at all, but left it to the diſcretion of theſe public robbers, I am,
" it ſeems, an admirable treaſurer, and a moſt excellent patriot;
" I therefore declare to you, that I am more aſhamed of the ho-
" nour done to me this day, than of the ſentence paſſed upon me
" laſt year; and with indignation and concern I ſee, it is more
" meritorious with you to oblige ill men, than to deſerve well of
" the commonwealth". The day before the battle of Platæa, a conſpiracy being diſcovered among the Athenians to introduce a democracy, Ariſtides, who commanded, would not ſuffer it to be looked minutely into, for fear it ſhould occaſion ſome ſedition in the camp; but contented himſelf with telling ſuch as were ſuſpected, that the battle would be the tribunal in which they might juſtify themſelves, and ſhew how much they were friends to their country. It is certain, that in this battle Ariſtides proved himſelf to be as great a general as he was a ſtateſman, and gave as noble teſtimonies of his valour as he had ever done of prudence and juſtice; he lived but four years after Themiſtocles was baniſhed, and notwithſtanding he had exerciſed the greateſt offices in the commonwealth, yet he was ſo poor that he was unable to make a figure himſelf, or to leave any thing to his children, except the honour of being deſcended from ſuch a father, which procured them a maintenance from the public; we will inſtance but one thing more in relation to Ariſtides, which reſpects at once his poverty and virtue, and ſo conclude. His couſin Callias the torch-bearer being under a proſecution, the orator who ſpoke againſt him obſerved, that though he was immenſely rich, he ſuffered his couſin Ariſtides to labour under the deepeſt neceſſity. Callias, perceiving that this made more impreſſion on his judges than the crime for which he was accuſed, ſummoned Ariſtides, who owned, that Callias had often preſſed him to accept money, and that he had as often anſwered, It better becomes Ariſtides to make a ſhew of his poverty, than Callias of his wealth; for many people

make

choſen a member of the court of Areopagus, whence it came to paſs, that he diſtaſted their authority, becauſe he knew they could not be well pleaſed with his endeavouring to transfer all things to the general aſſembly, where by dint of his eloquence he governed all. But fearing to draw upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of the moſt venerable council among the Athenians, he encouraged Ephialtes his intimate friend to ſtir up the people againſt the Areopagites, and to make them believe, that this tribunal was the greateſt curb upon them, and the only bar to that extenſive liberty which their friends wiſhed to put into the hands of the commons of Athens; thus with great policy he laid the foundation of his own greatneſs in that of the people, but at the expence of the ancient conſtitution and of the ſafety of the ſtate, as the courſe of this hiſtory will ſhew °.

When things were in this ſituation, it was thought expedient by the popular party to attempt the deſtruction of Cimon. In order to this a proſecution was commenced againſt him for treaſon againſt the ſtate; this treaſon was pretended to conſiſt in receiving preſents or other gratifications from the Macedonians, whereby he was prevailed on to let ſlip the manifeſt opportunity he had to enlarge his conqueſts, after he had taken from the Perſians the gold mines in Thrace. Cimon made a defence ſuitable to his character, he ſaid, that he had proſecuted to the utmoſt of his power the war againſt the Thracians and other enemies to the ſtate of Athens; but that it was true, he had not made any inroads into Macedonia, becauſe he did not conceive that he was to act as a public enemy to mankind, and becauſe he was ſtruck with reſpect for a nation modeſt in their carriage, juſt in their dealings, and ſtrictly honourable in their behaviour towards him and the Athenians; that if his countrymen looked upon this as a crime, he muſt abide their judgment, but could never be brought to think that his conduct was amiſs. Elpinice his ſiſter engaged herſelf warmly in his behalf, ſoliciting all ſuch as ſhe thought might

° Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & in vit. Cimonis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

make a bad uſe of their riches, whereas there is ſcarce one to be found who bears poverty with an equal mind. He died in the ſecond year of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, 467 years before Chriſt (81).

(81) Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſdem. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. 1. Juſt. lib. ii. c. 15. Senec. de Benefic.

might either influence the people, or any other way either prejudice or benefit her brother; amongst the rest she addressed herself to Pericles, who was one of the persons appointed by the people to accuse Cimon at his trial. Pericles heard all she had to say patiently, and then answered with a smile, You are a little too old, madam, to be employed in such affairs as these. Pericles was noted for gallantry, and, in all probability, he let fall this expression to take off all suspicion that Elpinice had any impression upon him; for it was observed, that when the trial came on, Pericles spoke but once, and then not only treated Cimon with great respect, but touched the business of which he was accused so lightly, that he seemed to have no opinion of his guilt; and when he had done speaking he withdrew; the consequence of this was, that Cimon escaped capital punishment, though he was banished by the ostracism, which cured his rivals of envy, and took away all apprehensions from the people [p].

The disposition of the Athenians appearing now to be extremely favourable to those who inclined to the commons more than the nobility, Ephialtes took this opportunity to humble the court of Areopagus, which he did by a decree, whereby most of the causes which had been cognizable by them were transferred elsewhere; and this the wisest of the Athenians have looked upon as the first step to their ruin, for it gave the people such a dangerous notion of liberty, as rendered them ever afterwards ungovernable; however, Ephialtes did not triumph long, for a little while afterwards he was assassinated in the streets by Aristodicus a Tanagrian, as Aristotle reports, induced thereto by the nobility, though Idomenes of Lampsacus, an author quoted by Plutarch, ascribes his murder to Pericles, who, when he had served his purposes, thought it best to have him out of the way [q].

A war breaking out between the Corinthians and Epidaurians on the one side, and the Athenians on the other, the former were twice routed by the latter; after which the Athenians conceiving, that the inhabitants of Ægina had some way or other been helpful to their enemies, sent Leocrates their admiral at the head of a great fleet to punish that island, which had always been troublesome to the Athenians. The inhabitants of Ægina, vainly trusting

[p] Plut. in vit. Cim. & Peric. Corn. Nepos. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

ing to their ſkill in maritime affairs, ventured with a ſmall fleet, made up for the moſt part of new-built ſhips, to hazard a battle with the Athenians, in which, however, they ſuffered dearly for their raſhneſs, being totally defeated with the loſs of ſeventy ſhips, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the Athenians, and to purchaſe peace at the expence of honour and independence [r].

THE ſtates of Peloponneſus, looking all with jealous eyes on the growing greatneſs of the Athenians, watched every opportunity of making war upon her, when ſhe was engaged in troubleſome affairs, and ſeemed to be leſs able to reſiſt them. On this account the Corinthians attacked the Megarians, whom they knew to be the allies of Athens, while the Athenians upon ſome freſh provocation were laying ſiege to Ægina; but this warlike people, far from being frighted at the number of their enemies, ſent Myronides their general, at the head of a conſiderable army, to the aſſiſtance of their allies, without deſiſting in the mean time from any of their former enterprizes. Myronides behaved ſo well, that after ſeveral engagements the Corinthians were glad to return, ſo that this attempt to check the Athenian power ſerved, as many others had done, only to increaſe it [s].

THE Lacedæmonians having ſent a great army, compoſed of their own troops and thoſe of our allies, to the aſſiſtance of the Dorians againſt the Phocians, the Athenians reſolved to attack them in their return, having long wiſhed for an opportunity of revenging thoſe inſults which they had received, or which they apprehended they had received, from the Spartans. The Athenians therefore, drawing in the Argives and Theſſalians to be confederates with them, manned out a fleet of fifty ſail, and with them approached the iſthmus, where they landed an army of fourteen thouſand men and took poſſeſſion of the paſſages, ſo that it was impoſſible for the Lacedæmonians to return home without encountering them. The Spartan army commanded by Nicomedes conſiſted of eleven thouſand five hundred men; he did not, however, haſten raſhly to a battle, but turned aſide to Tanagra a city of Bœotia, where ſuch of the Athenians as inclined to an ariſtocracy entered into ſome correſpondence with him. But, before their deſigns ripened, the Athenian army marched with great expedition to Tanagra,

The Athenians beaten at Tanagra. Year after the Flood, 2541. Year before Chriſt 458.

[r] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. [s] Id. ib.

nagra, ſo that a battle became inevitable. When the Athenians were diſpoſing themſelves in battalia, Cimon preſented himſelf on a ſudden completely armed, and went to take poſt among the troops of his own tribe. But thoſe of the popular faction, forgetting all reſpect to their country, and minding nothing but their private reſentments, raiſed a great clamour, alledging, that he came with no other view than to put himſelf at the head of his own party in order to aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians; they therefore inſiſted, that the general ſhould not receive him, his time of baniſhment being not near expired; and Cimon being informed of this, rather than make his countrymen uneaſy, voluntarily retired, but before he withdrew, he addreſſed himſelf to Euthippus and the reſt of his friends, who were charged with being in a conſpiracy with him, earneſtly beſeeching them to behave in ſuch a manner as might wipe off the aſperſion, and convince the Athenians, that they had not amongſt them either braver or honeſter men than Cimon and his friends. Euthippus and his companions made him no other anſwer than deſiring him to leave them his armour, ſince their general would not permit him to ſerve at their head, which accordingly he did; the battle proved long and doubtful, for the Theſſalian horſe, deſerting the Athenians at the beginning of the action, added great weight to their enemies; however, the troops of Athens and their confederates fought obſtinately, particularly the little body commanded by Euthippus, which, drawing cloſe together and having Cimon's armour in the midſt of them, charged amongſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and there bravely fighting were all ſlain. In the end, however, the Athenians were routed with a very great loſs. This unfortunate buſineſs was followed ſhortly after by another unlucky accident; a great convoy coming out of Attica, the Theſſalians marched ſuddenly in the night to attack it. The Athenian eſcort, knowing nothing of what had happened at the battle of Tanagra, received the Theſſalians as friends. But they ſuddenly falling upon them, the Athenian guard ſtood on their defence, and made a very gallant reſiſtance, till at laſt their own army came in to their aid, who quickly routed the Theſſalians with great ſlaughter; yet theſe in the end being ſuſtained by the Lacedæmonians, the engagement became again doubtful, till at length both armies being ſufficiently tired, and the night coming on, they made a drawn battle, and concluded a

ſhort

ſhort truce, that after ſuch rude encounters both ſides might have time to recruit their forces [t].

THE Thebans, who on account of their having joined Xerxes in his war againſt Greece, had loſt the government of Bœotia, applied themſelves now to the Lacedæmonians, entreating them to aſſiſt their recovery of it, and promiſing to be for ever their faithful allies againſt the Athenians. The Spartans, conceiving this to be a very ſeaſonable propoſal, readily complied with it, and entered into a ſtrict league with the Thebans. By their aſſiſtance Thebes was reſtored to her ancient luſtre, rendered the head of Bœotia, and one of the firſt cities in Greece. The Athenians, however, were ſo much diſpleaſed at the conduct of the Spartans in this matter, that they reſolved to ſend an army into Bœotia to overturn all they had been doing. Myronides the ſon of Callias was choſen general in this expedition, and he appointed a day certain when he would march againſt the enemy; when that day came, many whoſe names were in the muſter-roll did not attend; Myronides, however, began his march, and when many perſuaded him to wait a little, that ſuch as had been negligent might have time to come in, he anſwered roundly, that it did not become a general to wait for ſuch people, ſince it was to be doubted they would behave as ill towards the enemy as they did towards their friends; whereas the troops he had with him in their early appearance in the field had given ſuch a teſtimony of their courage as ſeemed to promiſe victory. The Thebans and their allies, making up a numerous and well-diſciplined army, marched without ſcruple to meet Myronides and his handful of Athenians; but the event did not anſwer their expectation, for after a long and obſtinate engagement Myronides prevailed, gaining a glorious and complete victory. It is indeed ſurpriſing, as Diodorus Siculus long ago remarked, that ancient authors have paſſed over ſo ſlightly this victory of the Athenians, which in ſome ſenſe was more glorious to them than either that of Marathon or Platæa. In both thoſe they fought againſt Barbarians, and were aſſiſted by their allies; in this they were alone, and yet triumphed over a ſuperior army compoſed of the braveſt of the Greeks. The firſt uſe which the Athenian general made of his victory was to march to Tanagra, where the Athenians had been ſo hardly dealt with a few months before; this city he took by ſtorm, and,

[t] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 283. Plutarch. in vit. Cimonis.

and, that he might make even the defeats of his country terrible, razed it to the ground. He next plundered all Bœotia, beat an army which its inhabitants drew together, in order to force him to retreat, fell afterwards upon the Locrians, then penetrated into Theſſaly, where having chaſtiſed the inhabitants for their treachery to the Athenians, he returned home laden with riches and glory [u].

THE next year, Tolmides the Athenian admiral, piqued at the great actions of Myronides, prompted the people to give him power to invade Laconia, a thing hitherto unattempted; that they might the more readily come into his project, Tolmides aſked but for a thouſand men, which were readily granted him; but he, well knowing that this was too ſmall a number, found means to quadruple it without breaking the decree; for pretending, that he would chuſe the thouſand men out of the ſtrongeſt and braveſt of the youths of Athens, he privately ſolicited all ſuch to give in their names voluntarily, ſuggeſting, that it would be a ſtain on their honours to be compelled by his choice; and when he had thus drawn three thouſand to give in their names, he then choſe another thouſand by virtue of the decree, and with this body of four thouſand men on board his fleet, which conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſtout gallies, he went on the expedition he had propounded. Arriving at Methon in Laconia, he took it, but the Spartans ſending a ſpeedy ſuccour, he was forced to quit it. However, he had better fortune at Gythium, another ſeaport belonging to the Lacedæmonians, which he took and burnt, with all the ſhipping and naval proviſions that were therein; he likewiſe waſted all the country in its neighbourhood, after which he ſailed for Zacynthus, which he reduced together with all the cities in its neighbourhood. He then ſailed over to Naupactus, which he took by compoſition, and, having ejected the Lacedæmonians, ſettled there a colony of Meſſenians, whom the Athenians had taken under their protection; thus ended this expedition, no leſs to the honour of the Athenians, than thoſe undertaken in former years againſt the Spartans and their allies [x].

ON the very back of this, Pericles was ſent with fifty ſhips and a thouſand ſoldiers to invade Peloponneſus, which he did with great good fortune, burning, ſpoiling, or taking whatever places he attempted; though he had with him,

[u] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 285. Thucyd. lib. i. [x] Diodor Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi.

him, as was before ſaid, but a thouſand men, for the very fame of the Athenians half diſcomfitted their enemies, and the reputation of ſo great a general took away almoſt the power of reſiſtance. On his return to Athens he found the people not a little out of humour, becauſe Cimon remained ſtill in baniſhment; the death of his friends in the battle of Tanagra fully purged this great man of that crime, under pretence of which he had been baniſhed, and therefore we need not wonder, that all Athens looked upon it as an act of juſtice due from their ſtate to recal him. Pericles, conceiving well what would be the conſequence of their compaſſion, immediately took the thing upon himſelf, and drew up an act for his reſtoration, which Cimon took ſo kindly, that he never thwarted him after he came home. The writers of ſcandal among the ancients, for ſome ſuch there always were, as it is to be feared there always will be, have handed it down to poſterity, that this reconciliation between Pericles and Cimon was brought about by Elpinice, who, they ſay, ſtipulated for her brother, that he ſhould be content with commanding abroad, and allow Pericles to be at the head of the adminiſtration at home. However it was, he brought now, as he had ever done before, good fortune to his country, for he concluded a peace between Athens and Sparta, and generouſly preſerved the Greeks from falling upon each other [y].

The Athenians conclude a peace with Perſia. Year after the flood, 2550. Before Chriſt 449.

Cimon, rightly judging that it would be impoſſible for the Athenians to lie ſtill, equipped two hundered gallies with an intent to make a freſh attempt upon Cyprus, that by gaining new booties from the Barbarians, his countrymen might be drawn rather to make war continually on the Perſian king, than to be haraſſing the Lacedæmonians, or oppreſſing their allies. Plutarch ſuggeſts, that he had in view no leſs a conqueſt than that of the whole Perſian empire; part of his fleet he detached to aſſiſt the Athenians in Egypt, with the reſt he remained in the neighbourhood of Cyprus, or, as Diodorus Siculus ſays, made himſelf maſter of Citium and Malus; after which he defeated the Phœnician fleet, beat the Perſian army commanded by Megabyzus, which lay encamped in Cilicia, and after re-embarqued his forces, and returned to Cyprus, where he beſieged the capital city. But the Perſian

[y] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xi. p. 287. Plut. in vit. Cimonis.

an monarch, finding no eaſe from theſe Athenians, and no hopes of ſubduing them while commanded by this fortunate general, ſent orders to Artabaſus and Megabyzus his commanders to enter into a treaty of peace, which accordingly they did, and the Athenians having named on their ſide Callias the ſon of Hipponicus their plenipotentiary, the treaty was quickly finiſhed; the principal articles of which were, firſt, that all the Greek cities in Aſia ſhould be free and governed by their own laws; ſecondly, that the Perſians ſhould ſend no army within three days journey of the ſea; thirdly, that no Perſian ſhip of war ſhould ſail between Phaſelis and Cyene, the former a city of Pamphylia the latter of Lycia. Articles moſt glorious for the Greeks, and not a little acceptable to the Perſians, ſince the Athenians on their ſide undertook not to invade any of the provinces of that empire. During this treaty, and as it were in the arms of victory, Cimon died at Citium, whether of ſickneſs, or of a wound he received at the ſiege, authors were not agreed in the time of Plutarch. His death was as honourable as his life, and his laſt act the moſt glorious of it all; for when he found himſelf about to expire, he ſent for the principal commanders, adviſed them to embarque the men, to conceal his diſeaſe, and to ſail home, being afraid that if his death were known at that juncture, it might be prejudicial to his country. Such was the end of the laſt great captain of Athens, the reſt were ſoldiers and heroes too, but not patriots like Cimon; for they, flattering the humours of their countrymen, led them at every turn to fight againſt their brethren, and moſt cruelly employed the wiſdom, power, and wealth of Greece againſt herſelf. Whereas Cimon curbed the vanity of his countrymen, he told them it was lawful to make war and to ſpoil the Perſians, who had deſtroyed their city and carried away all they had: but he diſſuaded them at all times from acting tyrannically towards the Greeks, and vehemently inveighed againſt that propenſity they had to ſacrifice virtue to profit, and honour to power. On ſuch occaſions he was wont to ſay, The Lacedæmonians would not do this; which at laſt provoked his countrymen to baniſh him, to his immortal glory and their ſhame. We could not avoid this eulogium, becauſe we knew that we ſhould no where elſe have occaſion to ſpeak of a man equally admirable for his abilities and his virtues, and for applying them

them conſtantly to the ſervice of the public, and not to the aggrandizing of himſelf or his family [z] (D).

THE

[z] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cimon.

(D) The moſt memorable occurences in the life of Cimon, regarding to the Athenian ſtate, have been already taken notice of in our text; and as to his character, his diſpoſition, and abilities, we have been obliged to touch on them alſo more than once; this note therefore will contain only ſuch paſſages in relation to the life of Cimon as did not fall properly within our notice, either in ſpeaking of the public or of him. Firſt then, Plutarch and Valerius Maximus from him report Cimon in his nonage to have been ſuſpected of folly, and to have been nick-named from thence Coalemos, as his grandfather had been before him; but Valerius Maximus ſays rightly, that this folly of his greatly benefited the Athenian ſtate, and that his ſubſequent behaviour conſtrained thoſe who thought him a fool to condemn themſelves of folly. The truth ſeems to be, that he did not affect learning, which ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the Athenians, that they took it for granted he would prove a blockhead; Cornelius Nepos, however, commends him for his eloquence, which ſome have thought incompatible with his want of learning, in which perhaps they are miſtaken; for as there is an artificial or rhetorical eloquence, ſo there is alſo a natural ability of ſpeaking, which cuſtom improves into an eaſy perſuaſive oratory, more pleaſing to a mixed audience than the moſt artful and regular ſpeeches; and this we may ſuppoſe was that kind of eloquence in which Cimon excelled. He went while a very youth into the army, and learned under the moſt experienced commanders the art of war, and the ambition of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a great commander. His perſon was handſome, his ſtature juſt, his aſpect manly, his hair thick and curled, his behaviour affable, his temper ſweet, and his mind honeſt. But as all men have their faults, ſo this great Athenian wanted not his, which were a ſtrong paſſion for women and an inclination to feaſting and good company; beſides his ſiſter Elpinice, whom for a while he kept as his wife, he had ſeveral other miſtreſſes, yet he was paſſionately fond of his wife, whoſe name was Iſodice, the daughter of Euriptolemus the ſon of Megacles; when the Athenians were in humour with him they overlook'd theſe faults; but when they took it into their heads to be angry with him, they ſuffered their poets to treat him with great rudeneſs: As for example, Eupolis, about the time of his baniſhment, wrote a piece in which were the following verſes relating to Cimon:

In him ill-nature we cannot reproach,
But he is indolent, and will debauch;

THE affairs of Athens began to be ſuddenly and ſorely diſturbed after the death of Cimon, for, being alike hated by

He's gone to Sparta, and was ſo unkind,
To leave his poor Elpinice behind.

After reporting this, it is fit for us to obſerve, that Plutarch treats it as a downright calumny, and is of opinion, that Cimon never ſuffered his pleaſures to interfere with the buſineſs of the ſtate, of which it ſeems his victories ſhould be an inconteſtable proof. His attachment to the Lacedæmonians was the ſole cauſe of his baniſhment; for, as we obſerved in giving our readers his character, he was never ſuſpected by the people of having any deſign to aggrandize himſelf at their expence; true it is, that he had a moſt extraordinary affection for that nation, ariſing not only from the kindneſs that they had ſhewn him, but from the honeſty of his temper, which ſuited better with the ſevere virtue of Sparta, than with the ſprightly levity of the Athenians. One thing is exceeding odd in Cimon's conduct, that he gave his children ſuch names as did not ſeem to ſpeak them Athenians; for he named his three ſons Lacedæmonius, Eleus, and Theſſalus; moſt authors are of opinion, that he had theſe by a woman of Clitorium, though Diodorus the geographer aſſerts, that they were the children of his wife Iſodice. It is clear from all the writers who mention this great man, that even his baniſhment neither altered his conduct towards the Lacedæmonians or towards his countrymen. He would have fought for the latter againſt the former at the battle of Tanagra; he had intereſt enough with the former to reconcile them to the latter after he was recalled, which ſhews how ſteady he was in his conduct, and what a high opinion all his cotemporaries conceived of his virtue at home and abroad. Two remarkable incidents relating to his laſt expedition are preſerved in hiſtory; the firſt, that when he was about to embark for Cyprus he dreamed, that an angry bitch barked at him, and in the midſt of her barking uttered the following lines:

Go on, yet ſhortly ſhalt thou be
A friend unto my whelps and me.

Aſtyphylus of Poſidonium interpreted this dream thus; A dog, ſaid he, is an enemy to him he barks at; a man can only be ſtiled a friend to his enemies when he is dead; that mixture of a human voice with barking which appeared hideous in the bitch, this interpreter affirmed ſignified the Medes, whoſe armies were conſtantly made up of Barbarians and Greeks, yet in ſpite of this he ſet ſail and proceeded in his expedition. The ſecond circumſtance worthy of note was, when he had arrived at Cyprus, having formed ſome great project in his head, he ſent perſons in whom he could confide to conſult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon as to his ſucceſs; the oracle readily gave them this anſwer; You may return,

by their enemies and their allies, the leaſt unlucky accident furniſhed a handle for new revolts or invaſions. The Megarians were the firſt in this buſineſs, their little ſtate, which lay in an angle of Attica, had been long under the protection, which was but another word for being under the dominion, of Athens, and had brought them into ſeveral quarrels with their neighbours. But now, it ſeems, thoſe of Megara, either forgetting the obligations conferred upon them by the Athenians, or elſe conceiving that no obligations could warrant the treatment they received, diſclaimed all dependance on Athens, and entered into a ſtrict league with her conſtant and avowed enemy Lacedæmon. The Athenians, as ſoon as they were informed of this, ravaged their little country, and for a time blocked up the Megarians in their city. The Lacedæmonians quickly reſented this proceeding, and hearing that Pericles the Athenian general was employed another way, they made a great irruption into Attica and did abundance of miſchief; upon which Pericles, who was marched againſt Eubœa, was recalled in haſte to aſſiſt his country. Upon his return, he did not, as many expected, immediately attack the Lacedæmonian army; but conſidering that it was led by a very young man, Pliſtoanax then king of Sparta, who had with him one Cleondrides for a tutor, he ſent the latter a a conſiderable ſum of money, and thereby procured the return of the Lacedæmonian army without blows. When Pericles came to make up his accounts, he thought fit to charge ten talents, laid out in a fit manner on a proper occaſion; at another time the Athenians would not have bore with ſuch an article on a public account, but Pericles had ſuch an aſcendency over them, and they were ſo thoroughly ſenſible how this money had been applied, that they paſſed his accounts without a word, and ordered him to proſecute the expedition againſt Eubœa, in which he had been before employed [a].

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 293. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

turn, for Cimon is already with me. The meſſengers on their return found that Cimon was at that time dead; he was ſomewhat younger than Themiſtocles, but what his age was at the time of his death, that we know not (82).

(82) Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. Bibliot. lib. xi, xii. Plut. in vit. Cimon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. Cicer. de Offic. lib. ii.

WHILE Pericles was at home in the winter, Tolmides, who had done ſuch great things for the Athenians, reſolved to make an expedition into Bœotia, with a ſmall body of troops and in a very advanced ſeaſon of the year; a great number of the braveſt Athenians readily engaged to ſerve under this famous general as volunteers. Yet Pericles was conſtantly againſt it, preſſing Tolmides to wait a little, and to join in his conduct prudence with valour. But he ſeeming to take this amiſs, and not greatly to reliſh another's meddling in his affairs, Pericles told him calmly, If you will not liſten to my advice, yet certainly it won't be amiſs if you wait time's leiſure a little, who, let me tell you, Sir, is the wiſeſt of all counſellors. This ſaying, being preſently divulged, became afterwards exceedingly beneficial to Pericles; for Tolmides, after doing great things in Bœotia, was attacked by the confederate army, compoſed of the quotas ſent from all the little ſtates of that country, killed, and his army routed at Chæronea. This defeat terribly humbled the Athenians, for, in order to redeem their priſoners, they were conſtrained to renounce all pretence of dominion over the cities of Bœotia; and while this was doing, many other little ſtates declared againſt the Athenians [b].

Truce between Athens and Sparta. Year after the Flood, 2553. Before Chriſt, 446.

PERICLES, notwithſtanding all theſe checks, marched with an army into Eubœa, from whence a new revolt of the Megarians cauſed him to be recalled, but within a ſhort time he re-entered that iſland, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Heſteia; the inhabitants of which, to terrify the reſt of the country, he ejected, and placed a colony of Athenians in their ſtead. A ſhort time after the reſt of Eubœa ſubmitted, and, the Lacedæmonians finding it no longer for their intereſt to carry on the war, a negociation was ſet on foot, whereby a peace was effected for thirty years, Callias and Chares being plenipotentiaries for the Athenians [c].

ABOUT this time Pſammeticus king of Lybia, or, as Plutarch calls him, of Egypt, ſent by way of preſent to the Athenian people forty thouſand buſhels of wheat, which proved a great misfortune to the city; for Pericles, out of ſpite to Cimon's family, who had children by an Arcadian woman, had preferred a law, whereby Athenians of the half blood were diſfranchiſed; this law, on account of the diviſion of the corn before-mentioned, was proſecuted with ſuch

[b] Thucydid. lib. i. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 293. [c] Thucydid. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

ſuch ſeverity and effect, that no leſs than five thouſand perſons, who till then had been conſidered as freemen, were ſold as ſlaves; a moſt exorbitant ſtroke of arbitrary power, puniſhed afterwards by the hand of heaven, in taking away all Pericles's children of the whole blood, and obliging him to intreat the Athenians to cancel this law out of pity to him its author, who, without the leaſt compaſſion, had ſuffered five thouſand men to be made ſlaves at once under colour thereof. One thing this ſeverity of his produced, which has been extremely uſeful to the critics, viz. the ſettling exactly the number of the Athenian citizens at this time, when, in the midſt of ſo many enemies, Athens durſt think of ſending out colonies, humbling her neighbours, ſubduing foreigners, and even of erecting an univerſal monarchy. This number, as it is ſet down by Plutarch, was found on the poll to be no more than fourteen thouſand and forty perſons [d].

THE year after this, that is, in the beginning of the eighty-fourth olympiad, the Sybarites, a people of Italy, being a ſecond time driven from their city by the Crotonians, ſent embaſſadors into Greece, and humbly beſought the Lacedæmonians and Athenians to reſtore them, and to ſend a colony to ſhare with them the new city they reſolved to build. The Lacedæmonians rejected their requeſt, but the Athenians, who delighted much in ſuch applications, readily yielded to it; and not only diſpatched ten ſhips, with a conſiderable body of men on board, under the command of Lampo and Xenocrates; but alſo cauſed a proclamation to be made throughout all Peloponneſus, that ſuch as were willing to go and ſettle in Italy, might do ſo under the protection of their fleet, and abundance of people accepting the propoſition, the Sybarites, by the aſſiſtance of theſe new comers, re-eſtabliſhed themſelves in their country, and built a new city which they called Thurium, from whence themſelves were afterwards ſtiled Thurians [e]. (E).

[d] Plut. in vit. Periclis. [e] Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii. p. 295.

(E) In order to conceive rightly of this buſineſs, the reader muſt aſcend a good deal higher in point of time, and trace the cauſe of the erection of Thurium back to the foundation of Sybaris; he will then ſee how the Greeks ſettled colonies, maintained, and

At the cloſe of the eighty-fourth olympiad, according to the computation of Diodorus Siculus, and ſix years after the

and reſtored them. Sybaris was a colony of the Achæans and Trœzenians, it ſtood on the gulph of Tarentum, between the rivers Crathis and Sybaris, from which laſt it took its name (83). The felicity of its ſituation was ſuch, that in a very ſhort ſpace of time it excelled all the cities in its neighbourhood in wealth, power, and people. By degrees it ſpread its dominion over four ſmall nations inhabiting this part of Italy, and reckoned no leſs than twenty-five ſmaller cities than it ſelf within its territory, ſo thoroughly peopled, that they could on an emergency bring three hundred thouſand men into the field. In conſequence of its proſperity Sybaris became formidable, and even hateful, to its neighbours; their immenſe wealth making its inhabitants at once luxuriant and inſolent, ſo that they neither knew how to behave towards others, or with what to content themſelves (84). Telys being king of Sybaris, as Herodotus ſays (85), or, as Diodorus with greater probability affirms, demagogue, i. e. a ruler in right of his eloquence, perſuaded the people upon various accuſations to baniſh five hundred of their moſt conſiderable citizens, and to confiſcate their eſtates. The exiles immediately fled for refuge to Crotona, and as ſuppliants fell down before the altars in the forum. In a very ſhort ſpace Telys engaged the Sybarites to ſend deputies to Crotona, to demand that thoſe they had baniſhed ſhould be delivered up, threatening war in caſe of refuſal. The Crotonians upon this were much at a loſs what to do, at laſt they determined to protect at all events thoſe who had fled to them, and to oppoſe force by force. The Sybarites took the field with 300,000 men, the Crotonians were able to raiſe no more than 100,000; however, valour prevailed over numbers, and the Crotonians, having beaten the Sybarites, killed all without quarter, and in the end ſacked and deſtroyed the city. This happened in the third year of the lxviith olympiad. In the fourth year of the lxxxiſt olympiad the city of Sybaris was reſettled by the Theſſalians, but in the firſt year of the lxxxiiid olympiad the Crotonians overthrew it again. After this laſt misfortune, the Sybarites made the application mentioned in the text to the Spartans and Athenians. Lampo and Xenocrates, who commanded the Athenian ſquadron, found it no difficult taſk to collect volunteers in Peloponneſus, when the Pythian oracle had declared, that the city ſhould be exceedingly proſpered if they founded it, where the water was ſcarce and bread without meaſure. When they arrived therefore

(83) Steph. de Urb. (84) Ariſtot. de Rep. lib. v. ſect. 3. Strab. lib. vi. p. 263. Marcian. p. 14. Diod. Sicul. lib. 12. (85) lib. v. p. 346.

the concluſion of the peace between Athens and Sparta, as Thucydides relates, a war broke out between the Samians and Mileſians about the city of Priene, ſeated under mount Mycale in Ionia; how this war came to affect the Athenians is not very clear; Diodorus ſays, that the Samians, who were victors, conceiving that the Athenians favoured their enemies, revolted from them; Thucydides ſays, that the vanquiſhed complained to the people of Athens, who were likewiſe deſired by ſome Samian malecontents to ſend a ſufficient force thither, in order to change the government and ſettle a democracy. Plutarch intimates, that the Athenians having directed both parties to lay down their arms and ſubmit to their deciſion, the Samnians refuſed ſo to do, whereupon the war was commenced. There is yet another reaſon aſſigned, which ſeems at leaſt as well founded as any of the reſt; and it is this, that Pericles engaged the Athenians in this war to gratify his miſtreſs

therefore in Italy, and began to ſearch through the territory of Sybaris for ſuch a place as ſuited the oracle, they found at laſt a ſmall ſpring which was called Thuria, the water of which was conveyed through a brazen pipe that was called Medimnum. Concluding inſtantly, that this was the ſituation pointed out by the oracle, they began to lay out the city which they came to build, and from the ſpring before-mentioned called it Thurium. They who had the direction of the buildings contrived to have four ſtreets in length, called, Heraclea, Aphrodiſiade, Olympiad, and Dionyſiad, and three in breadth, viz. Heroa, Thuria, and Thurina. When the buſineſs was executed according to this ſcheme, and the city completed, it appeared wonderfully neat and compact, every thing being ſo diſpoſed as to be at once beautiful and commodious. Peace did not long inhabit theſe new-raiſed dwellings, the Sybarites, conceiving that in their own country they ought to rule all, ſhut out the new comers from all employments and honours, which ſo diſguſted them, who were by far the majority, that they ſuddenly took up arms, fell on the Sybarites, extirpated them, and ſending for freſh ſupplies from Greece, formed themſelves into a commonwealth, making Charondas, one of their fellow-citizens, their legiſlator. The ſubſequent hiſtory of Thurium will be found in its proper place. From what is ſaid here, the circumſtances attending eſtabliſhing colonies will be ſufficiently underſtood, as alſo the conveniencies flowing to their mother cities from theſe kind of ſettlements, which was the principal intent of this long note (86).

(86) Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

Aſpaſia a Mileſian, one of the handſomeſt women in her time, and who had ſuch an aſcendency over Pericles, that for her ſake he ſacrificed his family and his peace (F). However

(F) Aſpaſia, who is to be the ſubject of this note, was one of the moſt famous women in all antiquity, on account both of her virtue and her vices. She was lovely in her perſon, admirable for her natural endowments, and no leſs diſtinguiſhed by the accompliſhments ſhe had acquired. Her birth-place was Miletum a city in Ionia, famous for producing perſons of extraordinary abilities. She was the tutoreſs, miſtreſs, and at laſt wife, to Pericles who by his eloquence ruled Athens, and as ſuch claims a place here. The time of her birth can only be gueſſed at, ſhe was in all probability about fifteen years younger than Pericles, and therefore might be born about the fourth year of the lxxviiith olympiad. Her father's name was Axiochus, but of his quality we are ignorant. How ſhe came to Athens is alſo a point unſettled; but as to the remaining part of her hiſtory we are not ſo much in the dark. She rendered herſelf conſpicuous by her perfection in the art of ſpeaking, which ſhe poſſeſſed in a ſuperlative degree, being alſo admirably verſed in all the branches of uſeful literature, particularly natural philoſophy and politicks. One Thragelia an Ionian was her model, ſhe had made herſelf conſpicuous in Greece by her charms, addicted herſelf chiefly to the grandees, many of whom ſhe brought over to the intereſt of the great king, and, as Plutarch ſays, ſowed the firſt ſeeds of the Median faction in moſt of the cities of Greece. Aſpaſia reſembled, and even ſurpaſſed her. It is not to be imagined, that this fair one excelled (like ſome of our age) in light and amorous diſcourſes. Her diſcourſes were on the contrary not more brilliant than ſolid. It was even believed by the moſt intelligent Athenians, and amongſt them by Socrates himſelf, that Aſpaſia compoſed the celebrated harangue hereafter mentioned, which Pericles pronounced with ſo much applauſe. What then muſt we conceive of her abilities, who had Pericles for a lover, and Socrates for a diſciple? Whoſe fine qualities atoned even for want of reputation, and engaged the moſt conſiderable perſons in Athens, not only to viſit her, but to bring their wives to hear her lectures, though they deteſted her conduct? As eloquence was of all others the moſt neceſſary talent to an Athenian ſtateſman, ſo Pericles, on hearing Aſpaſia, determined to become her ſcholar, obſerving that with an exact method ſhe mingled the moſt warm and pathetic ſtrokes of perſuaſive oratory, uniting the ſymmetry ariſing from art with the vehemence flowing from nature. From admiring her wiſdom, this great Athenian fell ſoon into a deep affection for her perſon, a thing not wonderful in itſelf, and leſs ſo, if what moſt writers report of Pericles be true, that he was of a very amorous

However it was, war was decreed againſt the Samians, and Pericles was ſent againſt them with a fleet of forty ſail;

amorous diſpoſition. Certain it is, that Aſpaſia gained an abſolute dominion over him, and had as great an aſcendency over his genius as he had over the Athenians. Plutarch reports, that as often as Pericles went to, or returned from, the forum, he went to the apartment of Aſpaſia and ſaluted her. The tenderneſs this nobleman expreſſed for Aſpaſia made his wife, who was a woman of family, very uneaſy, which Pericles perceiving, readily conſented that ſhe ſhould betake herſelf to a huſband more agreeable to her (though ſhe had borne him two ſons, Xanthippus and Paralus) and then took Aſpaſia to wife, whom he had ſo long and ardently loved before. Heraclides of Pontus ſays, that Pericles, having divorced his wife, abandoned himſelf to his pleaſures, and living with Aſpaſia, ſpent on her the greateſt part of his fortune; but this ought to be regarded as meer calumny, it being morally certain, that Pericles in the firſt place was never profuſe, and in the ſecond that Aſpaſia piqued herſelf exceedingly on her ſkill in œconomy. As to the affair ſpoken of in the text, viz. the Samian war, we are undoubtedly warranted by the authority of Plutarch in what we have advanced. For though it be true, that Thucydides makes no mention of Aſpaſia in his detail of this war, yet that might be owing to the gravity of the author, or to his generous diſdain of blackening Pericles, by recording things incapable from their nature of direct proof. As to collateral circumſtances tending to ſupport this ſuggeſtion, there are many. Aſpaſia was a Mileſian by birth, Pericles was wont to conſult her; ſhe is reported to have accompanied him in this expedition, and to have built a temple to perpetuate the memory of his victory; and laſtly, ſhe compoſed, as we remarked before, the funeral oration pronounced by Pericles in honour of thoſe who were ſlain in this war. The comic poets, as they laſhed Pericles for affecting ſovereignty, ſo they failed not treating Aſpaſia with the ſame ſeverity, and as they called him Jupiter, they ſtiled her Juno; they likewiſe characteriſed her under the name of Omphale and Dejanira, the one the wife, and the other the miſtreſs, of Hercules, and many other ways. Cratinus uſed her the worſt; for he, without palliating the matter, painted her as an abandoned ſtrumpet. It is evident enough, that the ſpleen of Pericles's enemies prompted them to ſay any thing of him, or of thoſe in his favour, men or women. The former they called the pimps and courtiers of the new Piſiſtratus, the latter not only his whores, but his bawds. Beſides various remarkable events relating to Aſpaſia, which we ſhall be conſtrained to take notice of in the text, it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that it is generally conceived the ſon, to whom Pericles bequeathed his name and his eſtate, was by her; certain

ſail; he preſently brought them into ſubjection, and began to change all things according to his will, directing firſt, that the government ſhould be democratical for the future, and that fifty hoſtages of principal perſons ſhould be delivered to him with as many children. Plutarch ſays, that all imaginable methods were tried to ſoften Pericles upon this occaſion; the hoſtages offered him a talent a-head by way of ranſom; thoſe who diſliked the democracy proffered him a large ſum if he would leave the government as he found it, and Piſſuthnes, the governor of Sardis for the Perſian king, thinking an ariſtocratic government in Samos more advantageous to his maſter, would have given ten thouſand pieces of gold to have made up this breach with the Athenians; but Pericles, having no reſpect to money, carried away the hoſtages to Lemnos, and eſtabliſhed the democracy in Samos as he had been directed to do. But as governments founded in force ſeldom laſt long, the Samians fell into mighty diſſentions as ſoon as Pericles was gone home. Some of them who had retired to Piſſuthnes, having procured from him an aid of ſeven hundred men, returned into their own country, and their faction opening the gates to them, thoſe of the oppoſite party were ejected and the Athenian gariſon expelled; they procured

certain it is, that ſon was but of the half blood, as any ſon of Aſpaſia's muſt have been, and that his father, to ſecure the inheritance to him, prevailed on the people to abrogate the law which himſelf had procured to exclude ſuch from ſucceſſions. Beſides theſe circumſtances, there is another favouring this opinion, viz. that Eupolis the comic poet, introducing Pericles aſking news of this baſtard ſon, makes the perſon he ſpeaks, to anſwer, He is alive and well, and had been married long ago, if the fear of meeting with a wife as diſhoneſt as his mother did not deter him. Which is ſo correſpondent with what Eupolis elſewhere ſays of Aſpaſia, that one can hardly conceive this ſon to have ſprung from any but her. That ſhe ſurvived Pericles is certain, but for her adventures afterwards we are pretty much in the dark. Plutarch indeed informs us, that ſhe attached herſelf to one Lyſicles, a man of mean birth and as mean parts, whom by her intereſt, however, ſhe raiſed to great employments in the ſtate. What thoſe employments were is not recorded, nor any thing farther of Aſpaſia which deſerves notice (87).

(87) Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Athen. lib. xiii. p. 560. Cicero in Bruto. Menoxen. Platonis. in tom. ii. A. D. 1578. p. 235, 249.

procured alſo their hoſtages to be privately ſent away from Lemnos, and, having drawn the Byzantines to their party, they declared themſelves open enemies to Athens. That city, unuſed to bear inſults, immediately equipped ſixty gallies, and ſent them under Pericles to ſubdue the Samians a ſecond time.

When Pericles was at ſea with this fleet, he found it neceſſary to detach ſixteen ſhips, as well to gain intelligence of the Phœnician fleet, as to haſten the auxiliary ſquadrons he expected from Chios and Lesbos; with the forty-four remaining veſſels he engaged the Samians and their allies, though their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, and beat them. Being afterwards ſtrengthened by a reinforcement of forty ſhips from Athens and twenty-five from Chios and Lesbos, he beſieged Samos by land and ſea. Receiving intelligence that the Phœnician fleet was comeing to its relief, he ſailed with ſixty ſhips to meet it. Dureing his abſence the beſieged fell upon the remainder of the Athenian ſhips under the command of Tiſagoras, defeated them, and for fourteen days remained maſters of the ſea, during which ſpace of time they furniſhed themſelves with whatever they wanted. Plutarch cenſures Pericles's conduct on this occaſion, and attributes the loſs which the Athenians ſuſtained to his leaving the ſiege; but there ſeems to be no foundation for this, becauſe fighting the Phœnician fleet at ſea, rather than in the neighbourhood of Samos, was certainly his intereſt. On his return to the ſiege, having received a farther reinforcement of fourſcore ſhips, according to Thucydides, of ninety, as Diodorus tells us, he ſtraitened the Samians more than ever, and having divided his men into eight bodies, kept ſeven every day on duty, and allowed the eighth to refreſh themſelves. At length after nine months ſiege the Samians ſurrendered, upon which Pericles demoliſhed their walls, ſeized their ſhips, and mulcted them in the whole expence of the war, part of which he obliged them to pay down, and took hoſtages for the remainder [f].

When Pericles returned from this war, he procured himſelf to be appointed to pronounce the public oration in commemoration of ſuch as fell in this war, which he did with ſuch eloquence, that when he came down from the pulpit or place where ſuch public declamations were delivered,

[f] Thucydid. lib. i. de Bello Pelopon. Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. p. 302.

delivered, the ladies gathered about him, took him by the hand, and crowned him with garlands. Amongſt the reſt Elpinice drew near him, but not with the ſame intention with the reſt, for ſhe addreſſed him in theſe words: "Theſe are brave things, Pericles, that you have done, "and ſuch certainly as deſerve theſe wreaths of glory, "who have deprived us of ſo many worthy citizens, "not in a war againſt Phœnicians or Medes, the na- "tural enemies of our country, for ſuch my brother "Cimon waged; but in the overthrow of a city that "was in alliance with us, whoſe people ſpoke the ſame "language and were of our kindred." Pericles gave a ſtrong inſtance of his great compoſure and readineſs of mind on this occaſion, for he repeated careleſsly the following verſes from the poet Archilocus:

A dame like you in deep decline,
Should not attempt by art to ſhine;
You ſhould not powder thus your hair,
Nor ſhould your unguents taint the air;
Follies which ſuit the young and fair.

In recording theſe paſſages we had the reader's profit as well as pleaſure in view, for they ſhew, that as abſolute as Pericles was become in Athens, by dint of his eloquence and good fortune, yet even a woman could, and durſt, diſtinguiſh between the ſervices done the ſtate by a patriot general, one who ſought nothing but to exalt the intereſt and glory of his country, and him who had the preſervation of his own power chiefly in view. They ſhew too the particular grandeur of mind inherent in Pericles, who was not to be ruffled even by the ſhrewdeſt ſpeeches, but maintained always ſuch an equality of temper as enabled him to make ſuch an anſwer as was moſt proper on every occaſion [g]. It is on all hands confeſſed, that Pericles valued himſelf very much on the reduction of Samos, and Thucydides gives us great reaſon to believe, that the Athenians conceived highly of him for that exploit; the Samians at the time he deſtroyed them being one of the moſt flouriſhing nations in that part of the world, and who bid fair for wreſting from the Athenians the dominion of the ſea [h].

THE war between the Corcyrians and Corinthians commenced a little after this, and drew by degrees the Athenians

[g] Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. [h] de Bello Pelop. lib. i.

nians into thoſe engagements, which at laſt proved the ruin of their ſtate. There is a neceſſity therefore that we ſhould give here a ſuccinct account of the cauſes of this war, and of the methods by which the Athenians were drawn to take part in it. An inteſtine war breaking out in the little territory of Epidamnum, a city in Macedonia founded by the Corcyrians, one party called in the Illyrians to their aſſiſtance, and the other, finding themſelves ſtraitened, applied themſelves for aid to the people of Corcyra. They neglecting the buſineſs, the people of Epidamnum ſent to Corinth for ſuccours, owning her for their foundreſs, becauſe the Corcyrians were a colony from Corinth. The Corinthians, partly out of pity to the Epidamnians, and partly out of ſpleen to the Corcyrians, ſent a very great fleet to the aſſiſtance of the former, which thoroughly eſtabliſhed that party which had applied to Corinth; this being reſented by the Corcyrians, they ſent a fleet to Epidamnum to ſupport the exiles, who on its arrival at that port did not act offenſively, the chief commanders having inſtructions to propoſe an amicable compoſure of all differences, into which the Corinthians would by no means come. The next year the Corcyrians beat the Corinthians and their allies at ſea, and took Epidamnum by ſtorm, after which they waſted the dominion of the confederates of the Corinthians, which greatly exaſperated the latter. At Corinth therefore they began to make new preparations for carrying on the war, and preſſed their confederates to do the ſame, that they might be in a condition to retrieve the honour they had loſt, and humble this ungrateful colony, which had taken upon her to inſult her mother city. When the Corcyrians received advice of theſe proceedings, they inſtantly diſpatched embaſſadors to carry their complaints to Athens, and the Corinthians, on the receipt of this news, diſpatched theirs likewiſe; both on the ſame errand and with equal hopes [i].

THERE could be nothing more glorious for the Athenians than ſuch an application as this, which ſeemed to acknowledge the legality of that dominion which this ſtate had always affected. Thucydides therefore, who begins his hiſtory with the ſtory of this war, hath given us at large the harangues, as well of the Corinthian as of the Corcyrian embaſſadors, to which we muſt refer our

[i] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. lib. xii.

our readers. At firſt the Athenian people approved the cauſe of the Corinthians, but they ſoon changed their minds, and took part with the Corcyrians, yet they did not make a league offenſive and defenſive with that ſtate, becauſe by ſuch a ſtep Athens would immediately have broken with Corinth and all her allies; they contented themſelves with making a defenſive alliance only with the Corcyrians, whereby both parties reciprocally promiſed to aſſiſt each other in caſe either ſhould be attacked. It does not appear, that the Athenians entered much into the merits of this cauſe; they were become too great politicians for that; the reaſons aſſigned by Thucydides, who was perfectly well acquainted with them, are theſe; firſt, Corcyra was a very great maritime power; ſecondly, this iſland lay very convenient for aſſiſting Athens in her deſigns on Italy and Sicily. When the Corinthian fleet therefore was ready to ſail, the Athenians, according to their treaty, ſent ten gallies to Corcyra under the command of Lacedæmonius the ſon of Cimon, with whom were joined Diotenes and Proteus as collegues: Plutarch ſays, that Pericles, by ſending this ſmall ſquadron under Lacedæmonius, intended to affront him, or at leaſt to put it out of his power to do any great matter, whereby to revive the ancient ſplendor of his family, againſt which that great politician had always a pique. But there ſeems to be very little colour for this. Thucydides ſays, that the Athenians, who were indeed under the direction of Pericles's counſels, did not intend the Corcyrians any real aſſiſtance, but ſent this ſmall ſquadron to look on, while the Corinthians and Corcyrians weakened and waſted each other. The Corinthians, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, made for the coaſt of Corcyra, with a fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty ſail under the command of Xenoclides, aſſiſted by four other Corinthian admirals, each ſquadron of their allies being commanded by a chief of their own. The Corcyrians prepared as well as they could for the reception of this great armada; they put to ſea a fleet of one hundred and ten gallies, which by the Athenian ſhips was augmented to one hundred and twenty; as ſoon as the navies were in ſight, they prepared for an engagement. The Corcyrians gave the right wing to their allies, the Athenians ranging their own fleet in three ſquadrons, each commanded by an admiral of reputation. The Corinthians

gave

gave their right wing to the Megarians and other of their allies, disposed the rest of them in the centre, and placed their own gallies in the left, that they might engage the Athenians. The action was very brisk for a time, the Corcyrian right wing broke the left of the Corinthian fleet, and forcing some of the ships on shore, landed, pillaged their camp, and made a great number of prisoners; on the other hand, the Corinthian ships in their left wing beat the right wing of the Corcyrians, whom the Athenians, according to their instructions, aided but faintly; at last the Corinthians charging them briskly, the Athenians were obliged to defend themselves, which they did so well, that the Corinthians were glad to retire, which accordingly they did, after taking up part of the broken ships and most of their own dead. The next day the Corinthians resolved to attack the Corcyrians again, who prepared on their side to receive them; but when the action was ready to begin, the Corinthians of a sudden retired, which the Corcyrians knew not what to make of, till the arrival of a fleet of twenty sail from Athens put it out of doubt, that the Corinthians, seeing them, and fearing there might be more behind them, had wisely chosen to withdraw. The next day the Athenian and Corcyrian fleets went and braved the Corinthians in their harbour, who would not be provoked to hazard an engagement, because all the ships from Athens were clean, and the Athenians, for ought they knew, might have another fleet waiting for them in their return to Peloponnesus. Both sides claimed the victory, and both erected trophies at Sybotis. The Corinthians, because they remained masters of the field of battle, had carried away a part of the broken vessels, made a thousand prisoners, and sunk seventy of the Corcyrian ships; the Corcyrians, because by the assistance of the Athenians they had sunk thirty of the Corinthian vessels, taken some spoils, and forced them to retire home. This was the greatest sea-fight, which to this time had happened among the Greeks, there being no less than two hundred and seventy vessels engaged. The Corinthians complained loudly against the Athenians, as if they had broken the peace; the Athenians on the other hand alledged, they had only assisted their allies; and thus these states began to hate each other. As for the prisoners made by the Corinthians, they sold eight hundred

of

of them for slaves, the rest they treated kindly in hopes of making use of them for facilitating a peace [k].

The revolt of Potidea.

THE Corcyrian war was followed by the revolt of Potidea, a town in Macedonia, founded by the Corinthians, but joined in alliance to the Athenians. As soon as the Corcyrian war broke out, the Athenians sent orders to the citizens of Potidea immediately to demolish a part of the walls of the city, to send back the magistrates whom they had received from Corinth, and to give hostages for their own behaviour. Perdiccas king of Macedon, hating the Athenians, took this opportunity to persuade the Potideans to revolt, which accordingly they did, though they sent ambassadors to Athens to entreat the revocation of the orders sent them; but in the mean time they sent deputies to Sparta, to join with the Corinthians and Megarians in their complaints of the Athenians. The Athenians in the mean time sent a considerable fleet against Macedonia, and some time after another, with a considerable body of land troops on board, under the command of Callias, a man of great quality and courage. The Corinthians on their side dispatched Aristeus with a considerable force to the assistance of the Potideans. Not to detain the reader too long with a detail of all the little circumstances of this war, which may be found in the accurate history of Thucydides, we shall content ourselves with observing, that an engagement happened before Potidea, in which the Athenians were victors, but with the loss of their general Callias. Phormio, who succeeded him in his command, invested the city in form, and shut up its port with his fleet; but the Potideans, dreading to fall into the hands of the Athenians, made a most obstinate defence, while in the mean time they warmly solicited the Corinthians to perform their promises, and to engage the rest of the states of Peloponnesus in their quarrel [l].

Dissentions at Athens.

WHILE affairs abroad were in this condition, the Athenians were very far from being quiet at home. Pericles had attained such a superiority as had never been seen in Athens since the days of Pisistratus; the last competitor with him for the favour of the people was Thucydides, a man noble by birth, and of qualifications suiting therewith; he endeavoured to the utmost to hinder those alterations in government which the popular party sought to bring about,

[k] Thucydid. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. Plutarch. in vit. Periclis. [l] Thucydid. lib. i. Diodor. lib. xii.

and

and more eſpecially oppoſed Pericles, who, perceiving that one of them muſt give way, put the matter to the teſt, by procuring an oſtraciſm, wherein, upon counting the votes, it was found, that Thucydides was exiled by the people. From this time forward Pericles altered the whole tenor of his conduct, and behaved rather like a prince than a private man; for he procured all things to be at his diſpoſal, and took the whole management of the Athenian affairs at home and abroad upon himſelf. When the ſtate of things began to have an ominous appearance, and the Athenians apprehended a war, in which they ſhould be obliged to contend, not for ſpoil, for glory, or authority, but for their lands, and houſes, and whatſoever was dear to them, they grew out of humour with Pericles, and received readily for truth whatever the envy of his enemies prompted them to ſay of him. For example, when Menon one of Phidias's workmen, preferred a petition to the people, wherein he charged that excellent ſtatuary with purloining a part of the gold which had been delivered to him for the ſtatue of Minerva; many reaſons induced ſuch as diſliked Pericles to abet this proſecution, among the reſt theſe two; firſt, they conceived that they ſhould try the minds of the people by this ſtep, and diſcover whether they were at preſent diſpoſed to bear with the proſecution of Pericles or not: ſecondly, they thought to revenge themſelves on the ſtatuary, for having inſerted a picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon in the ſhield of the goddeſs. But in the end this buſineſs had an iſſue little expected, for Phidias having declared that by Pericles's direction the gold was ſo laid on, that the whole of it might be taken off without injury to the figure, the experiment was made accordingly, and the weight found to be juſt. However, Phidias either died in priſon, or was baniſhed; Plutarch ſays, that he was poiſoned by the procurement of Pericles's enemies, who afterwards ſought to charge it upon him [m]. Hermippus next accuſed Aſpaſia of impiety or irreligion, as alſo for being a bawd to Pericles, and, as ſuch, ſeducing the wives and daughters of Athenian citizens; Diopithes preferred a pſephium or decree to the people, that it might be rendered criminal not to inform the proper court, i. e. the Areopagus, againſt ſuch perſons as diſputed the religion of their country, or taught ſuch things, under colour of natural philoſophy, in relation to celeſtial bodies, as were in-

[m] Diodor. lib. xii. c. 7. Plutarch. in vit. Periclis.

conſiſtent therewith. This was known to ſtrike at Anaxagoras the preceptor of Pericles, and even at Pericles himſelf. The people aſſented thereto, and in conſequence thereof, Anaxagoras was judicially accuſed (G). To wind up

(G) It is not clearly expreſſed by Plutarch, on what account either Aſpaſia or Anaxagoras was accuſed of impiety; however, it is not hard to conjecture, that perſons, eminent as they were, for the brilliancy of their parts, and their great knowledge in natural philoſophy, ſhould be ſuſpected on account of their notions of religion, in a country, where even in Heſiod's time they had no leſs than thirty thouſand gods, for whoſe honour their votaries were wonderfully zealous. As to Anaxagoras, we ſhall have elſewhere occaſion to mention him and his opinions; at preſent we will ſtick to the point before us, and ſay nothing but what relates to this proſecution, its cauſes, and conſequences. Laertius reports from one Sotion, who wrote a book of the ſucceſſion of philoſophy, that Anaxagoras was accuſed by Cleon of impiety, for aſſerting the ſun to be a burning plate; but that, being defended by Pericles his ſcholar, he was fined five talents, and baniſhed, whereas Satyrus reported, that he was accuſed by Thucydides, not only of propagating impious opinions, but of holding intelligence with the Perſians, and in his abſence ſentenced to die. Hieronymus wrote, that Pericles brought him into court in poor garments, and much broken with ſickneſs, which moved his judges to compaſſion. Suidas is poſitive, that he was caſt into priſon for introducing a new opinion concerning the divine nature, and baniſhed, notwithſtanding Pericles undertook to plead his cauſe. Joſephus tells us, that the Athenians believing the ſun to be a god, and he affirming it to be without ſenſe and knowledge, they adjudged him to ſuffer death as a blaſphemer. None of theſe opinions quadrate with Plutarch's account, and, which is ſtill worſe, Plutarch does not agree with himſelf; for though ſpeaking of his retirement from Athens, he aſcribes it to Pericles's precaution, yet he elſewhere admits, that Anaxagoras was accuſed. The truth ſeems to be, that the whole tenor of Anaxagoras's philoſophy was, according to the religious notions of the Athenians, impious. For he taught, that matter was compoſed of infinite ſimilar atoms, as gold is of grains, and that they were diſpoſed in the frame we ſee them, by an infinite ſelf-moving mind; whence he acquired, from the novelty of his doctrine, the ſurname of Nous, i. e. the mind. He lived after his baniſhment at Lampſacus, and was ſo little affected therewith, that when a perſon told him one day, You are deprived of the Athenians: he anſwered, You are miſtaken, friend, they are deprived of me. As to his notion of the ſun, he retained it to his death; what that notion was, we learn

up Pericles's troubles, Dracontides moved, that Pericles might bring in his accounts, and that the final deciſion of his cauſe ſhould be committed to judges, who ſhould write their ſuffrages upon billets taken from the altars [n]. Our great orator found means to diſengage himſelf from all theſe ſnares, he appeared in perſon for Aſpaſia, pleaded her cauſe as an advocate; but in the midſt of his pleadings let fall a ſhower of tears like a child, which was the more remarkable, becauſe he had never been known to weep before; and thus either the force of his eloquence, or the ſight of his grief, engaged the judges to acquit her. As for Anaxagoras, he was afraid to truſt his eloquence with the defence of him whoſe wiſdom was his only crime, and therefore he wiſely ſent him out of Attica, with this mark of reſpect, however, that he attended him in perſon. As for what was objected to his own conduct, he was in the leaſt pain about it; for being a very exact œconomiſt, he was able to ſhew two things from it, that he had always lived within the bounds of his fortune; and ſecondly, that he had no more than his father left him. This, as Thucydides obſerves, was the very baſis of his greatneſs, that he was univerſally known to be ſtrictly juſt to the public, above corruption, and, thro' the innocence of his actions in reſpect to pecuniary affairs, ſuperior to all the calumnies that could be raiſed againſt him [o].

[n] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diogen. Laert. in vit. Anax. [o] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. ubi ſupra.

learn from various authors, who agree, that he thought it to have been a burning maſs, many times bigger than Peloponneſus, and that its revolution was occaſioned by the repulſe of the northern air; he held the moon to be a dark body enlightened by the ſun, habitable, having plains, hills, and water, which he inferred from the inequality of her ſurface. He aſſerted likewiſe, that the ſtars were earthy; which opinions we mention here, becauſe they were all contrary to the Athenian religion. His ſcholars were the greateſt men of Greece, but all ſuſpected of irreligion. To mention only a few, Archelaus the philoſopher, Euripides the tragic poet, Socrates the famous moraliſt, who heard both him and Aſpaſia; ſome ſay, that Democritus was alſo his hearer; but Laertius affirms, that Anaxagoras could not endure him, which Phavorinus likewiſe aſſerts (88).

(88) Diogen. in vit. Anaxag. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Id. de Superſtit.

The Spartans prepare for war.

THE Spartans having heard all that the little ſtates of Greece had to ſay againſt the Athenians, and laſt of all the Corinthians; embaſſadors were ſent to Athens, to demand reparation for theſe injuries, or to denounce war in caſe of refuſal. Thucydides, of all ancient authors the moſt to be relied on, tells us, that they demanded in the firſt place the expulſion of thoſe Athenians who were ſtiled execrable on account of the old buſineſs of Cylon and his aſſociates, becauſe by his mother's ſide Pericles was allied to the family of Megacles; they next inſiſted, that the ſiege of Potidea ſhould be raiſed; thirdly, that the inhabitants of Ægina ſhould be left free; and laſtly, that the decree made againſt the Megarians, whereby they were forbid the ports and markets of Athens on pain of death, ſhould be reſcinded, and the Grecian ſtates ſet at liberty, who were under the dominion of Athens. It is certain, that Pericles perſuaded the Athenians to reject theſe terms, but authors are not well agreed upon what motives he acted; ſome ſay, that he thought the din of war would diſſipate that cloud of impeachments which his enemies were framing againſt him: others, that perſonal injuries done to him and to Aſpaſia provoked him to fall into theſe meaſures; the moſt probable ſeems to be, that he adviſed the Athenians according to his apprehenſion of the affair, and directed ſuch meaſures as he thought ſuited beſt with the dignity of the Athenian ſtate. The harangue attributed to him by Thucydides, and which we have no reaſon to doubt is to the ſame effect with that which he delivered, offers the following arguments to the conſideration of the Athenians. That whatever the Lacedæmonians might pretend, as to the complaints of allies and injuſtice of them, the true ground of this reſentment was the proſperity of the Athenian republic, which they always hated, and now ſought an opportunity of humbling. That it muſt be the fault of the Athenians themſelves, if they ſucceeded in this ſcheme, becauſe, for many reaſons, accurately and judiciouſly ſtated by him, they were better able to engage in a long and expenſive war, than the Peloponneſians; that therefore it ſhould be propoſed as the moſt feaſible, and at the ſame time the moſt equitable, ſatisfaction that could be given, that they would reverſe their decree againſt Megara, if the Lacedæmonians would allow free egreſs and regreſs in their city to the Athenians and their allies; that they would leave all thoſe ſtates free, who were free at the making of the laſt peace with Sparta, provided, the Spartans would

alſo

alſo leave all ſtates free who were under their dominion; and that future diſputes ſhould be ſubmitted to arbitration. In caſe theſe offers ſhould not prevail, he adviſed them to hazard a war, telling them that they ought not to think they ran ſuch a hazard for a trifle, or to retain a ſcruple in their minds, as if a ſmall matter moved them to it, becauſe on this ſmall matter depended their ſafety and the reputation of their conſtancy and reſolution; whereas, if they yielded in this, the next demand of the Lacedæmonians would be of a higher nature; for having once diſcovered, that the Athenians might be taught to fear, they would thence conclude, that they durſt deny them nothing, whereas a ſtiff denial in this inſtance would teach them to treat Athens for the future on terms of equality. He enforced theſe reaſons, by ſhewing, that their anceſtors had always acted on the like principles, and had in all caſes preferred their glory to their eaſe, and their liberty to their poſſeſſions. Diodorus informs us, that he laid before the people an exact account of their circumſtances, putting them in mind, that the treaſure brought from Delos amounted to ten thouſand talents, and that though four thouſand had been expended on the ſtately gate to their citadel, yet that ſix thouſand were ſtill in hand, that they were alſo entitled to the ſubſidies paid by the confederate ſtates, that the ſtatues of the gods, the Perſian ſpoils, and other marks of their magnificence were worth immenſe ſums, that private men were arrived at vaſt fortunes, and that, conſidering their trade by ſea, they had a certain annual increaſe of wealth; that they had an army on foot of twelve thouſand men, and in their colonies and gariſons ſeventeen thouſand; that their fleet conſiſted of three hundred ſail, which might eaſily be increaſed, whereas the Peloponneſians had none of theſe advantages; which alſo Thucydides mentions, but places this oration lower. Theſe were the cauſes, and this the beginning, of the famous Peloponneſian war, which though, while it laſted, brought innumerable evils upon Greece, yet there reſults from it this circumſtance of glory, that perhaps of all the wars which ever happened, the events of this are beſt recorded, ſo that the minuteſt circumſtances thereof are known even in theſe far diſtant times; which ſhews how far learning is preferable to power, ſince now that all the ſtates of Greece have been for many ages ſubverted and deſtroyed, the reſpect due to the writeings of Thucydides hath preſerved them, as the merit of Xenophon's hath alſo done his continuation of Thucydides's

des's ſtory, and thereby kept alive the remembrance of actions, which, however great and glorious in themſelves, had otherwiſe been buried in oblivion (H).

Platæa ſurprized by the Thebans.

THINGS being in this ſituation, the Thebans conceiving with themſelves, that Platæa, which had been always remarkable for her fidelity to the Athenians, would be a perpetual thorn in their ſides, reſolved to ſurprize it; with this view they ſent Eurymachus at the head of three hundred men, to aſſiſt ſuch of the Platæans as they had drawn over to their party, in making themſelves maſters of the place. In this deſign they ſucceeded very happily, the Platæans, who had promiſed to open the gates, kept their words exactly, and the Thebans in an inſtant took poſſeſſion of the place. The Platæans, that is, the townſmen in general, perceiving at laſt how ſmall a number the Thebans were, unanimouſly roſe and fell upon them, killing great

[p] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin, lib. iii. c. 7. Demoſt. adv. Neær.

(H) Beſides what is mentioned in the text of Pericles adviſing the Peloponneſian war, to get over an impeachment, there is a famous ſtory related both by Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos, that he was induced thereto by a ſprightly ſaying of the young Alcibiades; who ſeeing him melancholy one day, aſked him what was the matter, and upon his anſwering, that he knew not how to account for the public money which had gone through his hands, Alcibiades ſharply replied, Then ſtudy to give no account at all. Others pretend, that he was the author of the decree againſt Megara to revenge Aſpaſia, two of whoſe harlots ſome young men of that city had ſtolen away. It is true, that the decree happened on this account, but Pericles does not ſeem to have been any ways guilty; for a herald being diſpatched to Megara to complain of the injury, he was ſlain upon the road; and this violation of a ſacred character gave birth to the war. The enemies of Pericles indeed ſay, that he cauſed the herald to be ſlain, that he might pick a quarrel with the Megarians; but that the fact was notoriouſly otherwiſe, may be gathered from this, that when the emperor Adrian granted many privileges and favours to the citizens of Greece, he expreſsly excepted the Megarians on account of this very murder. If Thucydides had conceived, that any of theſe charges on Pericles had been juſtly founded, he would certainly have reported them. As to the ſneers of Ariſtophanes and other comic poets, they ought not in juſtice to paſs for evidence, ſince they were enemies alike to all who were eminent (89).

(89) Plut. in vit. Periclis.

great numbers, and in the end forcing the reſt, with Eurymachus their chief, to render themſelves priſoners of war. It happened, that another party from Thebes came to aſſiſt their companions, but came too late; the Platæans, foreſeeing that they would waſte their country, offered to releaſe their priſoners, if they would forbear to ſpoil their lands; but threatened at the ſame time, that, if they committed any waſte, they would put their friends to death. The Thebans upon this withdrew, but the Platæans, however, put their priſoners to death, alledging, that they never promiſed to releaſe them but in caſe of peace; their number was one hundred and eighty, and Eurymachus, as he led them, died with them. The Athenians, as ſoon as they had notice of this attempt of the Thebans, cauſed all the Bœotians in their territory to be arreſted, and when they underſtood how the Platæans had delivered themſelves, they ſent a great convoy of proviſions to that city, and a numerous body of troops to eſcort their wives and children to Athens. The league being now broken on both ſides, each party prepared for the war, both ſent embaſſadors to the Perſian, both ſought to rouſe their allies. Moſt of the ſtates of Greece were inclined to the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves on this occaſion the deliverers of Greece; they likewiſe hated the Athenians, either becauſe they already oppreſſed them, or becauſe they apprehended that in time they would. With the Spartans joined all the Peloponneſians, except the Argives and part of the Achæans; without Peloponneſus the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians, declared themſelves on their ſide. On the other hand, the Chians, Leſbians, Platæans, Meſſenians, Acarnanians, Corcyrians, Zacynthians, Carians, Dorians, Thracians, the iſlands for the moſt part, and all the Cyclades, excepting Melus and Thera, with Eubœa and Samos. The Lacedæmonians aſſembled their army at the iſthmus, but Archidamus, the Spartan king and commander in chief, diſpatched a herald to Athens before he would enter Attica; his herald was ſent back without an anſwer, which put an end to all motions for peace, the Lacedæmonians reſolving to act immediately offenſively, and the Athenians preparing to defend themſelves as well as they could [q].

[q] Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. Init. lib. xii.

The Peloponnesian war. Year after the Flood, 2567. Year before Christ 432.

PERICLES, as he had engaged his countrymen to undertake this war, so his wisdom seems to have been the only resource they had in it. He was aware, that Archidamus, being his friend, might forbid the plundering of his estates, of which he immediately gave advice to the people, and, to cut off all grounds of suspicion, declared, that in such a case he made a present of his lands to the public. He then advised, that, without thinking how to defend their country-seats, they should turn all their care to the city, busy themselves especially in equipping their ships, and settle a thorough resolution, not to be intimidated with the first evils of war. The Athenians came readily into all that he proposed, and appointed him with nine more generals of all their forces. To say the truth, the Lacedæmonians themselves assisted his rise, for their ambassadors continually attacking him, the Athenians apprehended from thence, that he of all others must have the greatest regard for their interest. When, however, the Peloponnesian army advanced as far as Acharne, one of the largest boroughs in Attica, and at a very small distance from Athens, the Athenians began to grow very discontented, and to exceedingly clamour against Pericles, for not so much as attempting to drive them away. In which, however, he shewed his judgment, for that army consisting of no less than sixty thousand men, the Athenians were unable to set on foot any force capable of looking it in the face; wherefore, when some hot men pressed for an engagement, Pericles very prudently said, Trees, when they are lopped and cut, grow up again in a short time; but men, once lost, cannot easily be recovered. By degrees the madness of the people grew still more violent, so that he was persecuted with libels of all sorts, and even his own friends pressed him earnestly to alter his conduct, and to attempt something for his own and his country's honour; but he remained firm and calm in the midst of this storm, pursued the plan which he had laid down, in spight of the clamour raised against him, and gave a happy turn to all things by the dint of his own magnanimity [r].

HE sent, however, a fleet of a hundred gallies with fourteen hundred land-forces on board, which fleet being joined by fifty vessels from Corcyra, coasting the Peloponnesian shore, did infinite mischief, so that its inhabitants had no reason to boast of their expedition into Attica, since they left

[r] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra.

left their own country to feel thoſe miſeries which they pretended to inflict upon others. Another Athenian fleet infeſted the Locrians, and becauſe Ægina had been a principal occaſion of the preſent war, when the fleet returned from Peloponneſus it ejected all the inhabitants of that iſland, which was repeopled from Athens. They likewiſe reduced Cephalenia, and ſeveral towns in Acarnania and Leucas, while in the mean time Pericles refreſhed thoſe who were ſhut up in the city with diſtributions of public money, a law for the diviſion of lands, and whatever elſe he could think of to amuſe and divert them. In the autumn, when the Peloponneſians were retired, Pericles, at the head of a great army, entered the Megarean territory, and did all the miſchief therein which could be expected from a provoked enemy. The reaſon of this was, becauſe on their account the Lacedæmonians pretended to have made war; thus in the end of this firſt year the Athenians made up accounts as it were with the Peloponneſians, and repaid them thoſe miſchiefs, inſults, and ravages, which they had committed in Attica at the beginning of it [f].

In the winter of this year, the Athenians ſolemnized in an extraordinary manner the funerals of ſuch as firſt died in the war after this manner; firſt, their bones were laid in a tent to be ſeen of all, and thither their friends were permitted to come in order to pay their laſt offices to their relations. Then they were carried out, each tribe providing a cypreſs coffin or coffins and chariots for their dead, and one empty coffin was carried for ſuch whoſe bodies had not been recovered, and conſequently could not have thoſe honours paid them, the women all the way making loud lamentation for them. They were then interred in a public ſepulchre in the Ceramicus, and after burial, a perſon, appointed by the ſenate of Areopagus, made a funeral oration to their honour; the perſon appointed on this occaſion was Pericles. How he diſcharged this glorious employment, the reader may be informed from Thucydides, who, if he has not preſerved the words of Pericles, has undoubtedly kept ſtrictly to his ſenſe, ſince he wrote and publiſhed his hiſtory within ſo ſhort a time after this happened, that it would undoubtedly have been decryed, if in all its circumſtances it had not been exactly conformable to truth. Thus ended the firſt year of the Peloponneſian war [t].

The

[f] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi, ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

[t] Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

THE ſpring of the next year was doubly fatal to Athens; nature afflicted her at home, and the Peloponneſians, under the command of Archidamus, waſted all things abroad; but the plague was the more dreadful enemy of the two, as the reader will eaſily perceive from the deſcription of Thucydides, who was ſick thereof (I). Pericles in the midſt of theſe diſtreſſes

(I) This plague in Athens makes ſo remarkable a figure in hiſtory, and the deſcription of it by Thucydides has been ſo much commended, that we ſhould deal unjuſtly with our readers, if we either omitted the deſcription of this plague, or gave it in other words than thoſe of that accurate hiſtorian. When the plague firſt began among the Athenians, the Peloponneſians had not been long in Attica; but ſo great a plague, and ſo fatal as this was, is not remembered to have happened in any place before. For at firſt neither were the phyſicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died faſteſt themſelves, as being the men that moſt approached the ſick, nor any other art of man availed whatſoever. All ſupplications of the gods, and enquiries of oracles, and whatſoever means they uſed of that kind, proved all unprofitable; inſomuch as, ſubdued with the greatneſs of the evil, they gave them all over. It began by report, firſt in that part of Ethiopia that lieth upon Egypt, and thence fell down into Egypt and Afric, and into the greateſt part of the territories of the king. It invaded Athens on a ſudden, and touched firſt upon thoſe that dwelt in Pyræus, inſomuch as they reported, that the Peloponneſians had caſt poiſon into their wells; for ſprings there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high city, and then they died a great deal faſter. Now let every man, phyſician or other, ſpeak concerning the ground of this ſickneſs, whence it ſprung, and what cauſes he thinks able to produce ſo great an alteration, ſpeak according to his own knowledge; for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open only ſuch things as one may take his mark by to diſcover the ſame, if it come again, having been both ſick of it myſelf, and ſeen others ſick of the ſame. This year, by confeſſion of all men, was of all other for other diſeaſes moſt free and healthful. If any man was ſick before, his diſeaſe turned to this; if not, yet ſuddenly without any apparent cauſe preceding, and being in perfect health they were taken firſt with an extreme ach in their heads, redneſs and inflamation in the eyes; and then inwardly their throats and tongues grew preſently bloody, and their breath noiſom and unſavory. Upon this followed a ſneezing and hoarſeneſs, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty cough, came down into the breaſt; and when once it was ſettled in the ſtomach, it cauſed vomit, and with great

diſtreſſes retained his courage, and endeavoured to infuſe it into his countrymen, though he held them to the obſervance

great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation that phyſicians ever named. Moſt of them had alſo the hiccoughs, which brought with it a ſtrong convulſion, and in ſome ceaſed quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch were neither very hot nor pale, but reddiſh, livid, and beflowered with little pimples and wheals; but ſo burned inwardly, as not to endure any the lighteſt cloaths or linen garments to be put upon them, nor any thing but mere nakedneſs, but rather moſt willingly to have caſt themſelves into the cold water; and many of them that were not looked to, poſſeſſed with inſatiate thirſt, ran into the wells; and to drink much or little was indifferent, being ſtill from eaſe and power to ſleep as far as ever. As long as the diſeaſe was at the height, their bodies waſted not, but reſiſted the torment beyond all expectation, inſomuch, as the moſt of them either died of their inward burning in nine or ſeven days, whilſt they had yet ſtrength; or if they eſcaped that, then the diſeaſe falling down into their bellies, and cauſing there great exulcerations and immoderate looſneſs, they died many of them afterwards through weakneſs. For the diſeaſe which took firſt the head, began above, and ran down, and paſſed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worſt of it, was yet marked with the loſs of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, may with the loſs of theſe eſcaped. There were alſo ſome that loſt their eyes, and many that preſently upon their recovery were taken with ſuch an oblivion of all things whatſoever, as they neither knew themſelves nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of ſickneſs which far ſurmounted all expreſſion of words, and both exceeded human nature in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared otherwiſe to be none of thoſe diſeaſes that are bred amongſt us, and that eſpecially by this: For all, both birds and beaſts, that uſe to feed on human fleſh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not at them, or taſting periſhed. An argument whereof, as touching the birds, was the manifeſt defect of ſuch fowl, which were not then ſeen, neither about the carcaſſes, or any where elſe; but by the dogs, becauſe they are familiar with men, this effect was ſeen much clearer. So that this diſeaſe, to paſs over many ſtrange particulars of the accidents that ſome had differently from others, was in general ſuch as I have ſhewn; and for other uſual ſickneſſes at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, ſome for want of attendance, and ſome again with all the care and phyſic that could be

ſervance of the ſame rule which he had preſcribed before, and would not ſuffer them to ſtir without the city, either to eſcape

be uſed. Nor was there any, to ſay certain, medicine, that applied muſt have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for ſtrength or weakneſs, that was able to reſiſt it; but it carried all away what phyſic ſoever was adminiſtered. But the greateſt miſery of all was the dejection of mind in ſuch as found themſelves beginning to be ſick, for they grew preſently deſperate, and gave themſelves over without making any reſiſtance; as alſo their dying thus like ſheep, infected by mutual viſitation. For if men forbore to viſit them for fear, then they died forlorn, whereby many families became empty for want of ſuch as ſhould take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themſelves, and principally the honeſteſt men: for out of ſhame they would not ſpare themſelves, but went in unto their friends, eſpecially after it was come to paſs, that even their domeſtics, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatneſs of their calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But thoſe that were recovered, had much compaſſion both on them that died, and on them that lay ſick, as having both known the miſery themſelves, and now no more ſubject to the like danger: For this diſeaſe never took a man the ſecond time, ſo as to be mortal. And thoſe men were both by others counted happy, and they alſo themſelves through exceſs of preſent joy, conceived a kind of light hope, never to die of any ſickneſs hereafter. Beſides the preſent affliction, the reception of the country people, and of their ſubſtance into the city, oppreſſed both them, and much more the people themſelves that ſo came in. For having no houſes, but dwelling at that time of the year in ſtifling booths, the mortality was now without all form, and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the ſtreets, and men half dead about every conduit through deſire of water. The temples alſo where they dwelt in tents were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppreſſed with the violence of the calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careleſs both of holy and profane things alike. And the laws, which they formerly uſed touching funerals, were all now broken, every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things neceſſary, after ſo many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the funerals of their friends. For when one had made a funeral pile, another getting before him would throw on his dead, and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having caſt thereon him whom he carried, go his ways again. And the great licentiouſneſs, which alſo in other kinds was uſed in the city, began at firſt from this diſeaſe.

For

eſcape the plague or infeſt the enemy. He cauſed, however, a great fleet to be equipped, and drew together fifty veſſels of the allies of Athens, on board of which and of a hundred Athenian gallies, he embarked three hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot, with which he ſailed to Epidaurus. The Peloponneſians, hearing how great a force he commanded, did as he conceived they would do, that is withdrew their troops out of Attica, after they had waſted it for forty days. Pericles, however, did no great matter, the plague raging amongſt his ſoldiers and ſeamen. On his return home, the fleet under the command of Agnon and Cleopompus was ſent againſt Chalcis and Potidea, but carrying the plague with them thither, they were able to do little or nothing, ſo that after a ſhort ſtay they returned from thence, alſo bringing back to Athens about fifteen hundred men out of four thouſand, the reſt being loſt through peſtilence and war. Theſe evils drove the Athenians to madneſs and deſpair. In vain Pericles made uſe of all his eloquence to appeaſe them; they ſent embaſſadors to Lacedæmon to deſire a peace, which the Spartans were much too proud to beſtow; after this fruitleſs negociation, Pericles harangued the aſſembly afreſh, and with the utmoſt force of reaſon ſought to combat their apprehenſions and fears; when he had done ſpeaking, they confeſſed he was in the right in adviſing them to begin the war; yet, diſtracted

For that which a man before would diſſemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuouſneſs, he durſt now do freely, ſeeing before his eyes ſuch quick revolution of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their eſtates: inſomuch, as they juſtified a ſpeedy fruition of their goods even for their pleaſure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, becauſe they thought it uncertain whether they ſhould die or not before they atchieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleaſure, that was made both profitable and honourable Neither the fear of the gods, nor laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, becauſe they concluded it was alike, to worſhip or not worſhip; from ſeeing that alike they all periſhed: nor the latter, becauſe no man expected that his life would laſt till he received puniſhment of his crimes by judgment. But they thought there was now over their heads ſome far greater judgment decreed againſt them; before which fell they thought to enjoy ſome little part of their lives (90).

(90) Thucyd. lib. ii. prop. init.

diſtracted with the evils it had brought, they diſmiſſed and fined him; yet, with an inconſtancy natural to a people, they in a ſhort time recalled him, and veſted him with almoſt abſolute authority. But the ſtorms in his family did not blow over ſo eaſily; his ſon Xanthippus quitted his houſe, becauſe his father would not allow him more money than his eſtate would bear; but to conceal the true cauſe, the profligate youth gave out his father converſed criminally with his wife. While this quarrel was open, Xanthippus died of the plague; ſhortly after him Pericles's ſiſter died, after her almoſt all his relations and friends, laſt of all his ſecond ſon Paralus. At his funeral, Pericles loſt his heroiſm quite; for going to place a chaplet of flowers on the head of the corps, he burſt out into a loud fit of crying, after which being conveyed home, he kept his houſe cloſely, and abandoned himſelf to melancholy. It was then, that the Athenians invited him to accept of thoſe honours of which they had ſtripped him. At the perſuaſion of Alcibiades and others of his friends he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelf to the people, who received him with acclamations, and at his requeſt cancelled that very unjuſt law, which they had made at his motion, for baſtardizing all children of the half blood; and hereupon he enrolled a ſon of his by Aſpaſia a freeman of Athens, by the name of Pericles. In the ſummer of this year, a Peloponneſian navy of a hundred gallies waſted the iſland of Zacynthus, whereby they did much hurt to the inhabitants, and little good to themſelves. Towards the end of the ſummer they ſent embaſſadors to the king of Perſia, to intreat his aſſiſtance againſt his ancient enemies the Athenians; theſe embaſſadors had it alſo in commiſſion to make application to Sitacles king of Thrace; but his ſon Sadocus, being a citizen of Athens, ſeized them and delivered them to the Athenians, who put them to death, to teach the Lacedæmonians more mercy than they had ſhewn of late in killing ſuch as they found in their territories, who were natives of places allied to Athens. In the winter the Athenians ſent Meleſander, with a fleet of twenty ſhips, to Caria and Lycia, where he was ſlain. About this time Potidæa, which had held out from the very beginning of the war, and wherein the people had been driven to the eating of human fleſh, yielded to the Athenians, who permitted the men to depart with one garment, and the women with two. This city was repeopled afterwards by a colony from Athens. Such were the events which fell out in the ſecond year of the war [u]. In

[u] Thucid. Diodor. &c.

In the ſpring of the third year, Archidamus king of Sparta came with a great army and beſieged Platæa. The Platæans inſiſted, that Pauſanias, after the famous battle in the neighbourhood of their city, had declared them free, wherefore they hoped he would not overturn what his predeceſſors had ſolemnly eſtabliſhed; but Archidamus inſiſted, that they ſhould forſake the ſide of the Athenians, give up their city and all that they had during the time of the war, on a promiſe of having all things reſtored to them when it ſhould be over. The Platæans were ſo far from accepting theſe terms, that they reſolved to abide all things rather than deſert Athens. Archidamus then waſted their country, but not with impunity; for thoſe of Platæa made continual ſallies, and cut off great part of his forces; he then cauſed the city to be ſet on fire, whereby a great part of it was reduced to aſhes, yet this had no effect. In the end therefore he was conſtrained to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and having thrown up a retrenchment, fortified with a deep ditch, he left a ſufficient number of men to guard his lines, and then returned back to Peloponneſus. In Thrace and Acarnania the Athenians fought with variety of fortune, and under the command of Phormio gained two ſmall victories at ſea. But the great event of this year was the death of Pericles, which happened in the end of the ſummer. He fell by the plague, but in a manner different from any body elſe; for whereas it hurried off others ſuddenly, it deſtroyed him by degrees, preying at once on the conſtitution of his body and the noble faculties of his mind. As an inſtance of this laſt obſervation, Plutarch ſays, that when he drew near his end, he ſhewed ſome of his friends an amulet or charm which the women had hung round his neck, intimating, that he muſt be very ſick indeed when he ſuffered ſuch a remedy to be applied. In his very laſt moments, ſome of his friends, ſitting by his bed-ſide and conceiving him to have quite loſt his ſenſes, amuſed themſelves with reckoning up the glorious events of his life: of a ſudden he raiſed himſelf on his bed, and turning to them, ſaid, I wonder you ſhould commend thoſe things in me, which were as much owing to fortune as any thing elſe, and which have happened to others alſo, and omit that which has been peculiar to me, and more to my reputation than all the reſt; that never any of my fellow citizens put on mourning on my account. Thus Pericles died as he lived, as much ſuperior to the greateſt men of Athens as they to the vulgar; and after his death it appeared, that

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the ſame grandeur, which in other men became fatal to the commonwealth, was in him its preſervation; only it muſt be allowed, that he gave way to the corruption of the people that he might govern them, and that while he exalted the Athenian ſtate and adorned its capital, he deſpoiled the people of their virtue, introducing an ambitious ſpirit of dominion, inſtead of that love of true glory which had been cultivated by Ariſtides and Cimon [y] (K).

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[y] Thucyd. lib. i, ii. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

(K) This note, though it relates to one of the greateſt men of Greece, will not be very long, becauſe we have had occaſion to ſay ſo much of him in his hiſtory, that very little remains unſaid. He was very learned, eſpecially in uſeful ſcience; and there is a ſtory related of him, though the time in which it happened is not very well fixed; but it muſt have been within a year or two of his death at fartheſt, which ſhews what courage he had, and of what a different temper he was from moſt of his countrymen: juſt as he was going on board the fleet, and had entered the admiral's galley, an eclipſe of the ſun happened, which ſtruck all the ſeamen with aſtoniſhment, and terrified his own pilot ſo much that he knew not what to do. Pericles perceiving this, inſtantly pulled off his cloak, and muffling up the man's face in it, aſked him if that was terrible, and whether he drew any ill omen from it. He anſwered, no. Why then, ſaid Pericles, what difference can you make between one darkneſs and the other, except that what ſhades the ſun is bigger than my cloak: Which brought the pilot and his crew to their ſenſes again. How much he owed to Anaxagoras appears from this, and indeed from almoſt every great circumſtance of his life; how grateful he was, the reader will determine, when he hears that he ſuffered that wiſe man to be in ſuch diſtreſs, that throwing himſelf on the ground, and muffling his face in his cloak, he took a reſolution of ſtarving to death. When Pericles was told of this he ran to him in all haſte; yet inſtead of lamenting his diſtreſs, he fell to bewailing his own loſs, in caſe he ſhould be deprived of ſo wiſe a counſellor; to which Anaxagoras, opening his cloak, anſwered with a low voice: Thoſe, Pericles, who have need of a lamp, ſupply it with oil. Whereupon the ſtateſman took him home, and uſed him better for the future. It was at his motion that the Athenians ſeized the treaſure of all Greece at Delos, and applied a great part of it to the adorning of their own city; which when complained of as a breach of truſt, Pericles thus defended it: It was given, ſaid he to defend Greece from the Barbarians, which the Athenians having done have a juſt title to the money; for money, ſaid he, is not

In the ſummer following, the Peloponneſians, under the command of Archidamus, invaded Attica the third time, deſtroying the ripe corn, and waſting with implacable hatred whatever belonged to the Athenians, though without profit to themſelves. In the mean time, the whole iſle of Leſbos, the city and diſtrict of Methymna only excepted, revolted from the Athenians, who thereupon ſent a fleet of forty gallies under the command of Clippides and two other generals; their orders were to come before the city of Mitylene, to demand that the citizens ſhould pull down their walls and deliver up their ſhips, which if they did not do, they were then to act offenſively. The Mitylenians endeavoured to amuſe the Athenians, and to that end procured a truce till they ſent embaſſadors to Athens; but in the mean time they diſpatched other embaſſadors to intreat aid of the Lacedæmonians, who directed them to make their ſolemn application at the olympic games not theirs who give, but theirs who receive, provided they fulfil the conditions; and as the Athenians were always ready to carry on war, it was but juſt that ſomething ſhould be done for their peace, and to give life and ſpirit to tradeſmen, which was effected by theſe public buildings. This reaſoning of his drew over to his party merchants, ſeamen, labourers, and artiſts of all kinds; as for ſuch as were not obliged this way, he provided largeſſes for them and penſions from the public ſtock; whence many writers of his own time complain, that whereas other Athenians had made themſelves eminent, Pericles had made himſelf a prince. In times of peace, when he apprehended that the murmurs of the people might be moſt dangerous, he cauſed them to be draughted off in colonies, and thereby rendered thoſe dependent abroad, who would have been factious at home: In a word, he made Athens the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Greek ſtates; he exalted the power of the people, which all the other chiefs had ſought to depreſs; and in the midſt of all the Athenian greatneſs, when her commons were moſt vain and moſt unruly, he directed all things at his will, was but once, and then but for a ſmall time, in diſgrace, recalled afterwards with honour by the people, and remained in poſſeſſion of his authority to his death. But in the midſt of this great fortune his hands were clean, he did all things for Athens, and nothing for himſelf, leaving his paternal eſtate rather diminiſhed than improved, an example admirable rather than imitable (91).

(91) Plut. in vit. Pericles. Thucyd. lib. i, & ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. xii. Juſtin. iii. c. 7. & mult. al.

games to the several states of Greece, which accordingly they did, and were thereupon admitted into the alliance formed against Athens. The Spartans meditated another inroad into Attica, and actually advanced as far as the isthmus; but their allies not sending their quotas as they had promised, they thought fit to retire, having received advice that an Athenian fleet had appeared on the coast of Peloponnesus. Yet the Peloponnesians, in pursuance of their promise to the Mitylenians, sent a fleet of forty gallies to their assistance; but they were able to effect little, because the Athenians had sent a hundred gallies on that coast. Hitherto they pursued the maxims of Pericles, and cultivated a naval force; but as this cost immense sums of money, they were constrained to make new demands upon their allies, and to raise that tax which Aristides had imposed with the consent of the Greeks, by which they were enabled to keep up a fleet of 250 gallies. The Mitylenians and the rest of the Lesbians, greatly incensed at those of Methymna for remaining stedfast in their duty to the Athenians, made excursions into their country, whereupon the Athenians invested the city of Mitylene, and thereby obliged them to think of defending themselves, instead of offending their neighbours. Platæa was all this time blocked up, its little garison, consisting of four hundred natives, and fourscore Athenians, having thus long withstood the whole power of Peloponnesus; but finding it a vain thing to hope assistance from Athens, and being very much streightened for provisions, they took a desperate way of forcing a passage through the enemies lines, which when they came to execute, many declined; three hundred, however, persisted in their intention, and fell with such fury on their enemies, that two hundred and twelve forced a passage and marched to Athens, the rest were compelled to retire back into the city; thus ended the fourth year of the Peloponnesian war [z].

In the very beginning of the next year, the Peloponnesians sent forty ships to the relief of Mitylene, and at the same time entered with a great army into Attica for the fifth time, under the command of Cleomenes. The Athenians were exceedingly distressed by these cruel ravages; but in the mean time their troops were victorious in Lesbos. Paches, who commanded before Mitylene, obliged it to surrender before the Peloponnesian fleet, sent to succour it, could

[z] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi supra.

could arrive; he likewiſe chaſed that fleet, and returning to Leſbos ſent the Lacedæmonian miniſter, whom he found in Mitylene, together with a deputation from the inhabitants of that place, to Athens, where the Lacedæmonian was immediately put to death; and in a general aſſembly of the people it was reſolved, at the motion of Cleon, that orders ſhould be ſent to Paches to put all the Mitylenians, who were at man's eſtate, to death; and to ſell the women and children for ſlaves. The next day, however, they reconſidered this decree, which Cleon ſtill ſupported with all his eloquence; but Diodotus, an orator of a milder diſpoſition, having ſhewn how injurious it would be to the Athenian glory to deal ſo ſeverely with perſons who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, it was carried by a very ſmall majority to reverſe the decree. A clean ſhip was immediately diſpatched to Lesbos to countermand the orders that had been ſent to Paches the day before, and inſtructions were given to the commander to make all the ſail he could, that he might arrive there before the other ſhip, which, though he ſtrongly endeavoured, he could not perform. He arrived, however, time enough to ſave the Mitylenians from utter deſtruction, for Paches, being a man of great humanity, took a day to conſider the orders he had received, and in that ſpace the galley arrived which brought him a countermand. The Athenians, however, did not wholly pardon the Mitylenians; on the contrary, they put a thouſand of the briſkeſt of the rebels to the ſword, demoliſhed the walls of the city, took away all their ſhips, divided their lands among themſelves, and let them again to the Mitylenians at very high rents. The ſame ſummer they made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Minoas, lying over-againſt the territory of Megara; they ſeized likewiſe the port of Niſæa, and fortified it, which acquiſitions were of mighty importance to them. The Platæans, driven to the laſt extremity, ſurrendered, and by the judgment of the Lacedæmonians were, to the number of two hundred, including twenty-five Athenians, put to death, and their women ſold for ſlaves. Such was the end of one of the braveſt and moſt generous people of Greece. Their city was ſometime afterwards razed by their implacable enemies the Thebans, who left only an inn to ſhew where it ſtood. The fame, however, of its ancient inhabitans moved Alexander the great to rebuild it. In this year happened the famous ſedition in Corcyra, from whence future ſeditions. when their effects rendered them terrible, were ſtiled Cor-

cyrian. Thucydides hath inserted a very copious description thereof, its causes, and consequences, in his admirable work; as far as it relates to the affairs of the Athenians, we are bound to insert a succinct relation of it here. We have already observed, that the war waged by this state against the Corinthians induced the Peloponnesian war; and in speaking thereof we have shewn, that a great number of Corcyrians were carried away prisoners into Peloponnesus, where the chief of them were very well treated, though the rest were sold for slaves; the reason of this conduct of the Corinthians was a design they had formed of engaging these Corcyrians to influence their countrymen to side with them and their allies; full of this intent, they treated them with all the lenity and tenderness imaginable, instilling into them by degrees an hatred of democratic government, and a desire of vesting the rule of their island in their own hands. When it was found that the Corcyrian prisoners had thoroughly imbibed these principles, they were told, that, on condition they would use their interest at home in favour of the allies and to the prejudice of Athens, they might obtain their freedom. The Corcyrians promised largely, returned home, and, which may seem extraordinary, endeavoured to perform all they promised. From these endeavours sprung the sedition before-mentioned; at first such as were for an aristocracy prevailed, and in right of their power cut the throats of such as inclined to a democratic government; they were assisted by the Peloponnesians, but the Athenians sending a fleet, and afterwards another fleet, to the assistance of the distressed party, the Peloponnesians were forced to withdraw; and then the democratic party, taking heart again, in Corcyra, revenged themselves for the injuries they had received from the now depressed faction; nor would they suffer any notions of religion to restrain their hands, but dragged away suppliants from the altars to execution, on the standing maxim of all faction, that it was for the public good. The worst of all was, that this example once set, almost all the states in Greece felt in their turns the like commotions, which were always incited and blown up by agents from Sparta and Athens, the former pretending to settle aristocracies every-where, and the latter exerting her utmost power to prevent their remaining any-where. In the midst of these momentous affairs, and while they had so many important businesses on the carpet, the Athenians were engaged in a new one, which proved in the end more fatal to them than

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all the reſt. It happened thus; the inhabitants of Sicily were ſplit into two factions, the one ſtiled the Doric, which had the ſtate of Syracuſe at its head, the other the Ionic, which owned the Leontines for their chiefs; the latter, conceiving themſelves too weak without foreign aid, applied themſelves to Athens, and ſent a citizen of theirs, one Gorgias, and a great orator, to intreat it; never was any miniſter ſuited better to his negotiation than this man to treat with the Athenians; he was bold, vain, and eloquent, and ſo tickled the ears of the people by his fine ſpeeches, that they ran head-long into a war with which they had no buſineſs, and which they were unable to maintain, while they were engaged with the Peloponneſians. Pericles had warned them of this at the very beginning of the war, he told them it would be as much as they could manage, but that they might manage it, if they medled with nothing elſe, and that their ſucceeding therein would fix their empire over Greece, and ſecure Athens in as high a ſtate as ſhe could expect, or ought to deſire. But the people giddy with ſucceſs, and hoping at once to graſp the empire of Greece and the dominion of Sicily, reſolved to aſſiſt the Leontines, and to that end diſpatched a fleet under the command of Lachetes and Chabrias; and, as if this new buſineſs had taken up all their thoughts, that fleet was hardly ſailed before they began to equip another. The plague, however, made prodigious havock in the midſt of all theſe great deſigns, cutting off this year four thouſand citizens, three hundred knights, and an infinite number of meaner people, Diodorus ſays, ten thouſand: he likewiſe acquaints us with what he ſuppoſes to have been the cauſe of this diſtemper, he aſcribes it chiefly to great rains falling in the winter, and a very hot ſummer following thereupon, dureing which the Eteſian gales or evening breezes were wanting. The Athenians, however, aſcribed it to the pollution of the iſle of Delos, by burying therein dead bodies, which they therefore cauſed to be removed, and ſought to appeaſe Apollo by various ſacrifices; ſuch were the events in the fifth year of the Peloponneſian war [a].

At the opening of the next ſummer, the Peloponneſians, under the command of Agis the ſon of Archidamus king of Sparta, invaded Attica, or rather aſſembled in order to invade it; for the many earthquakes, which happened at this time throughout Greece, alarmed them ſo much, that they

[a] Thucyd. lib. iii, Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

they returned home without doing any great matter. The war was carried on in Sicily with various ſucceſs; Carcades, one of their generals, being ſlain, the ſole command devolved upon Paches, who diſcharged his truſt with great reputation. At Athens the people ordered new ſhips to be daily fitted out, and created new admirals to command them; among theſe Demoſthenes gained great reputation, and made himſelf very agreeable to their allies. The Athenians, however, received ſome check from the Ætolians, but in the winter they thrice overthrew the Ambraciots, and conſtrained them to conclude a peace with the Acarnanians the allies of Athens; Eurymedon and Sophocles, who commanded in Sicily, gained, as the winter drew on, ſome advantages over the Syracuſians, and in this year it is remarked that mount Ætna made a greater eruption than it had done for fifty years; this was the ſixth year [b].

In the ſucceeding ſpring, Agis the ſon of Archidamus invaded Attica with a great army; the Athenians, however, fitted out a great fleet, ſending forty ſhips to Sicily, and to their commanders gave inſtructions to keep a ſtrict eye on Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were under great apprehenſions leſt their exiles ſhould make any attempt, or the Peloponneſians make a deſcent with their fleet of ſixty gallies which was in their neighbourhood. Demoſthenes was ſent with another fleet to infeſt the coaſts of Peloponneſus, he was one of the greateſt generals of his time, of which he gave evident proof in this expedition; for as the fleet ſailed by Laconia, he took notice of the promontory of Pylus, which was united to the land by a narrow iſthmus, having before it a barren iſland about two miles in circumference, in which, however, there was a very good ſafe port, all winds being kept off, either by the head-land or by the iſle; theſe advantages gave him to apprehend, that a gariſon left here would give ſo much trouble to the Peloponneſians, that they would find it more adviſable to protect their own country than to invade their neighbours. He propoſed therefore to his collegues, that they ſhould immediately ſeize it, and fortify it with the greateſt expedition; but they, deſiring rather to fulfil their inſtructions than to do extraordinary ſervice, for which perhaps they might not be thanked, refuſed to follow his advice, and inſiſted upon ſailing to Corcyra, according as their orders bore. A ſtorm ariſing obliged the fleet to put into the haven in the iſland, where

[b] Thucyd, lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

where Demoſthenes revived his perſuaſions to ſeize and fortify ſo convenient a poſt, but in vain; his collegues were all of another opinion, ſo that he was forced to give way; but the matter taking air, the ſoldiers declared unanimouſly that they would not quit the place, which they immediately fell to fortifying, and in ſix days finiſhed a ſtrong wall; and then the reſt of the admirals ſailing for Corcyra, Demoſthenes was left with five ſhips to guard his new-raiſed fortification. As ſoon as the news of this event was carried to the Peloponneſian army, it was immediately reſolved to return back and beſiege Pylus. When they arrived before the place, they took poſſeſſion of the harbour, and cauſed a choſen body of Spartans to take poſſeſſion at the ſame time of the iſland Sphacteria, and theſe precautions taken they attacked the Athenian retrenchments with great vigour; Demoſthenes and his gariſon made a prodigious defence, and a fleet of forty Athenian ſhips arriving in the nick of time, offered battle to the Peloponneſian fleet; but this being refuſed, becauſe the Lacedæmonians were at preſent ſet on taking Pylus, the Athenians boldly ſailed into the harbour, broke and ſunk moſt of the veſſels therein, and took the reſt, after which they beſieged the Spartans in the iſle, which threw the affairs of the Peloponneſians into the greateſt diſorder. The Lacedæmonians ſent for their magiſtrates into the camp, which was their cuſtom in all great dangers, and they, perceiving that no ſafety could be wrought for the Spartans in Sphacteria, but by a treaty with the enemy, concluded a truce with the Athenian army, while a negociation was carried on at Athens; the articles of this truce were, that the Peloponneſians ſhould deliver up all their ſhips, on condition to have them punctually reſtored to them in caſe the treaty did not take effect; that neither the Athenians nor they ſhould undertake any thing till this negociation ended ſome way or other; that a certain quantity of victuals ſhould be carried daily to the iſland, but that no ſhip ſhould attempt to paſs thither by ſtealth; that the truce ſhould end at the return of the embaſſadors, and that, if in the mean time it were broke in any of its articles, it ſhould be held utterly void in all. The Lacedæmonian embaſſadors ſpoke to the Athenians with great gravity and wiſdom, they ſhewed them how much for their honour it would be to make a peace at their requeſt; and in proof of this they urged an argument worthy of the Spartans. You have now, ſaid they, an advantage, which whether it be owing

to your wiſdom, or fortune, may be diſputed hereafter; but if you lay hold of this occaſion to make a juſt and honourable peace, you will ſhew, that your nation do not acquire advantages by chance, but by prudence; whereas, if you do not make peace, you will riſque that reputation, and even thoſe advantages, from the pride of which you reject the accommodation we offer. The Athenians in general were inclined to put an end to this troubleſome war, but Cleon, one of their demagogues, a warm and obſtinate man, ſo wrought upon them, that they inſiſted on very unreaſonable conditions, and treated the embaſſadors in ſuch a manner, that, finding nothing could be done with honour, they withdrew, and by their return to the camp put an end to the truce. The Peloponneſians then demanded their ſhips, but the Athenians, pretending that the truce had been infringed, refuſed to deliver them, and thereby kept the poſſeſſion of ſixty good veſſels, to which they had but a very indifferent title. Hoſtilities being recommenced on both ſides, the Lacedæmonians attacked the Athenian retrenchments at Pylus, while the Athenians renewed their aſſaults on the Lacedæmonians at Sphacteria; the latter, though under all the diſcouragements imaginable, behaved with great bravery, inſomuch, that the buſineſs went on very ſlowly, which gave the people of Athens much uneaſineſs. They began then to wiſh they had embraced the peace, and to rail vehemently at Cleon, who to excuſe himſelf ſaid, that it would be eaſy for the general of the forces they were now ſending to attack the Spartans in the iſle, and put an end to this diſpute at once. Nicias, who had been appointed to this command, ſaid immediately, that if Cleon believed he could do ſuch great things, he would do well to go thither in perſon; the latter, conceiving this to mean only to try him, ſaid, he was ready to go with all his heart, whereby Nicias catched him, and declared that he had relinquiſhed his charge. Cleon thereupon ſaid, modeſtly enough, that he was no general; but Nicias anſwered, he might then become one; and the people, pleaſed with this controverſy, held the orator to his word; Cleon then advancing, ſaid, I am ſo little afraid of the enemy, that I will deſire but a very ſmall body of troops; and yet, in conjunction with thoſe at Pylus, I will undertake in twenty days either to bring you the Spartans you are in ſuch pain about, or periſh in the attempt; at which the people, little expecting ſuch things from an orator, fell a laughing. They decreed him, however, the troops he deſired, and he ſet ſail on this expediti-

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on, in which he conducted himself with great prudence and fortitude; for he first sent a herald to the enemies camp, signifying, that if the Lacedæmonians in the isle surrendered at discretion, a new negotiation might be commenced; but this demand, being looked upon as dishonourable to the Lacedæmonian state, was rejected. He afterwards in conjunction with Demosthenes made a descent upon the island, and partly by their conduct, and partly by their valour, reduced the Spartans to the last extremity. Cleon perceiving it to be in their power to cut these brave men to pieces, restrained his Athenians, and sent a herald to inform them, that they might yet yield at discretion; whereupon the Lacedæmonian commander, who had been the third officer in the army, his two superiors being killed, demanded a conference with the Athenian generals, in which he desired leave to send for orders to the Peloponnesian camp, but that was refused; at length the terms offered were accepted, and the prisoners were put on board the ships in order to be conveyed to Athens. They had sustained a siege of seventy-two days, and a terrible engagement, wherein they lost one hundred and twenty-eight persons out of four hundred and twenty, so that two hundred and ninety-two yielded. Cleon, who had been laughed at when he made it, performed exactly his promise, producing the prisoners within the time prefixed, which wonderfully elated the people, who in their next assembly decreed, that these prisoners should be safely kept till a peace should be made, unless the Peloponnesians should in the mean time invade Attica, in which case they resolved that they should be put to death. They sent a colony of Messenians, who had been cruelly expelled out of their own country by the Spartans, to repossess Pylus, and their neighbourhood was so troublesome to the Lacedæmonians, that they quickly resolved to send embassadors afresh to Athens, in order if it was possible to put an end to the war. The people of Athens were too much exalted with their success, to treat the Lacedæmonians either with justice or candour, and the embassadors of that steady nation, disdaining to be amused with frivolous pretences, returned without doing any thing. This summer, the Athenians fought the Corinthians near the isthmus; they sent likewise a fleet to Sicily, which fleet had instructions to put in at Corcyra, and to assist the government there against the faction which was in the interest of the Lacedæmonians; this they effectually performed, for they gave the Corcyrians such assistance, that the exiles fell into

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their power; they impriſoned them, and afterwards drew them out by twenty at a time, and put them to death, with all the circumſtances of rage and cruelty that civil fury could invent; when there were only ſixty remaining, they beſought the Athenians to put them to death, and not deliver them up to their countrymen. The Corcyrians, thereupon ſurrounding the place where they were confined, endeavoured to bury them under their darts, which throwing theſe unhappy men into deſpair, they ſtrangled and otherwiſe deſtroyed themſelves with their own hands. Such was the dreadful end of that miſerable ſedition, which for ſo many years rent this little iſland, and made the Corcyrians endure greater evils from themſelves, than they had ever felt from any enemy. The Athenians were this year ſucceſsful in ſome other expeditions, which, to avoid prolixity, we ſhall omit, and refer our readers to the account of them in Thucydides. In the winter, a Perſian embaſſador whoſe name was Artaphernes, being ſent to Lacedæmon, was intercepted in Thrace and brought priſoner to Athens. His letters and inſtructions were read, but when it was diſcovered, that they no way concerned the Athenians, he was diſmiſſed, and other embaſſadors from Athens were ſent with him to Epheſus, where, when they came, they were informed, that Artaxerxes the Perſian monarch was dead, by which their commiſſion being determined, they returned home. Towards the end of the year, the Athenians apprehended, that the inhabitants of Chios had an intention to deſert them, they therefore ſent a fleet thither, with orders that they ſhould demoliſh their new walls, a method they commonly practiſed on ſuch occaſions. Theſe were the principal events of the ſeventh year of the war.

In the beginning of the eight year of the war, there happened an eclipſe of the ſun, as Thucydides tells us, which was followed by an earthquake. The firſt matter of conſequence the Athenians reſolved on was, the taking of the iſle of Cythera, ſeated on the Coaſt of Laconia, which lay extremely convenient for them. Nicias was choſen to command in this expedition. This nobleman, even in the time of Pericles, had been eminent in the ſtate, and enjoyed a great meaſure of favour with the people. His qualifications were not extraordinary, for though he had much knowledge in military affairs, and knew perfectly well how to perform his duty as a general, yet he was exceeding cautious, fearful of treſpaſſing in the leaſt on his inſtructions,

ſtructions, and timorous to the laſt degree of offending the people. Pericles, eſpecially in his latter days, governed all things with a high hand; he ſo much exceeded all others in eloquence, that to ſpeak and to perſuade were the ſame things with him, and the people, being confident that he was a friend to their power and authority, came readily into whatever he deſired. Nicias was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſought to acquire their good will, or rather to purchaſe it, another way; he had an immenſe eſtate, and he laid out a great part of it in beſtowing largeſſes, exhibiting plays, ſhews, and whatever elſe might pleaſe the people, who likewiſe pitied the timidneſs of his temper, and always encouraged him when he had any thing to offer or to propoſe to them. We have already mentioned his diſpute with Cleon as to the buſineſs of Pylus; the ſame man was his conſtant opponent in every thing, which is the leſs wonderful, ſince it is evident there was a direct contrariety both in their tempers and intereſts. Cleon was continually the author of warm and violent counſels, a lover of blood, and a vehement enemy of the Lacedæmonians; whereas Nicias was gentle in his manners, adviſed moderate meaſures, was for treating enemies with clemency; and though in all other reſpects he was fearful, yet he never diſſembled that he wiſhed well to the Lacedæmonians, that is, wiſhed his countrymen would rather conclude a peace with them, than break the power of that ſtate and their own by obſtinately continuing the war. The people, having a great opinion of his probity and conduct, appointed him general in this expedition into Cythera, and furniſhed him with a ſtrong fleet and a good army. Nicias executed his commiſſion punctually and ſucceſsfully, whereby he gained them a very commodious poſt, and brought the Lacedæmonians very ill neighbours; afterwards the Athenians took Thyrea on the confines of Laconia, this place the Lacedæmonians had given to the inhabitants of the iſle of Ægina when they were expelled by the Athenians, theſe with the Cytherans were ſent to Athens to abide the judgment of the people; the former they condemned to death, as being the ancient and invererate enemies of their ſtate and nation, the latter they diſperſed for the moſt part through the iſlands under their obedience, and on ſuch as they left in their own country they impoſed a very heavy tribute. In Sicily, one Hermocrates of Syracuſe perſuaded all the inhabitants of that iſland to adjuſt their differences among themſelves, whereby

whereby the Athenian generals were conſtrained to re-embark their forces and return home. There were three of them, Pythodemus, Sophocles, and Eurymedon, they gave the people a diſtinct account of the reaſons which induced them to quit the iſland, and inſiſted particularly on this, that the Sicilians being reconciled to each other, they were in no condition to force them upon other meaſures; but the Athenians, who ſeldom conſidered any thing where ſucceſs was wanting, baniſhed two of their generals, and ſubjected the third to a very heavy fine. The inhabitants of Megara, finding themſelves exceedingly diſtreſſed from the continual incurſions of the Athenians and the miſchief done by their own exiles, began to have ſome thoughts of recalling thoſe they had baniſhed, of which when the Athenians had notice, they found means to engage the magiſtrates to aſſiſt them in quelling the townsmen. Hippocrates and Demoſthenes, two famous generals, were employed in this expedition, wherein the Megarians concerned exactly kept their agreement; the gates were opened, and the Athenians had taken poſſeſſion of the town, if on a ſudden ſome of the conſpirators had not altered their minds and gone over to thoſe who ſought to defend it, whereupon the Athenians and their friends ſeized the long walls, and threw up a croſs work againſt the city, bending all their force to make themſelves maſters of Niſæa, or the port, doubting not, that, if they had this, Megara would ſoon fall. The gariſon, having no magazines of proviſion, were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion, after which the Athenians inveſted the city and cloſely beſieged it. Braſidas the Lacedæmonian came quickly from Corinth to relieve the Megarians, but the citizens being ſtill divided in their opinions, ſome ſiding with the Athenians, ſome with the Lacedæmonians, would not open their gates to any body. In the mean time, the Bœotians came with a conſiderable army and joined Braſidas, who thereupon engaged the Athenians; but it ended in a drawn battle; at laſt, however, the Lacedæmonian party prevailing in Megara, thoſe who ſided with the Athenians were many of them obliged to withdraw; after this the exiles returned, and were admitted into the city, on their taking an oath to forget all that was paſt, and not to attempt any thing which might diſturb their country. But as ſoon as they were ſettled, they forgot their oath, and [illegible] it all tenderneſs for their country, cauſed a hundred

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of thoſe whom they moſt ſuſpected to be apprehended, forced the people to condemn them, and, in conſequence of that judgment, put them all to death. They then changed the whole frame of the government, introduced an oligarchy, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſupreme power. The exiles of Mitylene, ſome other Leſbians, and a crew of mercenary troops, ſeized Rhetium in Aſia, and poſſeſſed themſelves afterwards of Antandrus; that they might not incumber themſelves with too many things, they ſold the former city to its ancient inhabitants, and were quickly after diſpoſſeſſed of the latter by the Athenian generals, Demodorus and Ariſtides; their collegue, whoſe name was Lamachus, ſailed to Heraclea in Pontus, where he pretended to levy tribute; but the Heraclians inſiſted, that, as they were ſubjects to the Perſian king, the Athenians had no right to any ſubſidies from them. While theſe points were litigating, a land-flood drove moſt of the Athenian ſhips on ſhore, and broke them in pieces, ſo that Lamachus found himſelf unable to act either by land or ſea. The Heracleans, inſtead of taking any advantage of this accident, aſſiſted the Athenians to the utmoſt of their power, ſo that with much ado Lamachus put his army into a condition to march through Thracia to Chalcedon. The Bœotians, growing weary of that form of government, which ſince their league with the Lacedæmonians had been introduced among them, began to cabal with the Athenians, and to invite them to aſſiſt in ſettling democracies throughout Bœotia; but this buſineſs was not very proſperous, for the Thebans and other Bœotians of their party drew together a great army under the command of Pantoedas. The Athenians were commanded by Demoſthenes and Hippocrates; at Delium the armies met and a very bloody engagement enſued, wherein the Athenians were at laſt beaten, and all hopes of their prevailing in Bœotia taken away, moſt of the Bœotians, who leaned to their party, being obliged to forſake their country and to take ſhelter in the Athenian territories. Thucydides the hiſtorian commanded at this time the Athenian forces on the coaſt of Macedonia, whither the Lacedæmonians had ſent Braſidas one of their beſt generals with a conſiderable army. He, partly by force, partly by perſuaſion, reduced Amphipolis and ſeveral other places; but Thucydides, by a quick march, ſaved Ione; and the Athenians, being extremely alarmed at the news of Braſidas's conqueſts, ſent

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new supplies of men, money, and ships, in the winter to the Macedonian coast; but all their care could not prevent a mighty defection from their interest in those parts, where the valour and conduct of the Lacedæmonian chief carried all before him. These were the events of the eighth year of the war [c].

In the beginning of the spring the Spartans made new propositions of peace at Athens, supposing that the misfortunes, which their enemies had met with in Thrace and Macedonia, would render them more tractable than they had been before, in which they were not much mistaken; for the Athenians, finding that fortune was no more constant to them than to their enemies, and finding their affairs much unsettled by the loss of Amphipolis, agreed to a truce for a year, that they might have time to re-establish them. This truce was founded upon the following articles, that both parties should remain in quiet possession of what they held at present, that embassadors, heralds, and all other persons with public characters, should have free leave to enter any of the states in order to the negotiation of a general peace, that neither party should receive or protect deserters, that all controversies should be decided amicably, and not by force; proceedings at sea were likewise settled, and confederates on both sides were comprised in this truce. Immediately on the conclusion thereof, negotiations were set on foot for a general peace; but these were interrupted, and the Athenians thrown into new disorders by an accident in Thrace, where the city of Scione and the city of Menda revolted to Brasidas, who, knowing nothing of the truce, sought to draw over Potidæa also; the Athenians pretending that Scione revolted two days after the truce was concluded, clamoured loudly thereat, asserting that it was a breach thereof, and that both it and Menda should be restored them, which negotiations not having the power to effect, an army was sent to reduce them; by this army Menda was recovered, but Scione made an obstinate resistance, whereupon the Athenians encompassed it with a wall and turned their siege into a blockade. The spring drawing on, the Lacedæmonian army, under the command of Brasidas, made an attempt upon Potidæa; but it miscarried, and the Athenians began to recover some courage in this part of the world.

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[c] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Niciæ.

THE truce expiring on the day of the Pythian games, Cleon perſuaded the Athenians to ſend a great army into Thrace under his own command; it conſiſted of twelve hundred foot and three hundred horſe, all Athenian citizens, embarked on a fleet of thirty gallies. Cleon ſoon after his arrival took the city of Torone; but he miſcarried in his attempt on Stagyrus, which, however, did not diſcourage him from falling upon Galopſus, a colony of the Thaſians, which he took; after which he retired to Ione, waiting there for ſuccours. Braſidas, who had an army much inferior to his, obſerving that Cleon was become careleſs, and that his troops did not obſerve diſcipline, attacked the Athenians by ſurprize, and routed them with very great ſlaughter; Cleon himſelf flying at laſt, but not far, a Lacedæmonian ſoldier overtaking and killing him on the ſpot; Braſidas was mortally wounded in the beginning of the engagement, wherein the Athenians loſt ſix hundred men, and the Lacedæmonians no more than ſeven. This deciſive engagement had mighty effects on both parties, the Athenians were greatly humbled by the loſs of their army, and the Spartans little leſs concerned at the loſs of their general; beſides, the Athenians, in loſing Cleon, loſt the moſt popular ſpeaker amongſt them and the great promoter of the war; they therefore grew much more quiet and tractable than formerly, and were very ready to hear what the wiſe and prudent ſtateſmen amongſt them thought fit to offer in their public aſſemblies. Amongſt the Lacedæmonians there was likewiſe a conſiderable party, at the head of whom was Pliſtonax their king, who declared for peace, and who laboured as hard to effect it, as Nicias and his party did at Athens. Theſe proceedings induced various negotiations, which in the end brought on a peace for fifty years between the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, on the following conditions: That a reſtitution of places and priſoners ſhould be made on both ſides, excepting that Niſæa ſhould remain to the Athenians who had taken it from the Megarians, and that Platæa ſhould remain in the hands of the Thebans, becauſe they abſolutely would not give it up. The Bœotians, Corinthians, and Megarians refuſed to be included in this peace, but the reſt of the allies yielded to it, and it was accordingly ſworn to at Athens in the archonſhip of Alcæus ten years after the commencement of the war; and as Nicias of all the Athenians moſt vigorouſly promoted it, ſo from him it was called the Nician peace [d].

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[d] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Niciæ.

THE quiet of Greece was far from being restored on the cessation of the war, such of the states in Peloponnesus as were not satisfied with the terms of peace began to intrigue and negotiate amongst themselves, and to endeavour to set on foot a new confederacy, the head of which was to be the state of Argos. The pretence was, that the liberty of Greece was in danger from the alliance between Sparta and Athens, and as a proof of this they alledged an article in that alliance, whereby it was provided, that by mutual consent new conditions might be added thereto, or any of the old ones altered at their pleasure. In the mean time, the Spartans found it not in their power to perform exactly the terms of their treaty with Athens; for whereas it was stipulated, that all places taken should be restored, Amphipolis absolutely refused to return under the Athenian government, so that all the Lacedæmonians could do was, to withdraw their garison, and under the colour of this, the Athenians on their side refused to evacuate Pylus. The Lacedæmonians pressing earnestly to have this fortress put into their hands, or that at least the Helotes and Messenians might be removed from thence, the Athenians were at last prevailed on to grant the latter, and to send those who were thus removed from Pylus to the island of Cephalenia. In the winter new negotiations were entered into on all sides, the Lacedæmonians sought to induce the Bœotians to give up Panactus and the Athenian prisoners, in hopes thereby to recover Pylus; with much ado they brought the Bœotians into this, but not till they had thoroughly destroyed the fortifications of the city in question; after which it was delivered up. The Athenians on their side had done every thing that could be expected from them, excepting only the rendering of Pylus, which they kept as a pledge for the Spartans complying with what they had undertaken in that alliance. The demolition of Panactus therefore gave them very great uneasiness, and induced them to apprehend the Lacedæmonians had circumvented them, and would in the end reconcile themselves to their old confederates at their expence. These discontents were heightened by the artifices of Alcibiades, who began now to rival Nicias, and who will make so considerable a figure in the subsequent part of this history, that there is a necessity of informing the reader who and what he was. In point of birth he yielded to none, he was the son of Clinias, the nephew of Pericles, and descended lineally

lineally from Ajax; in his perſon he was ſo beautiful, that while a youth he was beloved, and when he grew up to be a man, he was revered for his extraordinary comelineſs; his fortune was large and beyond moſt of the nobility in Athens; as to his parts, Cornelius Nepos ſeems to have drawn his juſt character in ſaying, that nature in him had exerted her utmoſt force, ſince, whether we conſider his virtues or his vices, he was diſtinguiſhed from all his fellow-citizens. He was learned, eloquent, indefatigable, liberal, magnificent, affable, and knew exactly how to comply with the times, that is, he knew how to put on all thoſe virtues when he thought fit; for when he gave a looſe to his paſſions, he was indolent, luxurious, diſſolute, extremely addicted to women, intemperate, and inclined to prophaneneſs. It was a great advantage to him, that Socrates had a great friendſhip for him, or, as the Greeks ſtiled it, a love; for this not only corrected his manners and brought him to the knowledge of many things, of which otherwiſe he would have been ignorant, but alſo gave the Athenians hopes of him, and kept them from reſenting thoſe wanton acts of pride and vanity which he committed whilſt a lad; by his mother's ſide he was deſcended from the Alcmeonidæ, and his anceſtors by the father's ſide had been always upon good terms with the Lacedæmonians. Clinias had indeed diſclaimed his friendſhip with that people, but Alcibiades renewed his title to it, and affected to ſhew a mighty reſpect to Lacedæmonian ſtrangers. But when he obſerved the embaſſadors of that ſtate applied themſelves wholly to Nicias and his dependents; he reſented it ſo much, that he began inſtantly to work upon the people's mind to their prejudice, giving out, that the Lacedæmonians were not hearty in their laſt treaty, and that Nicias was more a friend to them than was conſiſtent with his duty to his country. In proof of the firſt, he alledged, that the Spartans were now takeing meaſures for humbling Argos and her Allies, that they might afterwards bring down Athens. As to the latter, he put his countrymen in mind of the coldneſs Nicias had ſhewn when they would have ſent him with a fleet to make a deſcent on Sphacteria; the iſſue of all this was, that the people began to entertain a diſtruſt both of their old general and of their new allies. Shortly after this came embaſſadors from Lacedæmon to court the

Athenians, and to rectify their opinions as to the ſincerity of that ſtate; theſe miniſters at firſt applied themſelves to Nicias, who introduced them to the ſenate, where they declared they were veſted with full power to adjuſt all differences, and to add ſuch new clauſes to the treaty already ſubſiſting as might give ample ſatisfaction to the Athenians. When they retired from thence, Alcibiades, as the old friend of their nation, invited them to his houſe, where he expoſtulated with them on their attaching themſelves to Nicias, aſſured them of his friendſhip, and, as a proof thereof adviſed them to deny in the general aſſembly of the people that they were veſted with full powers, under pretence that the acknowledging thereof would induce the Athenians to extort unreaſonable compliances. When therefore the embaſſadors came into the forum, Alcibiades firſt ſtood up, and aſked them whether they had full powers, to which, according to agreement, they anſwered, No. Alcibiades turning to the people, ſaid, 'You ſee my countrymen, 'what credit ought to be given to theſe Lacedæmonians, 'who deny to you to day what they ſolemnly affirmed 'yeſterday to the ſenate!' The people upon this abſolutely refuſed to hear the Lacedæmons ſpeak. Alcibiades immediately afterwards recommended the cauſe of the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, who at that time ſought the friendſhip of Athens; but before they could come to a concluſion, an earthquake happened, which of courſe diſſolved the aſſembly. At the next meeting, Nicias propoſed, that he might be ſent embaſſador to Sparta before any harſh reſolutions were taken, which the aſſembly complied with; but when Nicias came to Lacedæmon, he found there a party as unreaſonable as that which he had left at Athens; for they would not give him any ſort of ſatisfaction with reſpect to his demands, and only ſwore anew to the old alliance, merely, that they might ſeem to do ſomething for the ſake of their old friend. Upon his return, the Athenians concluded a league with the Argives and the other ſtates before-mentioned for a hundred years, which Alcibiades who promoted it looked upon as a maſter-piece in politics, becauſe thereby he had provided a means to keep that war at a diſtance, in caſe the feuds between Sparta and Athens were revived, a thing which was much eaſier foreſeen than remedied. Such were the

events of the eleventh and twelfth years after the commencement of this Peloponnesian war [e] (L).

[e] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Niciæ & Alcibiad.

(L) We thought it necessary to insert here the league itself, as it stands in Thucydides, for many reasons; first, because it enlightens the history; secondly, for that it shews the policy of those times, and that the treaties of the ancient Greeks were no less perfect and explicit than ours; thirdly, that it might serve as an authority to demonstrate the truth and solidity of this history; thus it runs:

" The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, " for themselves and for the confederates commanded by every " of them, have made an accord for a hundred years, without " fraud or damage, both by sea and land. It shall not be law- " ful for the Argives, nor Eleans, nor Mantineans nor their " confederates, to bear arms against the Athenians, or the con- " federates under the command of the Athenians or their con- " federates, by any fraud or machination whatsoever, and the " Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans have made league with " each other for a hundred years on these terms. If any " enemy shall invade the territory of the Athenians, then the " Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall go unto Athens to " assist them, according as the Athenians shall send them word " to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the ene- " my, after he have spoiled the territory shall be gone back, " then their city shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, " Eleans, Mantineans, and Athenians, and war shall be made " against it by all those cities, and it shall not be lawful for " any of those cities to give over the war without the con- " sent of all the rest. And if any enemy shall invade the ter- " ritory either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Man- " tineans, then the Athenians shall come into Argos, Elis, and " Mantinea to assist them, in such sort as those cities shall " send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. " But if the enemy, after he hath wasted their territory, shall " be gone back, then their city shall be held as an enemy " both to the Athenians and also to the Argives, Eleans, and " Mantineans, and war shall be made against it by all those " cities, and it shall not be lawful for any of them to give " over the war against that city without the consent of all " the rest. There shall no armed men be suffered to pass " through the dominions either of themselves, or of any the " confederates under their several commands, to make war in " any place whatsoever, unless by the suffrage of all the cities,

" Athens,

THE next ſummer, Alcibiades, at the head of a conſiderable army, paſſed over into the territory of Argos, and

" Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, their paſſage be allowed.
" To ſuch as come to aſſiſt any of the other cities, that city
" which ſendeth them ſhall give maintenance for thirty days
" after they ſhall arrive in the city that ſent for them, and the
" like at their going away. But if they will uſe the army
" for a longer time, then the city that ſent for them, ſhall
" find them maintenance at the rate of three oboles of Ægina
" a day for a man-of-arms, and of a drachmæ of Ægina for a
" horſeman. The city which ſendeth for the aids ſhall have
" the leading and command of them, whilſt the war is in their
" own territory: But if it ſhall ſeem good unto theſe cities to
" make a war in common, then all the cities ſhall equally par-
" ticipate of the command. The Athenians ſhall ſwear unto
" the articles both for themſelves and for their confederates;
" and the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and the confederates of
" theſe, ſhall every one ſwear unto them, city by city, and
" their oath ſhall be the greateſt that by cuſtom of the ſeveral
" cities is uſed, and with moſt perfect hoſts, i. e. beaſts offered in
" ſacrifice, and in theſe words:
" I will ſtand to this league according to the articles there-
" of, juſtly, innocently, and ſincerely, and not tranſgreſs the
" ſame by any art or machination whatſoever.
" This oath ſhall be taken at Athens by the ſenate and the
" officers of the commons, and adminiſtred by the Prytanes.
" At Argos it ſhall be taken by the ſenate, and the council of
" eighty, and by the Artynæ, and adminiſtred by the council
" of eighty. At Mantinea it ſhall be taken by the procurators
" of the people, and by the ſenate, and by the reſt of the
" magiſtrates, and adminiſtred by the theori and by the tri-
" bunes of the ſoldiers. At Elis it ſhall be taken by the pro-
" curators of the peeple and by the officers of the treaſury, and
" by the council of ſix hundred, and adminiſtred by the procu-
" rators of the people, and by the keepers of the laws. This
" oath ſhall be renewed by the Athenians, who ſhall go to Elis,
" and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty days before the olym-
" pian games, and by the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, who
" ſhall come to Athens ten days before the Panathenæan holy-
" days. The articles of this league and peace, and the oath
" ſhall be inſcribed in a pillar of ſtone by the Athenians in the
" citadel; by the Argives in the market-place within the pre-
" cinct of the temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans, in
" their market-place within the precinct of the temple of Ju-
" piter; and at the olympian games now at hand, there ſhall

" be

and from thence to Patræ; he laboured at both places to perſuade them to build walls to the ſea, that ſo they might the more eaſily receive aſſiſtance from the Athenians. The Patræans, thinking to ſhew their wiſdom and foreſight, expoſtulated with Alcibiades, telling him, that if they took his advice, the Athenians might in time ſwallow them up. I do not know anſwered he but they may, yet they muſt begin at the feet and eat you by degrees, whereas, if the Lacedæmonians are your enemies, they will begin at the head and devour you all at once. The Argives thought this year to have made themſelves maſters of Epidaurus, but were hindered by the Lacedæmonians putting a gariſon into it of three hundred men, whereupon the Athenians brought back the Helotes and Meſſenians, and reſettled them in Pylus; thus all the preparatives for war were made this year, which was the thirteenth after the beginning of that ſtiled the Peloponneſian, yet no action was undertaken therein [f].

THE next ſummer, the Spartans drew together a very great army, which, under the command of Agis their king, entered the territory of Argos, where the confederate army lay; but as the engagement was about to begin, a truce was ſuddenly clapped up by two of the Argive generals and the king of Lacedæmon, for which none of them received thanks, but, on the contrary, were extremely ill treated by their reſpective citizens. Some ſhort time after, an Athenian army, conſiſting of a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, arrived at Argos, whereupon the Argives renounced the truce with Lacedæmon and began the war again. The Athenian troops were commanded by Paches and Nicoſtratus, but Alcibiades was in it as a volunteer without command; he it was who perſuaded the Argives to beſiege Orchomenus, and ſoon after Tegea; but the career of their victories was ſoon ſtopped, for Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a great

[f] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

" be erected jointly by them all a brazen pillar in olympia
" (with the ſame inſcription). If it ſhall ſeem good to theſe
" cities to add any thing to theſe articles, whatſoever ſhall be
" determined by them all in common council, the ſame ſhall
" ſtand good (92)."

(92) Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. v.

army, came to give them battle: it was fought in the neighbourhood of Mantinea, and is very accurately deſcribed by Thucydides; in it the Argives and their confederates were at firſt victorious in one wing, but the Lacedæmonians prevailing in the center and in the other wing afterwards, hemmed in the Argives, and defeated them alſo, gaining thereby a glorious victory, in right of which they erected a trophy. The Eleans and Athenians, however, after this battle inveſted Epidaurus, and threw up intrenchments around it; in the winter a ſtrong party in Argos joining with the Lacedæmonians, that city broke off her league with Athens, and renewed it with Sparta for fifty years; in conſequence of which the Argives aboliſhed democracy, which hitherto had ſubſiſted in their city, and to compliment their new allies, not only ſet up an ariſtocracy among themſelves, but aſſiſted the Lacedæmonians with a conſiderable body of troops, to force the Sicyonians upon the ſame meaſure; thus ended the fourteenth year of the Peloponneſian war, which was now opened again with circumſtances more dangerous than before.

In the very next ſummer, Argos changed her party again, for falling into an early diſlike of an ariſtocracy, which to thoſe who were free before ſeemed little better than a tyranny, they fell upon the Lacedæmonians in their city, and upon ſuch of their own citizens as they thought were of their own party, and having killed ſome and baniſhed others, they renounced their new-made league with Sparta, and renewed their old one with Athens. They likewiſe began to follow the advice which Alcibiades had given them, and with indefatigable induſtry wrought on the long walls which were neceſſary to join their city with the ſea. The Athenians, in the mean time, being convinced that Perdiccas king of Macedonia had betrayed them, and been the chief occaſion that their expeditions againſt the Chalcidians and the city of Amphipolis had miſcarried, renounced their league with him, and declared war againſt him. Theſe were the events of the fifteenth year [g].

Alcibiades at the beginning of the next year came with a fleet of twenty ſhips into the territories of Argos, to aſſiſt his friends and to put an end to the diſputes which reigned in that city; in order thereto, he cauſed three hundred

[g] Thucyd. Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

hundred of the inhabitants, who were ſuſpected of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to be ſeized and carried away; after which they ſailed to the iſland of Melos, which, though but ſmall and of inconſiderable force, had always acted with inflexible obſtinacy againſt the Athenians; the general contented himſelf with beſieging the capital, and when he found that the reduction thereof would be a work of time, he turned his ſiege into a blockade, and, leaving a conſiderable body of forces in his lines here, returned to Athens. Philocrates the ſon of Endemus, being afterwards ſent with ſupplies to the camp before Melos, reduced the place to ſuch diſtreſs, that the inhabitants yielded at diſcretion; whereupon the Athenians put every man who was able to bear arms to the ſword, and carried the women and children captives to Athens. Thucydides and Plutarch both mention this extraordinary act of ſeverity, but they differ pretty much with reſpect to the circumſtances attending it; Thucydides ſpeaks of this as the act of the general and his army, provoked by the obſtinate defence of the inhabitants of Melos; Plutarch ſays, it was done by virtue of a decree of the people of Athens, which, if it was not propoſed, was at leaſt promoted, by Alcibiades; Diodorus Siculus relates this fact alſo, but generally, and without any circumſtances at all. The Athenians from Pylus made various incurſions into Laconia, which the Lacedæmonians did not reſent as a breach of the peace, but gave leave only to their ſubjects to make repriſals on the Athenians. As to affairs in Macedonia, they received no very material alteration, except that the Athenians made ſome incurſions into the territories of king Perdiccas; theſe were the events of the ſixteenth year of the war [h].

THE Athenians determined in the beginning of this year to ſend a fleet and a great army into Sicily, the occaſion this; the Egeſtines, conceiving themſelves exceedingly ill treated by their countrymen, ſent to deſire aid from the Athenians; their embaſſadors arrived the year before, but as no reſolution was taken, or at leaſt put in execution, till now, we thought it proper to give the whole ſtory at once. Alcibiades and his faction were of opinion that this was a very happy conjuncture, and that the Athenians ought readily to embrace an oppor-

[h] Thucyd. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

tunity of conquering Sicily; for with them to invade and to conquer were synonymous terms, that from thence they might pass over to Afric, and reduce Carthage and Lybia under their dominion; after which they intended to conquer Italy. People of sense saw the madness of these schemes, but durst not oppose them; Nicias alone, though he was held the most timorous man in Athens, had the courage to oppose both the nobility and the people, and to set all things forth in their true light. He said, that Athens had already as much work upon her hands as she could do, that a breach with Sparta was inevitable, that the war must of consequence be carried on in all parts of Greece, and that fleets and armies sufficient for this purpose would try the utmost strength of Athens. That Sicily was not so easy a conquest as many apprehended, since it was a very populous island, and its inhabitants remarkable both for prudence and valour. That the Carthaginians, who were by far more powerful than the Athenians, had in vain attempted to reduce this island, and that in case the Athenians could prevail, it would be found no easy task to preserve their conquest against the united power of the Sicilians and all their other enemies in Greece. His discourse, however, had no manner of weight, the Athenians, deluded by their own embassadors, who reported strange things of the wealth of the Egestines, decreed, that a fleet should be sent to their assistance with a land-army on board, naming Nicias for the general, and giving him Alcibiades and Lamachus for his collegues. Nothing could give greater uneasiness to any man, than this nomination did to Nicias, he represented the expence of the war, in hopes that it might deter his countrymen from engaging in it, but in vain; they cut off all objections of that sort, by giving the generals absolute authority to do whatever seemed to them most proper for the service of the state. While these preparations were making, an accident happened which put the whole city in confusion; the Hermæ, i. e. the statues of Mercury, of which there were a multitude in and about the city, were all of them defaced in one night; nor could the authors of this fact be discovered, notwithstanding a proclamation offering impunity and reward to the informer; yet, in consequence of a clause therein, inviting any person, of what condition soever, to discover former sacrileges, some servants and slaves

deposed,

depoſed, that a long time before, certain young men, heated with wine, had ridiculed ſome religious myſteries, and that Alcibiades was amongſt them; his enemies, catching at this, commenced a proſecution againſt him, to which Alcibiades readily offered to anſwer, aſſerting his innocence, and proteſting againſt accuſations brought in his abſence; but his enemies, being determined to deſtroy him, procured others to move, that for the preſent he ſhould have licence to depart on his command, and that after his return a day of trial ſhould be aſſigned him; to which propoſition he very unwillingly was forced to accede. The fleet equipped on this occaſion conſiſted of a hundred gallies, but they were better provided than any the Athenians had ever ſent to ſea before, and when joined by their allies at Corcyra, made up a hundred and thirty-four gallies; of heavy-armed troops there were five thouſand one hundred, of which fifteen hundred were Athenian volunteers. This great fleet ſtayed ſome time at Corcyra in order to ſend ſome light frigates to the coaſt of Sicily, and to take proper meaſures with their allies for the debarkment of the forces. At Corcyra the generals differed, Nicias, who never had any opinion of the war, finding that their confederates were far leſs powerful than they had been repreſented, inclined to ſend only a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips to their relief. Alcibiades alledged, that it would be highly diſhonourable for the Athenians, after fitting out a fleet at ſuch an immenſe expence, to content themſelves with ſending only a part of it to perform what the whole was deſigned for; Lamachus differed in opinion from them both, he ſaid, that, their allies being no longer to be depended on, they ought now to conſider what could be done againſt their enemies; and as an army was always moſt terrible at firſt, before the minds of the ſoldiers were diſcouraged by hardſhips and fatigues, he gave his vote for ſailing directly for Syracuſe, landing their troops as near it as poſſible, and giving the enemy battle under their own walls; at laſt, however, he came over to the opinion of Alcibiades, after which the fleet ſailed for Sicily, where the army was landed, and with much ado took poſſeſſion of Catana; from thence they made ſome excurſions, but with little ſucceſs. But long they had not been in this iſland before orders from Athens arrived, directing Alcibiades to return and abide his trial, the city being all in an uproar on the old affair of defacing the Mercuries. It was a ſtate-trick play'd

off

off by the enemies of Alcibiades to ruin the mighty intereſt he had in Athens; to the ſame end they gave out, that he had entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city to the Lacedæmonians, and that he had purſued the Argives to undertake ſomething to their prejudice. It was therefore determined to put him to death upon his return, but it being apprehended, that the cauſing him to be arreſted in ſight of his army mighty produce great commotions therein, thoſe who were ſent to bring him home were ordered to treat him with great decency, and not to diſcover by any means the ſevere reſolution taken againſt him. They executed their commiſſion very exactly, ſo that Alcibiades and thoſe of his army, who were accuſed as well as he, had not any ſuſpicion; but in the courſe of their voyage, gathering from the ſeamen ſomewhat of what was intended, and being informed, that a perſon out of fear of death had acknowledged himſelf guilty and impeached them, they wiſely determined not to truſt an enraged and ſuperſtitious multitude, but to provide for their own ſafety, by withdrawing as ſoon as they had an opportunity; which offering itſelf quickly after, they gave their convoy the ſlip, and retired to ſuch parts of Greece, as, out of hatred to the Athenians, were moſt like to give them ſhelter; as for Alcibiades, he afterwards went to Sparta, and was well received there. The army in Sicily took this proceeding very heavily, however, the command devolving on Nicias, he managed it the beſt he could, as well for the ſake of his own honour, as from the apprehenſions he was under of being accuſed, in caſe any accident happened; for, having a juſt idea of the temper of his countrymen, he dreaded above all things a proſecution before the people, who heard accuſations willingly, and believed the moſt juſt defences but ſlowly. By a ſtratagem he and his collegue Lamachus brought their army near Syracuſe, and afterwards engaged the inhabitants of that city to make a ſally, wherein they ſuffered ſome loſs, and grew in great fear of an enemy whom hitherto they had in a manner deſpiſed; the Athenians, however, retired, and took their winter-quarters at Catana. In the interim the Syracuſans, by the advice of Hermocrates, ſent deputations to Sparta and Corinth to deſire aid againſt the Athenians, while themſelves wrought hard in repairing the fortifications of their city, and in laying waſte the country in the neighbourhood of the Athenian camp. The moderation of Nicias and the complacency of Lamachus, a well-diſpoſed man and an excellent officer,

officer, but little eſteemed by the Athenian people becauſe he was poor, drew many of the cities of Sicily to ſide with them, ſo that at laſt the iſland was divided into two factions, the one friends, the other enemies, to the ſtate of Athens; as for the Syracuſans, who were at the head of the latter, they depended chiefly on the ſuccours they had demanded from Greece; the Corinthians readily promiſed and ſent them aſſiſtance, and alſo ſent embaſſadors to Sparta to co-operate with thoſe whom the Syracuſans had ſent thither; but the Spartans, not caring to offend the Athenians further, heſitated much at their propoſitions, till Alcibiades informed them of the Athenian deſigns; then they diſpatched Gylippus with a ſmall body of troops to aſſiſt the Syracuſans, and at the ſame time determined to renew the war with Athens and to invade Attica itſelf; this was the firſt ſtep to the ruin of Athens, for by the perſuaſion of the ſame perſon they determined to fortify Decelea a caſtle in Attica, which hindered the inhabitants of Athens from returning from their farms when the enemy was withdrawn, cut off their ſupplies from their ſilver mines at Laurium, and ſerved as a receptacle for all the malecontents, and indeed for all the banditti in the neighbourhood. It is ſtrange, that this was never thought of before, and that it ſhould be reſolved on now at the recommendation of Alcibiades, who in a ſhort time had gained as great or greater credit at Sparta than he had ever at Athens. He procured this confidence by addicting himſelf to their cuſtoms, by conforming to them in his dreſs and manner of living, and in ſhort by throwing off every thing which ſeemed to ſpeak him an Athenian, and going more heartily than any of the Lacedæmonians themſelves did into ſuch meaſures as had a direct tendency to their deſtruction. Towards the end of the year, the army in Sicily being much weakened, the generals ſent to demand a ſupply of money and horſemen, which the Athenians readily decreed; this was the ſeventeenth year after the commencement of the Peloponneſian war [i].

Nicias, having received the ſuccours he demanded, ſailed to Syracuſe, where he had ſeveral rencounters with the townſmen, but had the better of them in all; the Athenian fleet ſailing into the haven of Syracuſe, a very briſk action happened, in which Lamachus was killed; after which Nicias,

[i] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Alcibiad. & Niciæ.

Nicias, cauſing new works to be thrown up before the place, ſtreightned the Syracuſans ſo much, that they thought of capitulating, but in the interim Gylippus with his Spartan ſuccours arrived. In Greece, the Athenians, in ſupport of their allies the Argives, invaded the territory of Epidaurus, and thereby openly broke the truce which had hitherto, though in a doubtful manner, ſubſiſted between them and the Lacedæmonians. Gylippus, by dint of conduct, defeated the deſigns of Nicias againſt Syracuſe, who notwithſtanding began to form new projects, and to exert his utmoſt ſkill, though in a very bad ſtate of health, for furthering the Athenian affairs in that iſland. New ſupplies were in the mean time decreed to him at Athens, Demoſthenes and Eurymedon being joined in commiſſion with him, the latter ſailed in the midſt of winter with ten gallies and a great ſum of money into Sicily; Demoſthenes remained behind, being employed in providing all things neceſſary for a great fleet, which was to be ſent thither in the ſpring. A ſmall one in the mean time, conſiſting of twenty gallies, was ſent to cruize on the coaſt of Peloponneſus, and theſe were all the remarkable things which happened in the eighteenth year of the war [k].

Early in the ſpring, Agis king of Sparta, at the head of a very numerous army of Lacedæmonians, Corinthians, and other nations of Peloponneſus, invaded Attica, and, according to the advice which Alcibiades had given, ſeized, and fortified Decelea, which ſtood at an equal diſtance from Athens and the frontiers of Bœotia. In the mean time, the Athenians ſeemed leſs concerned for their own ſafety than for their conqueſts in Sicily; for they ordered a fleet of thirty ſhips to be equipped for ſpoiling the coaſts of Peloponneſus, at the ſame time that they ſent Demoſthenes with ſixty of their own gallies and five belonging to the iſland of Chios to ſupport Nicias, and to carry on effectually the war againſt the Syracuſans, who about this time received a powerful ſuccour from the Peloponneſians. When Demoſthenes arrived, he found things in a very declining way, Nicias having ſome time before ſuſtained ſome loſs at ſea, wherewith himſelf and his army were much diſpirited, though it had been occaſioned chiefly by the warmth of other commanders, who paid too little regard to the general's orders. Demoſthenes, who commanded the ſupply, affected to cenſure Nicias's conduct, as if he had wanted

[k] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

wanted activity, and was not at all deſirous of carrying on the war; to ſhew therefore of how different a diſpoſition himſelf was, he would cauſe Epipolæ to be attacked, and that too in the night, which was accordingly done, but with very bad ſucceſs; for all ſpeaking the ſame language, they were unable to diſtinguiſh foe from friend, ſo that a mighty ſlaughter happened, which exceedingly weakened the Athenian fleet. Demoſthenes was then for ſailing away as faſt as poſſible, conceiving that, ſince himſelf could do nothing, there was nothing to be done in Sicily; Nicias on the contrary inſiſted poſitively on continuing the ſiege, Eurymedon joined with Demoſthenes, but Nicias could not be prevailed on to depart from his ſentiment; which was, that the Athenians, having once ſat down before a town, ought not to riſe without taking it. The true motive, however, to his obſtinate behaviour was his old apprehenſions of the people of Athens; he remembered how they baniſhed two generals for coming from Sicily before, though they had all the reaſon in the world for what they did; he choſe therefore to truſt fortune, ſickneſs, and the enemy, rather than the people of Athens. Yet when they received certain intelligence, that Gylippus, with a body of Spartans and other Peloponneſian troops, was arrived, Nicias agreed that it was fit to depart, and immediately thereupon orders were iſſued to the army; but juſt as they were ready to retire, an eclipſe of the moon happened, which terrified Nicias, who was a very ſuperſtitious man, ſo much, that he would needs keep the army there ſeven and twenty days longer. The Syracuſans, as ſoon as they were informed of this, attacked the Athenian camp, and provoked them to fight both by land and ſea. At laſt a naval engagement happened, in which Eurymedon was ſlain; and though Gylippus and his ſquadron were beaten, in conſequence of which the Athenians erected a trophy, yet they had apparently the worſt of it, ſince the Syracuſans and their allies immediately bent all their endeavours to ſhut them up in the port. Nicias and Demoſthenes, ſeeing the miſerable condition in which they were, concluded at laſt to draw their forces into a ſmaller camp nearer their ſhips, that they might be at hand to aſſiſt each other; and when this was done, they reſolved to venture another engagement at ſea, in hopes of breaking through; but in caſe they were ſo unfortunate as to fail therein, they determined with themſelves to burn their veſſels, and to march over land to Catana; according to this reſolution they attacked

tacked the Syracusans in the mouth of the haven with wonderful bravery and resolution, the land armies being spectators on both sides. This was the most bloody battle, and by far the most obstinate which the Athenians had ever fought; in it they sunk and burnt many of the enemies fleet, but were themselves so much weakened, that though the generals resolved to hazard another engagement, yet the men absolutely refused to go on board, alledging, that it was impossible for them to undergo two services at once. It was thereupon determined to retire the next night by land, which if they had done, it is very probable they might have escaped; but being deceived by the industry of Hermocrates, they put it off till the third day after. Nicias with his troops led the van, Demosthenes brought up the rear, but the Syracusans pressed so hard upon them, that Demosthenes was forced to halt, whereupon he drew up his forces in order of battle; but, the Syracusans surrounding him, and many of his men beginning to desert, he thought fit to capitulate, and having stipulated that none of his men should be put to death on any pretence whatsoever, he and his troops to the number of six thousand yielded up their arms and became prisoners. The next day the Syracusans overtook Nicias, who thereupon encamped on an eminence, and disposed all things for making the best defence he could; Gylippus immediately sent to inform him that Demosthenes had surrendered, and advised him to do the like, which he refused; but he offered to give hostages for the repayment of the expence of the war to the Syracusans, if they would suffer him and his army to retire; but this was refused him, whereupon he continued his march fighting as he went, till he arrived at the river Asinarus, where the soldiers, throwing themselves in without any order, miserably destroyed each other, and were at the same time killed without mercy by the enemy, so that they perished by hundreds, without making any effort for their lives. Nicias himself surrendered to Gylippus. When the Syracusans returned to the city, the Sicilians pressed violently to have the generals put to death, which the Lacedæmonians, and especially Gylippus, opposed as much as they were able, out of generosity with regard to Demosthenes, who was the most bitter enemy of the Spartans, and who, as we have before shewn, projected the seizing of Pylus; out of gratitude with respect to Nicias, who had ever been a friend to Lacedæmon, and who had been the chief author of the peace. At last, if we may believe Thucydides,

dides, the Syracuſans prevailed, and Nicias and Demoſthenes were put to death. Plutarch ſays, they killed themſelves in priſon (M). Of the ſoldiers, who were made priſoners,

(M) The character and ſervices of Nicias are ſufficiently ſettled in the text; here therefore we ſhall ſpeak only of his misfortunes, which were derived from the fear of the people and his ſuperſtition; he carried with him into Sicily one Stilbides a philoſopher, who had weaned him from many of his follies, and had poſſibly ſaved him at laſt, if he had lived; but happening to die ſometime before the laſt defeat at Syracuſe, Nicias had no body about him who could account for an eclipſe of the moon; for as to eclipſes of the ſun, Pericles had put their being ominous out of every body's head by an action mentioned in note K. In their laſt retreat, Nicias in the midſt of his misfortunes behaved with the greateſt dignity and compoſure; after he was taken priſoner, perceiving that the Syracuſans continued ſtill to maſſacre his ſoldiers, though they were abſolutely in their power; he threw himſelf at the feet of Gylippus, whom he addreſſed in theſe words: In the midſt of victory, O Gylippus, ſuffer yourſelf to be touched with pity, not of me, whom an exceſs of miſery has made famous, but of thoſe unhappy Athenians. Conſider, that fortune is never ſo changeable as in war, and do not forget how the Athenians, whenever they got the better of the Lacedæmonians, always uſed their victories with moderation and generoſity. The Lacedæmonian, moved at this, raiſed up Nicias, and gave orders that the ſlaughter ſhould ceaſe, but thoſe orders were very indifferently obeyed, many hundreds being killed afterwards. Authors differ exceedingly about the melancholy cataſtrophe of this great man. Thucydides ſays, that the Syracuſans, againſt Gylippus's will, put Nicias and Demoſthenes to death, or, as the word literally ſignifies, cut their throats. Plutarch tells us, that one Timæus wrote, that Hermocrates ſent the generals word that the Syracuſans would put them to death, and that thereupon they ſlew themſelves. Diodorus Siculus is ſtill wider from Thucydides than any of the reſt, for he makes Gylippus the author of their death, againſt the will of the wiſeſt of the Syracuſans, and has inſerted an oration of his to that purpoſe. Juſtin from Trogus Pompeius ſays, that Demoſthenes ſlew himſelf, but that Nicias ſubmitted, and was made priſoner; undoubtedly Thucydides deſerves moſt credit; with his account of the matter therefore we will cloſe this note: "Nicias and Demoſthenes they killed againſt Gylipus's "will. For Gylippus thought the victory would be very honour-"able, if, over and above all his other ſucceſs, he could carry "home both the generals of the enemy to Lacedæmon. And it "fell out, that one of them, Demoſthenes, was their greateſt "enemy,

ſoners, numbers were put to death, many ſent to work in the quarries, and a very few returned by ſtealth to the ſea-ports, and from thence made their eſcapes to Athens. This was the end of the Sicilian war, wherein the Athenians loſt not the conqueſt they aimed at, or that reputation which they had ſo long maintained, but their fleet, their army, and their generals. When advice of theſe loſſes came to Athens, they were for a long time not believed; but when the thing could be no longer doubted of, they grew very angry with thoſe who had adviſed the war, and with ſuch as had pretended to publiſh prophecies and oracles in favour of it; they reſolved, however, to take all neceſſary meaſures for ſupporting the dignity of the ſtate, to leave the adminiſtration of affairs to grave and wiſe perſons, to live with great frugality at home, and to treat their confederates better abroad; the expediency of theſe reſolutions appeared ſuddenly, for as ſoon as the news of the defeat in Sicily was ſpread throughout Greece, all ſuch as had been confederates with Athens began to ſhew their diſlike of her, while the Lacedæmonians were preparing by all means whatſoever to carry on the war with greater vigour than before. The Athenians cauſed the promontory of Sunium to be fortified with all diligence, cut down vaſt quantities of timber, and wrought hard to equip a new fleet, with which preparations ended the nineteenth year of the Peloponneſian war.

" enemy, for the things he had done in the iſland and at Pylus;
" and the other upon the ſame occaſion their greateſt friend. For
" Nicias had greatly laboured to have thoſe priſoners which were
" taken in the iſland to be ſet at liberty, by perſuading the Athe-
" nians to peace: For which cauſe the Lacedæmonians were in-
" clined to love him. And it was principally in confidence of
" that, that he rendered himſelf to Gylippus. But certain Sy-
" racuſans (as it is reported) ſome of them for fear (becauſe they
" had been tampering with him) left being put to the torture he
" might bring them into trouble, whereas they were now well
" enough; and others (eſpecially the Corinthians) fearing he
" might get away, by corruption of one or other (being wealthy),
" and work them ſome miſchief afreſh, having perſuaded their
" confederates to the ſame, killed him. For theſe, or for cauſes
" near unto theſe, was he put to death, being the man, that of
" all the Grecians of my time had leaſt deſerved to be brought to
" ſo great a degree of miſery (93)".

(93) Thucyd. lib. vii. prop. fin. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Juſtin. lib. iv. c. v.

In the beginning of the next year, the Chians ſought to revolt from Athens, and to put themſelves under the protection of the Lacedæmonians, with a view to which they ſent privately embaſſadors to the latter, who, in concert with their allies, promiſed to ſend ſuch a fleet as might protect them; but this promiſe was eaſier made than kept, and beſides, the Athenians got notice of it in the meantime, and ſent a fleet to Chios. The general of this fleet reproached the inhabitants of that iſland with their perfidy, which they ſtifly denied, and indeed the greater part of the people of Chios knew nothing of what had been tranſacted with the Lacedæmonians. But the Athenian general, to put the buſineſs out of diſpute, inſiſted, that they ſhould ſend their quota to join the fleet of Athens, whereupon they were conſtrained to fit out immediately ſeven gallies, and to ſend them as he directed. After this the Athenians had ſeveral ſmall ſucceſſes at ſea, which not a little diſcouraged the Peloponneſians, who would ſhortly have loſt all their reſolution, if Alcibiades had not exerted his eloquence to perſuade them to carry on the war. He adviſed them to ſend him with a ſmall fleet to Ionia, where he promiſed to engage the cities to revolt from the Athenians, and to negotiate a league between Sparta and the great king, from whence he aſſured them, that ſuch advantages would be derived as muſt effectually ſink their rival. The Lacedæmonians coming at laſt into his meaſures, he paſſed over, as he had propoſed, into Ionia, and there actually effected a great part of what he had promiſed, which ſtruck the Athenians with ſuch a panic, that they inſtantly ordered a thouſand talents, which had hitherto been reſerved untouched, to be laid out in the ſervice of the war, for which alſo they made other great preparations. As ſoon as they were able they ſent ſeveral ſquadrons of ſhips to ſea, with directions to reduce, firſt of all, ſuch places as had revolted, and then to act generally againſt the Peloponneſians; moſt of theſe ſquadrons were ſucceſsful, ſo that Leſbos, Clazomene, and other places, which, upon the proſpect of the downfal of Athens, had revolted from her, were conſtrained to fall under her dominion again. Alcibiades in the mean time acquitted himſelf well to the Lacedæmonians, by drawing Tiſſaphernes the king of Perſia's lieutenant into a league with them. The Spartans, however, were diſpleaſed with the terms thereof, and ſought to have them altered, which gave the Perſians much diſtaſte. The hatred which Agis had conceived againſt Alcibiades,

for debauching his wife, began now to produce terrible effects; for he perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to ſend orders to their general in Ionia to put the Athenian to death, notwithſtanding all the ſervice he had done their ſtate. Alcibiades, gaining ſome intelligence of this, retired to Tiſſaphernes, and laying aſide the Lacedæmonian, as he had formerly done the Athenian, he became now a perfect Perſian; and, by the politeneſs of his addreſs, gained ſo much on Tiſſaphernes, who was a profeſſed enemy to the Greeks, that he ſtiled his gardens of pleaſure, after he had been at vaſt expence in adorning them, Alcibiades, by which name they went ever afterwards. When the Athenian perceived, that Tiſſaphernes placed a mighty confidence in him, he gave him a juſt light into the affairs of Greece; he told him, it was not for the intereſt of the Perſian king that Athens ſhould be deſtroyed, but, on the contrary, that ſhe and Sparta might be maintained as rivals to each other, that the Greeks might never have an opportunity of turning their arms upon his maſter; but if it ſhould at any time be found convenient to rely upon one of them, he adviſed him to truſt Athens, becauſe ſhe would be content with the dominion of the ſea; whereas the pride of the Spartans would always inſtigate them to new conqueſts, and eſpecially excite a deſire of ſetting all the Greek cities at liberty. For the preſent he put them upon detaining a part of the pay which had been promiſed to the Peloponneſian ſeamen, that they might thereby be kept in dependence, as alſo to countermand the order given to the Phœnician fleet to join that of Peloponneſus. When Tiſſaphernes had given into theſe councils, Alcibiades privately wrote to ſome of the officers of the Athenian army which lay at Samos, intimating, that he was now treating with the Perſian on their behalf, adding, that he cared not to return to his country till the democracy was aboliſhed. The reaſon offered by him to engage the Athenians to this proceeding, was, that the Perſian king liked not a democracy, but would immediately truſt and aſſiſt Athens, if the government was put into the hands of a few. Phrynicus the Athenian general, having a great antipathy to Alcibiades, and dreading his return, reſolved to let nothing ſlip which might prevent it; he therefore not only gave his opinion againſt the propoſition which Alcibiades had made, but alſo diſcovered it to Aſtyochus who commanded the Lacedæmonian troops; this man, being brought over to the intereſt of Tiſſaphernes, revealed Phrynicus's treachery; Alciabiades upon this wrote again

to

to his correſpondents at Samos, charging their general with treachery, and betraying his country. Phrynicus, when he had information of this, wrote a ſecond time to Aſtyochus, reproaching him with betraying him and diſcovering what he had formerly acquainted him with in confidence, and offered him notwithſtanding to betray the army he commanded at Samos, which lay in an open town, to the Lacedæmonians; which piece of intelligence Aſtyochus inſtantly revealed to Alcibiades. Phrynicus being aware of this, told his ſoldiers, that the Lacedæmonians were about to attack them by land and ſea, and that therefore they ſhould throw up with all diligence a ſtrong intrenchment round the town to defend themſelves, which immediately they did, ſo that, when Alcibiades wrote again concerning Phrynicus's ſecond treachery, his letters were diſbelieved, becauſe the general had taken ſuch care for their ſafety. Such were the chieftains of Greece in theſe times, how unlike thoſe who broke the power of Perſia, and abandoned their country rather than live in it in a ſtate of dependence? the Athenians, always prone to novelty, on the arrival of Piſander and the other deputies from the army, who brought with them the propoſitions of Alcibiades, diſſolved the democracy, in defence of which they had ſo often and bravely fought, or rather reſolved to diſſolve it, for it ſtood yet a ſmall time. The iſſue of their preſent debates was, that Piſander with ten deputies ſhould return and treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, that it might be known on what terms the king of Perſia's friendſhip might be depended on; and in caſe they were reaſonable to declare, that the Athenians would veſt the ſovereignty in the hands of a few. But before their arrival Alcibiades diſcovered, that Tiſſaphernes did not incline to help the Athenians at preſent on any terms, becauſe they had been lately ſucceſsful, and Alcibiades himſelf had taught him to help always the weaker party; when Alcibiades perceived this, he ſet up ſuch high demands in the name of the Perſian, that the Athenians themſelves broke off the treaty, whereby he preſerved both their friendſhip and that of Tiſſaphernes. When Piſander and his collegues came to the army at Samos, they engaged them to favour the ſcheme for the alteration of government, and procured a commiſſion to themſelves to overturn all the democratic governments that were under the dominion of Athens. When they came back to the city, they found their confederates had almoſt done their work without them, partly by cajoling

the people, and partly by privately taking off, or in plain terms aſſaſſinating, ſuch as were ſtanch friends to the people. It was at firſt propoſed, that only the dregs of the people ſhould loſe their authority, which was to be veſted in five thouſand of the moſt wealthy, who were for the future to be reputed the people; but when Piſander and his aſſociates found the ſtrength of their party, they determined to carry matters further, and to erect an oligarchy. In the mean time, Oropus, a ſtrong city on the borders of Bœotia, revolted from the Athenians, whereby all Eubœa was in danger, the inhabitants thereof being deſirous to revolt, and the diſturbances at Athens giving them hopes to do it with impunity. In the mean time, the twentieth year ended of the Peloponneſian war [k].

When Piſander and his aſſociates firſt came from the army, they accuſed Phrynicus to the Athenians, and procured him to be recalled; he was a man of conſummate parts and prudence, and, according to Thucydides, as honeſt as the iniquities of the times would permit. On his return, finding the temper of the people, he became an enemy to democracy, in hopes that, if he had a hand in ſettling an oligarchy, Alcibiades would be afraid to truſt it; there was likewiſe at Athens one Antiphon, a man of ſuch mighty parts and eloquence, that the people were afraid of him to ſuch a degree, that he was conſtrained to avoid ſpeaking in public, and to manage his concerns by other hands; this man deviſed a new frame of government, and having communicated it to Piſander, they contrived together a method whereby to eſtabliſh it. With this view the latter, who was become very popular, propoſed, that ten men ſhould be elected with full power to frame, model, and alter laws; this being done, theſe ten appointed an aſſembly of the people at Colonus, a place without the city. When they came together there, inſtead of propoſing to them a body of laws, they offered them only this one, That every Athenian might ſpeak his mind freely, i. e. without danger from any of the laws; which being aſſented to, Piſander produced his ſcheme, which was, that the old form of government ſhould be diſſolved, and that five Prytanes might be elected; that theſe five ſhould chuſe a hundred; that each of the hundred ſhould chuſe three; that the four hundred thus elected

[k] Thucyd. lib. vii. viii. Diodor. lib. xiii. Plut. vit. Nic. & Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, vit. Alcibiad.

elected ſhould become a ſenate with ſupreme power, and ſhould conſult the five thouſand only, when and on ſuch matters as they thought fit. Here was an end of the old government of Athens, which was grown into diſlike with the people, who were notwithſtanding not over-fond of the new; but thoſe who were for it, being ſuch as were men of great parts, found means to eſtabliſh it by force; for when the people were gone out of the city to their ordinary employments, the four hundred, having each a dagger concealed under his veſt, attended by a guard of a hundred and twenty men, entered ſuddenly into the ſenate-houſe, diſſolved the old ſenate, paid them their ſalary, and turned them out, which once effected, the commons were conſtrained to ſubmit, not knowing what to do, or to whom to apply. The new ſenate choſe Prytanes, or preſidents out of their own body, and began to eſtabliſh themſelves after the mode of moſt new governments, by blood, bonds, and baniſhment; yet theſe ſeverities, though they were illegal, were not exceſſive, and, as ſoon as their enemies were removed, the four hundred ruled gently enough. They ſent embaſſadors to Agis, who lay with the Lacedæmonian army at Decelea, to acquaint him that they were ready to treat of a peace, and that the Spartans might better rely on them than on the democracy; but Agis was of another opinion, he could not imagine that the Athenians, who had ſtickled ſo much for democracy, would ſubmit patiently to an oligarchy, eſtabliſhed rather through the arts of a few, than according to the general inclination of the citizens; he therefore gave no anſwer to the embaſſadors ſent by the four hundred, but having ſignified his thoughts of the matter to the Lacedæmonians, procured a great recruit to be ſent him into Attica. On the arrival of theſe ſuccours, he marched boldly to Athens, not at all queſtioning, but that the enemies of the oligarchy would raiſe a ſedition on his approach, and either ſubvert the government, or ſo weaken and diſtract the city, that the Lacedæomonians might eaſily take it; but he was quickly convinced of his miſtake, for the people of Athens when he approached their walls, and ſent ſome advance-parties to ſkirmiſh with them, attacked and routed thoſe parties, and appeared afterwards before their city with ſuch order and intrepidity, that Agis, after receiving ſome loſs, was conſtrained to retire again to his old poſt, from whence he ſent back the laſt forces he received to La-

cedæmon. After this the four hundred ſent embaſſadors to him again, concerning whoſe negotiations we can ſay nothing, except that they were treated with greater civility than before. The four hundred, knowing well that the army at Samos were generally inclined to democracy, ſent ten deputies thither to appeaſe them, by perſuading them, that the government, now ſubſiſting at Athens, was only the beſt ſort of democracy, the dernier reſort not being in the four hundred, but in the five thouſand, a larger number than had ever aſſembled while the power was in the people; but theſe deputies were hardly gone from Athens before deputies of the army arrived there, ſignifying, that they had reſtored the democracy at Samos, and that they were reſolved to adhere to that form of government, for which the four hundred ſent ſome of theſe deputies to priſon; but one Carias who came from the army made his eſcape and got thither again, making a frightful report of the ſtate of things at Athens; upon which a ſedition enſued, that might have been very fatal to the ſtate; but moderate men interpoſing, the generals Thraſybulus and Thraſyllus contented themſelves with taking an oath of all the ſoldiers to do their utmoſt to reſtore the power to the people, to fight againſt the Peloponneſians and other enemies of Athens, and never to yield obedience to, or have any correſpondence with, the four hundred. They greatly encouraged their forces to be ſteady in the meaſures they had taken, by repreſenting to them, that they had not deſerted their city, but their city them; that their ſtrength was ſuperior to any that could be ſent againſt them by the four hundred, and that queſtionleſs on the public faith Alcibiades would come to them, and procure them aid from Tiſſaphernes and the king. Theſe diſcourſes had their effect, the ſoldiers came unanimouſly into all that was required of them, choſe new officers that might be depended on, and when their generals required it, went and offered battle to the Peloponneſians. At the requeſt of Thraſybulus they recalled Alcibiades, who, on his arrival, made a moſt eloquent ſpeech to the army, ſhewing them the true ſource of his misfortunes, the injuſtice of their countrymen, and the great danger of the ſtate. Above all things he magnified the power and good will of Tiſſaphernes, though he knew he had little authority for it, yet he could not be ſaid to deceive his countrymen, becauſe by this very method he compelled

Tiſſaphernes

Tiſſaphernes to become their friend, inſtilling ſuch a ſpirit of jealouſy into the Peloponneſians, as made them no longer able to treat that lord either with confidence or civility. The ſoldiers, bewitched by his fine words, created him general with full power; and conceiving that with him they carried victory along with them, talked of nothing but ſailing directly to Athens, and reſtoring the ancient form of government there. Alcibiades oppoſed this extravagant meaſure, he told the ſoldiers, that, ſince they had choſen him their general, he muſt return to Tiſſaphernes, in order to diſpoſe things for the making a ſpeedy end of the war. The army came readily into this, as they did into every thing he deſired of them, and he departed accordingly; when he came to Tiſſaphernes, he gave him to underſtand, that matters were now quite changed, and that it was in the power of the Athenians to be either great friends, or very troubleſome enemies, to the ſubjects of the king, and that, whether they ſhould be either one or the other, depended entirely on his management. Thus he made himſelf formidable to the Perſians by boaſting of the Athenian power, and neceſſary to the Athenians by the diſplay of his intereſt with the Perſians. As to the Peloponneſians, their affairs went wrong every-where, and all through the procurement of Alcibiades; their army mutinied and forced their general to fly to a ſanctuary; Tiſſaphernes with-held their pay and deluded them with promiſes of a fleet; they on the other hand diſtruſted Tiſſaphernes, and neither knew what meaſures to take, nor whom to truſt. When Alcibiades came back to the Athenian army, he diſpoſed them to hear reaſon, and not only to hear it, but to act according to it. The deputies from Athens had ſtayed all this while at Delos, being afraid of going to the army, as indeed they well might, the ſoldiers having paſſed a vote to put them to death. On the motion of Alcibiades, however, they were allowed to come and deliver their meſſage; but no ſooner had they done this, than the army cried out as vehemently as ever, that they would have no intercourſe with the tyrants, but ſail to Athens and reſtore the government; but Alcibiades ſtill interpoſed, he ſhewed, that, if ſuch a courſe was taken, all Ionia and the Helleſpont would be immediately loſt, ſo that if they pretended to be true patriots, they muſt remain where they were and defend the dominions of the ſtate. To the deputies he gave this anſwer, that they ſhould immediately return to Athens,

and acquaint the four hundred, that they were commanded to reſign their power and to reſtore the ſenate they had ejected; that as to the five thouſand, they might retain their authority, provided they uſed it with moderation, and that they ſhould remember to look well to the concerns of their country at home, ſince, if they betrayed Attica, or the army deſerted Athens, a reconciliation would not reſtore the miſchiefs ſuch wrong ſteps might create. On the return of theſe deputies to Athens, all things were in confuſion, few regarding the public, almoſt all anxious for their particular intereſt. Phrynicus, knowing upon what terms he ſtood with Alcibiades, laboured to maintain the government in being; while others endeavoured all they could to gratify the army. The former were the ſtronger party, and that they might make a proper uſe of their ſtrength, they diſpatched away embaſſadors to Sparta, deſiring peace upon any terms; they likewiſe ordered the Pyræum to be fortified towards the ſea, upon which Theramenes, who was at the head of the other party, cried out, that they were about to betray the city to the enemy, which was rendered the more probable, by the coming of a fleet of forty Peloponneſian ſhips upon the coaſt; nor was he much in the wrong, for the four hundred ſought firſt to maintain themſelves in the ſovereignty they had acquired; but if that could not be done, to preſerve at leaſt the city under their dominion; and in caſe that likewiſe failed, to make a compoſition for themſelves by giving it up to the Peloponneſians; for at all events they were reſolved to prevent a popular government from being reſtored, not doubting, that if once that was done, they ſhould fall victims. Phrynicus, who was ſent at the head of the embaſſy to Sparta, being able to affect nothing, returned, and on his return was ſtabbed in the forum; after which Theramenes and his party, growing bolder, ſeized the chiefs of the four hundred, upon which a tumult enſued, which had like to have proved fatal to the city, had not Thucydides the Pharſalian interpoſed, and engaged the people to be quiet. The ſoldiers, however, inſiſted on demoliſhing the new works in the port, which for the ſake of ſafety was permitted. The next day the four hundred, tho' in great fear, aſſembled in the ſenate-houſe, and ſent ſome of the members to appeaſe the people, promiſing to ſet all things right and to make every thing eaſy; in order to which they propoſed that they ſhould be allowed to chuſe five thouſand men,

men, who ſhould elect four hundred by turns to govern the ſtate, beſeeching their countrymen not to deſtroy themſelves by giving up the city to the enemy. With much ado an agreement was made, that, at a day certain, a general aſſembly ſhould be convoked for ſettling the ſtate, but when that day came and the aſſembly was convened, news was brought, that the Lacedæmonian fleet ſteered directly for Salamis, which put all things in confuſion again; for, inſtead of deliberating upon the matter they came about, they ran in crouds down to the port, where they perceived that the fleet bore away for Eubœa, whither immediately a fleet from Athens was ſent under the command of Thymochares; but this fleet had little ſucceſs, for being attacked by the Peloponneſians without, and betrayed by the Eretrians on ſhore, they were miſerably defeated, twenty-two ſhips out of thirty-ſix being taken, moſt of the others deſtroyed and all Eubœa, except Oreus, revolting. When this news came to Athens, the wiſe and the unwiſe gave up all things for loſt, the defeat at Sicily ſeeming a ſmall thing to this, becauſe they had now neither fleet nor army, and had loſt Eubœa, from whence the city received greater ſupplies than from Attica itſelf; certain it is, that if the Spartans had known their own ſtrength, they would have ſailed directly to Athens and put an end to the war; but being always ſlow, and eſpecially ſo in naval affairs, they gave the Athenians time, which of all things they wanted moſt: when they had gained this, they wrought ſo hard at their gallies, that in a ſhort ſpace they equiped a fleet of twenty ſail; the power of the four hundred they aboliſhed by law, conferred the ſovereignty on the five thouſand, and acted in all other reſpects, eſpecially in recalling Alcibiades, with ſuch prudence, moderation, and firmneſs, that Thucydides thinks the commonwealth never enjoyed ſo happy a temperature as at this time. Piſander and the reſt of the vehement ſticklers for oligarchy withdrew unheeded to the enemy. But it is now time to return to the army and fleet at Samos, and to the view of thoſe things which were performed in Ionia. Tiſſaphernes going to Aſpendus, where the Phœnician fleet lay, gave out, that he would comply exactly with all the promiſes he had made to the Peloponneſians. Alcibiades, however, perſuaded the Athenians that he meant nothing leſs, and either with a view to make this probable to them, or that he might indeed bring it to paſs, ſailed with thirteen gallies to Aſpendus, where he held frequent conferences with the Perſian lieutenant, embroiling

ing him thereby so effectually with the Peloponnesians, and they with him, that he destroyed all their affairs. In his absence an engagement happened between the Peloponnesian fleet under the command of Mindarus, which consisted of seventy-three sail, and that of Athens under the command of Thrasybulus, consisting only of fifty-five; at first the Peloponnesians had the advantage, sinking some of the Athenian ships, and running others on shore; but pursuing the advantage too eagerly and breaking their line, the Athenians supplied by their great skill in maritime affairs their defect in force, and entirely defeated the Peloponnesians, taking twenty-one of their ships; it is true, they lost fifteen of their own, but a victory at this time, though dear bought, was a prodigious advantage, it raised the hopes of the Athenians, gave new life to their affairs, and saved all Ionia and the Hellespont: a few days afterwards the Athenians took eight gallies coming from Byzantium which had revolted, presently after they reduced that city, and grievously fined its inhabitants for their disobedience. Alcibiades, returning with his thirteen gallies, took nine more from the fleet, with which squadron he constrained the Halicarnassians to pay a large sum of money, and fortified Cos. The news of these advantages coming to Athens mightily enlivened the people, and inspired them with hopes of recovering Eubœa and putting an honourable end to the war. These events fell out in the summer of the twenty-first year of the war, and here we take leave of our old and sure guide Thucydides, who concludes his history at this point of time. The history of the Peloponnesian war was continued by Theopompus and Xenophon, the work of the former comprehended the events falling out in the next seventeen years, that of the latter the next twenty-eight. Theopompus's writings are swallowed by time, but it may be a great part of their contents are preserved by Diodorus Siculus. The Grecian history of Xenophon remains still in our hands; from these materials therefore, with the assistance of Plutarch's writings, we shall continue our memoirs of the Athenian affairs [1].

Year after the flood, 2588. Before Christ 411.

Doricus, admiral of the Italian gallies, passing to the assistance of the Lacedæmonians in the Hellespont, found the Athenians in his way at Sestos, whereupon he fled to Dardanum, and landing his men endeavoured from the shore to

[1] Thucyd. lib. viii. prop. fin. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Justin, lib. 5.

to defend his ſhips, which he cauſed to be hal'd on the beach. The Athenian fleet, however, attack'd him, and were upon the very point of making themſelves maſters of all his gallies, when Mindarus the Peloponneſian admiral came to his aſſiſtance with a navy of eighty-four ſail. The Athenians thereupon relinquiſhed their firſt enterpriſe, and prepared for a general engagement, Thraſybulus commanding the right wing, and Thraſyllus the left. Mindarus with his Lacedæmonian ſhips had the right in the Peloponneſian fleet, and Doneus with the Syracuſan gallies were in the left, Pharnabazus with a Perſian army lay hard-by on the ſhore, on whoſe aſſiſtance the Peloponneſians knew they might depend. The Athenians, notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, fought with great reſolution, and the battle was yet very dubious, when a fleet of twenty ſail appeared in view, neither party knew to whom they belonged, and therefore both quickned their endeavours to end the fight before their arrival; when they drew near, the admiral's galley hoiſted a purple flag, which was known by all to belong to Alcibiades. The Peloponneſian fleet immediately broke and fled, the Athenians took ten ſhips, and, if a mighty tempeſt had not ariſen, would have taken many more. Mindarus was conſtrained to run his ſhips into any port, and marched with his men to join Pharnabazus, who effectually protected them from the Athenians. The Eubœans having almoſt generally deſerted the Athenians, the Bœotians propoſed to them the joining of their country by an artificial iſthmus to the continent, to which they aſſented, and herein they ſucceeded in ſpight of the oppoſition given them by the Athenians, and the rapidity of the Euripus, i. e. the arm of the ſea they were to fill up. Theramenes the Athenian admiral, finding it impoſſible to hinder this deſign from taking effect, ſailed away to other places, particularly to Paros, reduced them again under the Athenian government, and levied exorbitant fines upon ſuch as, he conceived, had willingly deſerted him; after which he ſailed to join the grand fleet under the command of Thraſybulus. Some ſhort time after this conjunction, advice came that Mindarus by the aſſiſtance of Pharnabazus had taken Cyzicum by ſtorm, upon which it was reſolved to ſail directly thither and fight them. When therefore the Athenian fleet had coaſted to Cherſoneſus, and were arrived at Preconneſus, they anchored there all night, and having landed their men under the command of Chares, directed him to march ſtrait to Cyzicum; as to the fleet they divided

vided it into three ſquadrons, the firſt led by Alcibiades, the ſecond by Theramenes, and the third by Thraſybulus; Alcibiades with his ſquadron ſailed in ſight of the Peloponneſian fleet, upon which Mindarus, having with him eighty ſail, put to ſea to give him battle. Alcibiades, when the enemy drew near, broke and fled, whereupon the Peloponneſians purſued him with great joy, when on a ſudden Alcibiades made a ſignal for a new line. The Peloponneſians, looking about them, ſaw the ſquadrons of Theramenes and Thraſybulus, of whom they had no intelligence, between them and the ſhore; upon this, altering their courſe, they endeavoured to get into Cleros, a port near Pharnabazus's camp; Alcibiades purſued them thither, ſinking and taking their ſhips all the way; when they came to the ſhore, however, Pharnabazus ſent them ſuch aid, that the Athenians ſuffered in their turns. Thraſybulus then landed his men to their aſſiſtance, giving Theramenes orders to land alſo to join Chares, and to come with all ſpeed to their aid. Alcibiades dealt with Mindarus and his Lacedæmonians, Thraſybulus fought bravely againſt the reſt of the Peloponneſians and their Perſian ſuccours, notwithſtanding they were much out-numbered and were at laſt ſurrounded. In that inſtant Theramenes and Chares came in with their foot; the battle was long and obſtinately fought, till Mindarus being killed, the Perſians, Peloponneſians, and Lacedæmonians all fled; and thus to his immortal glory Alcibiades gained a victory at ſea and another at land on the ſame day; and took the enemy's whole fleet, and more ſpoil than his and the remains of it could carry away. When the news of this ſucceſs reached Athens, the people were ready to run diſtracted; they immediately levied an army of a thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, and ſent thirty gallies to join Alcibiades, from whom, as he was now maſter of the ſea, they expected all things. The Lacedæmonians conceiving rightly of this war, that it would end in the deſtruction either of the one ſtate or other, ſent Endius their embaſſador to Athens to propoſe a peace. This miniſter delivered himſelf to the aſſembly of the people, after the Laconic manner, in a ſhort, plain, and excellent ſpeech, wherein he ſhewed, that Athens had ſuffered, and was like to ſuffer, more than Sparta from this war, but inaſmuch as the evils occaſioned by war were hateful to all good men, he ſaid the Spartans deſired to free both themſelves and their neighbours, from labouring any longer under them, and that

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on this account only they had ſent him to treat of peace. The people at firſt were inclined to reliſh what he ſaid, but one Cleophon, an orator, a man of mean birth, and formerly a ſlave, but who had ſurreptitiouſly got his name inſerted in the roll of citizens, by a petulant harangue put all thoughts of peace out of their heads, and engaged them to ſend back Endius without an anſwer. This was the laſt ſtep they had to take for perfecting their ruin, for never afterwards were they in any condition to refuſe peace again, and indeed they did it now merely from the hopes they had, that Alcibiades would for ever conquer, and fortune, who had hitherto been ſo unſteady, fix herſelf now to their ſide [m].

In the beginning of the next year, Thraſybulus, having repulſed Agis king of Sparta, who led an army to the gates of Athens, ſailed, with a great fleet, and a ſtrong body of land forces on board, to Epheſus, which he attacked, but was forced to retreat; he went afterwards to Lesbos and other places, where he had better ſucceſs. The Spartans, in the mean time, perceiving that the war was transferred far from Greece, attacked Pylus by ſea and land, whereupon the Athenians ſent a ſquadron under the command of Anytus, but he finding the wind directly againſt him, after he had been ſome days at ſea, returned directly to Athens; upon which the people, according to their uſual cuſtom, condemned him to die, which ſentence, however, he commuted by paying a vaſt ſum of money, being the firſt who reverſed a judgment in that manner. In the mean time, the gariſon of Pylus, after having made an obſtinate defence, rendered upon terms; and thus the Lacedæmonians pulled this thorn out of their ſide, after it had vexed them fifteen years. On the heels of this followed another misfortune, the Megarians ſurpriſed Niſæa, which ſo enraged the Athenians, that they immediately ſent an army into that country, though it could be of no uſe; the Megarians, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians and ſome troops from Sicily, ventured a battle, wherein they were moſt ſhamefully beaten, the Athenians killing great numbers of them and committing horrid devaſtations in their country. In the mean time, Alcibiades, Thraſybulus, and Theramenes, did great things in the Helleſpont and Thrace; at laſt they beſieged Byzantium, then well fortified, and having

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. 1. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Juſtin. lib. v. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Alcibiad.

having in it a Lacedæmonian garison under the command of Clearchus; some of its inhabitants, however, betrayed it, and let in Alcibiades and his army; the garison, however, and such of the Byzantines as adhered to them, made so gallant a resistance, that the Athenians were on the point of being driven out; which when Alcibiades saw, he caused proclamation to be made, that the Byzantines should be safe in their persons and effects, where-upon they turned out the garison, which were all put to the sword, except five hundred who were sent prisoners to Athens. This done, Alcibiades received Byzantium into favour [n].

In the beginning of the next year, Alcibiades and Theramenes returned in triumph to Athens, they brought with them a fleet of two hundred ships, and such a load of spoils as had never been seen in Athens since the Persian war. The people left their city destitute, that they might croud to the port to behold Alcibiades as he landed; old and young blessed him as he went by, and the next day when he made an harangue in the assembly, they directed the record of his banishment to be thrown into the sea, ordered the Eumolpides to absolve him from the curses he lay under, created him general with absolute power, and in fine endeavoured to cover him with as many favours as he had conferred benefits on them. The sweetness of his temper, his complacence towards all degrees of people, and the care he took of applying the immense riches he brought to the discharge of taxes, made the best of the Athenians ready to own that he deserved the honours that were paid to him; neither did he long indulge to himself the enjoyment of his glory, but soon put to sea with a fleet of a hundred ships, in order to do further service to his country. He was scarce departed, when Agis king of Sparta made a bold attempt upon Athens; he came with an army of twenty-eight thousand men in the night to the very walls, slew the watch, and gained a part of the walls. The Athenians, greatly amazed, ran to arms, and in the morning sent out a body of horse, equal to the cavalry of the Peloponnesian army; they fought under the walls and in the sight both of the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians; at last the Athenians prevailed, and drove the Peloponnesian cavalry back on their foot, whereupon Agis retired, finding it impossible to prevail against the city. Alcibiades in the mean time, leaving part of his fleet under the command of Antiochus

[n] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Justin. ubi supra.

tiochus his pilot, with ſtrict orders to do nothing till his return, ſailed into the Helleſpont, to aſſiſt ſome of the cities which yet ſtood firm to the Athenians. When he was gone, Antiochus, little regarding his orders, went and provoked Lyſander the Lacedæmonian admiral to fight, which he, finding Alcibiades was abſent, very readily did. In this engagement the Athenians were beat, loſing fifteen ſhips with Antiochus their commander. On the news of this defeat Alcibiades returned, and would have provoked Lyſander to a ſecond battle, but that prudent general would not hazard the glory he had acquired. In the mean time, the Athenians, being perſuaded that this diſgrace was owing to the indolence and luxury of Alcibiades, and liſtening alſo to certain ſtories they were told, that he correſponded with Pharnabazus and the Lacedæmonians, inſtantly ſtripped him of his command, naming ten new generals, among whom were Conon, Thraſybulus, and Pericles, the ſon of the famous Pericles. Conon having demanded the fleet from Alcibiades, he readily yielded up his command, but refuſed to return to Athens. He then with his own ſhip paſſed over into Thrace, built a caſtle for his own ſecurity, and erected a little principality in the ſight of his many and potent enemies [o].

THE next year, Conon the Athenian general engaged Callicratidas the ſucceſſor of Lyſander in a ſea-fight, wherein he is ſaid to have ſhewn greater conduct, than any admiral before him had done, in the diſpoſition of his fleet; however, he was worſted, loſt thirty of his ſhips, and was cloſely beſieged in Mitylene. News of this coming to Athens, the people were in great confuſion; they admitted all ſorts of perſons to the freedom of their city, who would aſſiſt them in this war, and with much ado equipped a great number of ſhips, which were ſent away to Samos, where their fleet rendezvouſed, with ſtrict orders to relieve Conon at any rate. In obedience to theſe commands, the whole fleet, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty ſail, bore away from Samos: Callicratidas, receiving advice thereof and leaving a force ſufficient to block up the city, ſailed with a hundred and fifty ſhips to Malea, a promontory of Leſbos. The ſame night that he arrived there, the Athenian fleet came to Arginuſæ, a place over againſt Leſbos. In the morning a general engagement enſued, which was fought with

[o] Thucyd. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nep. in vit. Ejuſd. Juſtin. lib. 5.

with great obſtinacy, till at laſt, the Lacedæmonian admiral being ſunk, the Athenians gained a great victory, with the loſs, however, of nineteen of their own ſhips with moſt of the men in them; but the Peloponneſians loſt ſeventy-nine. It might have been expected, that the people of Athens would have been extremely grateful to thoſe generals, who had gained them this victory, but the very contrary happened, for Theramenes having accuſed his collegues of having taken no care to ſave the dying, or to pay the laſt rites to the dead, they were immediately recalled, two of them, not caring to truſt the people, fled, but ſix of them returned home and ſtood their tryal, alledging, that they were hindered by a tempeſt from doing what they were now accuſed of neglecting; but Theramenes making a moſt laboured and pathetic oration againſt them, in which he now and then ſtopped, that the cries of thoſe who lamented the dead might be heard, and producing in the end a man who pretended to have eſcaped in a meal-tub, and who depoſed that the people when drowning deſired, that the Athenians would revenge them on their generals, the people againſt law and reaſon condemned them all to death. Socrates the philoſopher was at that time one of the prytanes, and reſolutely refuſed to do his office. Diomedon, one of thoſe who were condemned, riſing up, deſired to be heard, whereupon ſilence being made, he ſpoke thus, We all of us wiſh, ye men of Athens, and wiſh it from our hearts, that the ſentence pronounced againſt us may iſſue in the proſperity and happineſs of this city; but ſince we are prevented from paying our vows for the victory, it is but juſt and fit that you return thanks to providence for it. They were then all haled to execution, and ſuffered like brave men, with great reſolution, calmneſs, and fortitude; their names are, Diomedon, Thraſyllus, Calliades, Lyſias, Ariſtocrates, and Pericles, the only ſon of the famous Pericles. A little while after, the madneſs of the people turned the other way, Cleophon the demagogue, who had been very buſy in this matter, was killed in a ſedition, upon which the reſt who had ſtirred in that affair fled, but Calixenus, who pronounced the ſentence, returned afterwards, and being hated by all men was famiſhed to death [p].

The next year, the Athenian fleet aſſembled at Samos under the command of Conon, while Lyſander took the command of what fleet the Peloponneſians had left; he being

[p] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

being unable to fight with ſo ſmall a force, and having too great a one to lie idle, ſailed firſt to Thaſus which he took, afterwards he ſailed to the coaſt of Attica, where being able to do nothing of great moment, he returned to his old ſtation, and ſome time afterwards beſieged and took Lampſacus. The Athenians hearing of this ſailed, under the command of Conon and Philocles, with a fleet of a hundred and eighty ſhips, firſt to Seſtos, and then to the river Ægos where Lyſander lay, daring him to fight, which he, being much inferior in ſtrength, refuſed. While they remained here, the Athenians grew idle and careleſs, and, having a camp on ſhore, ſpent their time in revelling and drunkenneſs. Alcibiades, reſiding in this neighbourhood, could not remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he came therefore to the officers, and earneſtly beſought them to be more vigilant. He told them, that Lyſander was both a wiſe and a fortunate general, and that it became them to take care of him. They anſwered, that they wondered at his aſſurance, who was an exile and vagabond, to come and give laws to them, threatening, if he came any more, to ſeize him and ſend him to Athens; they afterwards concluded among themſelves what they ſhould do with the Peloponneſians, when they were taken priſoners, and reſolved, at the motion of Philocles their general, to cut off their right hands, or, as Plutarch ſays, their right thumbs, that they might never be able to hold a ſpear, but tug at an oar. Adiamantus, one of their officers, could not help ſaying, that ſuch idle diſcourſe was unworthy of Athenians; for which they hated him. Some days after, Lyſander, taking his opportunity, fell upon them, while they lay in diſorder, both by ſea and land, and gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; Conon with eight gallies only eſcaping to Cyprus. Afterwards returning to Lampſacus, Lyſander put Philocles and three thouſand captives, with all their officers except Adiamantus, to death, by the unanimous judgment of all the confederates. This execution over, he reduced all the cities which had been under the Athenian power, diſmiſſing all their gariſons with great civility; that going home to Athens, the city might be full of people, and empty of bread, whenever he came to beſiege it, which ſoon after he did by ſea; while Agis king of Sparta came with a great land-army before it. For a long time the Athenians defended themſelves, without ſo much as demanding peace. At laſt, being ſore preſſed by famine, they endeavoured to treat

with Agis, but he referred them to Sparta: thither then they ſent deputies, who offered to give up all things but their city and port. The Lacedæmonians, however, would liſten to nothing, unleſs their walls were demoliſhed. On the return of the ambaſſadors, Archiſtratus propoſed complying with thoſe terms to the aſſembly, for which he was impriſoned, many preferring death to ſlavery: at length Theramenes undertook to treat with Lyſander, who after a long attendance referred him to Sparta, whither with ſome other deputies he was preſently ſent. On their arrival they found the council of the confederates aſſembled, wherein all gave their votes for the utter deſtruction of Athens, excepting only the Spartans, who declared, they would not conſent to the ruin of that city, which had ſo well deſerved of Greece. On the return of Theramenes peace was concluded upon theſe terms, that the long walls and the fortifications of the port ſhould be demoliſhed. That they ſhould deliver up all their ſhips except twelve, receive all they had baniſhed, and follow the fortune of the Lacedæmonians. Lyſander cauſed the walls to be pulled down, all the muſic in his army playing, on that very day of the year on which they had beat the Perſians at Salamis. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed an oligarchy, expreſly againſt the will of the people; and thus the ruin of Athens ended in the twenty-ſeventh year of the Peloponneſian war.

As ſoon as Lyſander had demoliſhed the long walls and the fortifications of the Piræum, he conſtituted a council of thirty, with power, as was pretended, to make laws, but in truth to ſubjugate the ſtate. Theſe are the perſons ſo famous in hiſtory under the title of the thirty tyrants; they were all the creatures of Lyſander, mere implements of power, who, as they derived their riſe from conqueſt and the law of the ſwords, exerciſed their offices in a ſuitable manner; that is with the higheſt teſtimonies of pride, inſolence, and cruelty. Inſtead of making laws, they governed without them, appointed a ſenate and magiſtrates at their will, and, that they might do all things without danger of controul, they ſent for a gariſon from Lacedæmon, which was accordingly granted them, under the command of Callidius, upon their promiſe to pay the ſoldiers regularly. One of the firſt ſteps they took was to puniſh all informers, who by falſe accuſations had taken off honeſt men and diſturbed the ſtate; this, though ſevere, was popular, but when, through flattery and bribes, they had wholly drawn over Callidius to their party, they ſuffered

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ed bad men to live in quiet, and turned their rage againſt the good. Critias and Theramenes were at the head of the thirty, men of the greateſt power and abilities in Athens; the former was ambitious and cruel without meaſure, the latter retained ſome bowels for his country; the former puſhed on all the bloody ſchemes framed by his confederates, and carried into execution many of his own; the latter always oppoſed them, at firſt with moderation, at laſt with vehemence. He ſaid, that power was given them to rule, and not to ſpoil, the commonwealth, and that it became them to act like ſhepherds, not like wolves, and that they ought to beware of rendering themſelves at once odious and ridiculous, by attempting to domineer over all, being ſuch a handful of men as they were. The reſt, diſliking much the former part of his diſcourſe, catched hold of the latter, and immediately choſe out three thouſand whom they made the repreſentatives of the people, and to whom they granted this notable privilege, that none of them ſhould be put to death, but by judgment of the ſenate, thereby openly aſſuming a power of putting any other Athenian citizen to death by their own authority. A glorious uſe they made of this new-aſſumed privilege, for as many as they conjectured to be no friends to the government in general, or to any of themſelves in particular, they put to death, without cauſe, and without mercy. Theramenes openly oppoſing this, and abſolutely refuſing to concur in ſuch meaſures, Critias accuſed him to the ſenate, as a man of unſteady principles, ſometimes for the people, ſometimes againſt them, always for new things and ſtate revolutions. Theramenes owned, that he had ſometimes changed his meaſures, but alledged, that he had always done it to ſerve the people; he ſaid, that it was ſolely with this view that he made the peace with Sparta and accepted the office of one of the thirty; that he had never oppoſed their meaſures while they cut off the wicked, but when they began to deſtroy men of fortune and family, then he owned he had differed with them, which he conceived to be no crime againſt the ſtate. While Theramenes was ſpeaking, Critias withdrew, perceiving that the ſenate were thoroughly convinced of the truth of what Theramenes had ſaid; but he quickly returned with a guard, crying out that he had ſtruck Theramenes's name out of the liſt of the three thou-

Xenoph. Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lyſander. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ijuſd. Juſtin, lib xv.

ſand, that the ſenate had therefore no longer cognizance of the cauſe, which the thirty had already judged, and condemned him to death. Theramenes, perceiving that they intended to ſeize him, fled to the altar, which was in the midſt of the ſenate-houſe, and laying his hands thereon ſaid; I do not ſeek refuge here, becauſe I expect to eſcape death, or deſire it, but that tearing me from the altar, the impious authors of my murder may intereſt the gods in bringing them to ſpeedy judgment, and thereby reſtore freedom to my country: the guards then haled him from the altar, and carried him to the place of execution, where he drank the poiſon with undaunted courage, putting the people in mind with his laſt breath, that as they ſtruck his name out of the three thouſand, they might ſtrike any of theirs. His death was followed by a train of murders, ſo that in a ſhort time ſixty of the worthieſt and moſt eminent citizens of Athens fell by the cruelty of the thirty. Amongſt theſe the moſt pitied was Niceratus the ſon of Nicias, a man univerſally beloved for his goodneſs, and univerſally admired for his virtues. As for the Spartans, they, loſing their former generoſity, were extremely pleaſed with theſe things, and by a public decree commanded, that ſuch as fled from the thirty tyrants ſhould be carried back bound to Athens; which extraordinary proceeding frightned all Greece; but the Argives and Thebans only had the courage to oppoſe it; the former received the Athenian exiles with humanity and kindneſs, the latter puniſhed with a mulct ſuch of their citizens as did not riſe and reſcue the Athenian priſoners, who, in purſuance of the Lacedæmonian decree, were carried bound through their territories [r].

THRASYBULUS and ſuch as with him had taken ſhelter in the Theban territory reſolved to hazard ſomething, rather than remain perpetual exiles from their country; and though he had but thirty men on whom he could depend, yet conſidering the victories he had heretofore obtained in the cauſe of his country, he made an irruption into Attica, where he ſeized Phyla, a caſtle at a very ſmall diſtance from Athens, where in a very ſhort ſpace his forces were augmented to ſeven hundred men; and though the tyrants made uſe of the Spartan gariſon, in their endeavours

[r] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Lyſand. Juſtin. lib. v.

deavours to reduce him and his party, yet Thrasybulus prevailed in various skirmishes, and at last constrained them to break up the blockade of Phyla, which they had formed. The thirty and their party conceiving it very advantageous for them to have the possession of Eleusina, marched thither, and having persuaded the people to go unarmed out of their city that they might number them, took this opportunity most inhumanly to murder them. The forces of Thrasybulus encreasing daily, he at length possessed himself of the Piræum, which he fortified in the best manner he could, but the tyrants being determined to drive him from thence, came down against him with the utmost force they could raise. Thrasybulus defended himself with great obstinacy, and in the end they were forced to retreat, having lost before the place not only a great number of their men, but Critias the president of the thirty, another of the same body, and one who had been captain of the Piræum; when they came to demand the dead from Thrasybulus in order for their interment, he caused a cryer he had with him to make a short speech in a very loud voice to the people, intreating them to consider, that as they were citizens of Athens without, so those against whom they fought, and who fought to preserve themselves within, the fort, were Athenian citizens also, wherefore, instead of thinking how to ruin and destroy their brethren, they ought rather to consult how all differences ought to be composed, and especially ought to rid themselves of those bloody tyrants, who, in the short time they had had the administration in their hands, had destroyed more than had fallen in the Peloponnesian war. The people, tho' moved by these discourses, differed among themselves, the consequence of which was, that they expelled the thirty, and chose ten men out of each tribe to govern in their stead, whereupon the tyrants retired to Eleusina. The citizens, however, though they changed the government, made no agreement with those in the Piræum, but sent away deputies to Sparta, as did also the tyrants from Eleusina, complaining, that the Athenians had revolted, and desiring their assistance to reduce them. The Spartans sent thereupon a large sum of money to encourage their confederates, and appointed Lysander commander in chief, and his brother to be admiral, resolving to send sea and land-forces to reduce Athens, a second time, intending, as most of the Greek states suspected, to add it now to their own dominions.

It is very probable[12], that this deſign of theirs would have taken effect, if Pauſanias king of Sparta, envying Lyſander, had not reſolved to obſtruct it. With this view he procured another army to be raiſed againſt the Athenians, of which himſelf had the command, and with which he marched immediately to beſiege the Piræum. While he lay before the place and pretended to attack it, he entered into a private correſpondence with Thraſybulus, informing him what propoſitions he ſhould make in order to force the Lacedæmonians, who were ſuſpected by all their allies, to grant them peace [f].

THE intrigues of Pauſanias had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh; the Ephori, who were with him in the camp, concurred in his meaſures, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace a treaty was concluded on the following terms; that all the citizens of Athens ſhould be reſtored to their houſes and privileges, excepting the thirty, the ten which had ſucceeded them, and who had acted no leſs tyrannically than they, and the eleven, who during the time of the oligarchy had been conſtituted governors or keepers of the Piræum; that all ſhould remain quiet for the future in the city, and that if any were afraid to truſt to this agreement, they ſhould have free leave to return to Eleuſina. Pauſanias then marched away with the Spartan army, and Thraſybulus at the head of his forces marched into Athens, where, having laid down their arms, they ſacrificed with the reſt of the citizens in the temple of Minerva, after which the popular government was reſtored. Yet quiet was not thoroughly eſtabliſhed, the exiles at Eleuſina having endeavoured by the help of money to raiſe an army of foreigners, by whoſe aid they might recover the authority they had loſt; but firſt depending on their friends in the city, they ſent ſome of the principal perſons amongſt them, as deputies to treat with the citizens, but ſtrictly inſtructed them to ſow jealouſies and excite diſcords among them. Which the latter quickly perceiving, put theſe perſons to death, and then remonſtrating to thoſe at Eleuſina, that theſe contentions would undoubtedly end either in their own, or the deſtruction of their country, they offered immediately to paſs an act of oblivion, which they would confirm with an oath. This being accepted, thoſe who had withdrawn returned to the city, where all differences were adjuſted, and both parties moſt religiouſly

[f] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos. Juſtin. ubi. ſupr.

gioufly obſerved the agreement they had made, and thereby thoroughly reſettled the ſtate. In this whole tranſaction, the virtue of Thraſybulus deſerves chiefly to be admired. When he firſt ſeized the caſtle of Phyla, the tyrants privately offered to receive him into their number inſtead of Theramenes, and to pardon at his requeſt any twelve perſons he ſhould name; but he generouſly anſwered, that his exile was far more honourable than any authority could be, purchaſed on ſuch terms; and by perſiſting in his deſign, he accompliſhed, as we have ſeen, the deliverance of his country. A glorious deliverance it was, ſince, as Iſocrates informs us, they put fourteen hundred citizens to death, contrary to, and without any form of, law, and drove five thouſand more into baniſhment, procuring alſo the death of Alcibiades, as many think, though at a great diſtance from them (N). Much

(N) We are here to ſpeak of the misfortunes of Alcibiades, a man who deſerved much of his country, and would have deſerved more, if her impatience had not prevented his ſervices, and her ingratitude deprived him of the power of ſerving her. Plutarch tells us, that he was removed from his employment, not becauſe he had done any fault, but becauſe he had not performed all which the Athenians hoped from him; his ſucceſs in his firſt expedition had ſo elated them, that they would not afterwards believe he could fail of atchieving any thing which he deſired to atchieve, tho' his ſhips were ill provided, and tho' he had no pay for his ſoldiers; when therefore he was ſent to Chios and Ionia, they concluded the firſt news they heard would be, that they had reduced both; being diſappointed in this their fond opinion, they grew angry, and perſecuted him a new for not doing what in the nature of things it was not poſſible he ſhould have done. With the public madneſs of the people conſpired the private envy of the chief men amongſt them. Thraſybulus began to diſlike him, and moſt of the ten commanders, who afterwards periſhed by popular rage, now buſied themſelves in turning it on him, of which when Alcibiades had notice, he retired, according to his old maxim, that it was fooliſh to ſtudy a defence againſt an accuſation when it was poſſible to fly from it. In his expedition into Thrace he made uſe of ſuch as offered their ſervice, and he did it with honourable intent; firſt to ſettle a ſecure retreat for himſelf, and ſecondly, to preſerve the Greek cities in his neighbourhood from the inſults of theſe Thracians, who as they yielded no obedience to the king, ſo they conſulted nothing but their own intereſt, preying, as occaſion ſerved, on any who were leaſt able

about this time, that is, a little after the popular government was ſettled again in Athens, Socrates was condemned

able to reſiſt. After the entire deſtruction of the Athenian fleet, and the flight of Conon to Cyprus, Alcibiades thought himſelf no longer ſafe in his caſtle; for the Lacedæmonians, his inveterate enemies, being now every where powerful, he was afraid they ſhould take this opportunity of avenging the many defeats they had received from him; he therefore retired firſt into Bithynia, but finding himſelf not ſafe there, he went to Pharnabazus, who received him with great civility, and, as he believed, with great friendſhip. In Athens, the people, ſighing under the thirty tyrants, placed all their hopes in Alcibiades; they knew his love for his country, and they doubted not but he would make ſome effort to relieve her. The tyrants themſelves expected the ſame thing, and eſpecially Critias their chief, who had been his moſt intimate friend, and at whoſe motion the decree had been made for recalling Alcibiades from baniſhment; but the luſt of power deſtroys all ties, whether of blood or affection. He, who was before his friend, became now his bitter enemy, and ſending to Lyſander aſſured him, that Athens would never be quiet, or Sparta ſafe, till Alcibiades was deſtroyed. The Lacedæmonian general, ſcorning to defile himſelf with an aſſaſſination, treated theſe notices with the contempt they deſerved; but Critias, applying to the magiſtracy of Sparta procured an order to be ſent from thence to Lyſander, which he durſt not diſobey. Upon receipt of this order, Lyſander ſent away a meſſenger to Pharnabazus, deſiring him to put it in execution. Pharnabazus committed the affair to Magæas his brother and to his uncle Suſamithres. Alcibiades reſided at that time in a ſmall village in Phrygia, together with Timandra a miſtreſs of his. As he ſlept he had this dream: he thought himſelf attired in his miſtreſs's habit, and that ſhe, holding him in her arms, dreſſed his head and painted his face as if he had been a woman. Others ſay, he dreamed, that Magæas cut off his head, and burnt his body; and it is ſaid, that it was but a little while before his death that he had theſe viſions. They who were ſent to aſſaſſinate him had not courage enough to enter the houſe; but ſurrounding it firſt they ſet it on fire. Alcibiades, as ſoon as he perceived it, getting together great quantities of cloaths and furniture, threw them upon the fire, with a deſign to choak it; and having wrapped his robe about his left arm, and holding his naked ſword in his right, he caſt himſelf into the middle of the fire, and eſcaped ſecurely through it, before it had time to take thoroughly the furniture and other materials he had thrown into it. The Barbarians, as ſoon as they ſaw him, retreated, and none of them durſt

demned and put to death. He was not only a philoſopher, or one who in words profeſſed the love of wiſdom, but one who in deeds, as well as by his excellent ſayings, demonſtrated that he was truly wiſe. As a ſoldier, he had been preſent in ſeveral engagements; in one he preſerved the life of Alcibiades, in another he carried off a friend of his, who was wounded, upon his back, in a third ſhewed as much courage and conduct as the moſt experienced generals. In all the campaigns wherein he ſerved, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by enduring hardſhips with patience, executing punctually whatever he was commanded, and complying readily with any thing that was deſired of him; for tho' he was exceedingly temperate and ſtrictly ſober, yet if his company was deſired he refuſed not to go to entertainments, and to drink there as other people did. He refuſed to meddle at all with matters of ſtate, till he grew far in years, and was then elected into the ſenate by his tribe. He oppoſed, as we have already related, the judgment given againſt the generals for not burying the dead, though Theramenes his friend had promoted it; and when he was called upon to put that judgment into writing, as his office required, he

durſt ſtay to expect him, or to engage with him; but ſtanding at a diſtance they ſlew him with their darts and arrows. When he was dead, the Barbarians departed, and Timandra took up his dead body, and covering and wrapping it up in her own robes, the very beſt ſhe had, ſhe buried it as decently and as honourably as her preſent circumſtances would allow. She buried him in a town called Meliſſa: and we learn from Athenæus, that the monument remained to his time, for he himſelf ſaw it. The emperor Adrian, in memory of ſo great a man, cauſed his ſtatue of Parian marble to ſet up thereon, and ordered a bull ſhould be ſacrificed to him annually. Ephorus the hiſtorian, as he is cited by Diodorus Siculus, gives quite another account of his death, than that before recited from Plutarch. He ſays, that Alcibiades, having diſcovered the deſign of Cyrus the younger to take up arms, informed Pharnabazus thereof, and deſired that he might carry this news to the king; but Pharnabazus, envying him that honour, ſent a confident of his own, and took all the merit to himſelf, which Alcibiades ſuſpecting, went to Paphlagonia and ſought to procure from the governor thereof letters of credence to the king, which Pharnabazus underſtanding, hired people to murder him. He was deſtroyed in the fortieth year of his age (1).

(1) Plutarch in vit. Alcibiad. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nep, in vit. Alcib. Athen. in Deipnoſ.

he ſaid he was unacquainted with the law terms, and at laſt abſolutely refuſed it. Afterwards he ſought to reſcue Theramenes, when he was accuſed by his collegues; after his death, he continued to ſpeak his mind freely, which gave ſome umbrage to the thirty, who notwithſtanding ſuffered him to live, becauſe Critias was his intimate friend. But the danger he was in hindered him not from diſcloſing his mind to his aſſociates, particularly he ſaid one day to Antiſthenes on account of the eminent men who were daily taken up: "Doth it repent thee, that we have done no-
"thing memorable, or at all comparable to what thoſe
"monarchs have performed, who are celebrated in trage-
"dies, ſuch as Atreus, Thyeſtes, Agamemnon, and Egi-
"ſthus? They are in thoſe plays beheaded, feaſted with
"their childrens fleſh, and ſome way or other deſtroyed at
"laſt; but no poet had ever the hardineſs to introduce the
"death of a hog upon the ſtage." One of his friends complaining, that of late he was grown a no-body, and could pretend to no poſt or office, Socrates demanded tartly, Are you ſorry for it? At another time he delivered himſelf in a public converſation thus: "A herdſman would be very
"diſingenuous, who, in caſe the cattle grew worſe and
"the herd thinner by his management, would not confeſs
"himſelf an ill herdſman; but the governor of a city would
"be yet more diſingenuous, if, ſeeing his citizens grew
"worſe and thinner, he ſhould not own himſelf an ill go-
"vernor." Which being reported to the tyrants, Critias and Charicles ſent for him, and forbad him to converſe with any man under thirty, on pain of having his head placed ſomewhere elſe than upon his ſhoulders; but not being yet ſatisfied of his fidelity to their government, they ſummoned him to the ſenate-houſe, and ordered him to go with ſome other perſons, whom they named, to ſeize one Leon, a man of rank and fortune, whom they determined to put out of the way, that they might enjoy his eſtate; this commiſſion Socrates flatly refuſed, and, not ſatisfied therewith, added alſo his reaſon for ſuch refuſal. I will never willingly, ſaid he, aſſiſt an unjuſt act. Charicles replied ſharply, doſt thou think, Socrates, to talk always in this high ſtyle, and not to ſuffer? Far from it, added he, I expect to ſuffer a thouſand ills, but none ſo great as to do unjuſtly. Upon which he went directly home, where he would not have been long ſafe, if the tyrants had not ſhortly after been obliged to turn their thoughts to the contriving of means for their own ſafety, rather than to project how to injure and deſtroy

deſtroy others. The cauſe of this great man's death was the pique one Anytus had taken againſt him, who drew in Melitus, a bold young man, and Ariſtophanes the comic poet. The laſt of theſe broke the ice firſt, brought Socrates upon the ſtage in a comedy of his called the clouds, wherein he repreſents him as a man given to a ſubtle fallacious manner of arguing, whereby he could make a bad cauſe ſeem good, an introducer of new gods, whilſt himſelf worſhipped none, and a petulant railer at thoſe things which others held ſacred. Socrates himſelf went to the theatre, where he ſat in the moſt conſpicuous place; and when one of his friends aſked him if it did not vex him to be thus treated, he anſwered, Not at all; I fancy I am at a feaſt where every one enjoys me. A long time after this Anytus, conceiving the ſeaſon now proper for the execution of that vengeance which he had ſo long meditated, engaged Melitus to prefer a complaint againſt him to the ſenate, which he did in theſe words: Melitus ſon of Melitus, a Pythian, accuſeth Socrates ſon of Sophronicus, an Alopetian. Socrates violates the law, not believing the deities whom this city believeth, but introducing other new gods. He violates the law likewiſe in corrupting youth, the puniſhment death. When the day of trial came on, Melitus opened the proſecution with a very poor harangue, in which he was often prompted, and had much ado to get through it. The crimes he therein alledged were, that Socrates perſuaded his ſcholars to contemn the laws of the republic; that he was the intimate friend of Critias and Alcibiades, that he taught young people to be diſreſpectful to their parents, by telling them, that he would make them more knowing than their fathers, with many other things of a like nature. When he had done, Anytus began a long and malicious harangue, wherein he was favourably heard; and after him Lyco in a ſet rhetorical ſpeech ſupported the accuſation. When theſe had done ſpeaking, Socrates went up into the orators deſk, and from thence ſpoke after this manner to the people; "I am ſurprized, O Athenians! "how Melitus came by this extraordinary piece of know-"ledge, that I do not worſhip the gods the city worſhips. "Others have ſeen me, and ſo might Melitus, if he had "pleaſed, ſacrifice at common feſtivals on the public altars; "how do I introduce new deities, when I profeſs in all my "actions to be directed by the voice of god? they who ob-"ſerve the notes of birds or the anſwers of men are guided "by the voice. None doubts of thunder, that it proceeds

"from

" from the ſupreme power and is oraculous. That the
" prieſteſs on the tripod conveys to us by her voice what
" ſhe receives from the god, who doubts? and that he
" foreknows future events, and communicates them to
" whom he pleaſes, all men believe and confeſs as well as
" I. Many call ſuch as foretel future things, ſoothſayers
" and diviners. I aſcribe theſe things to the dæmon, and,
" I conceive, ſpeak more religiouſly therein, than they who
" fancy I know not what divine power in birds; that I am
" no impoſtor herein, many can atteſt, who have aſked
" my advice, and never found it fail; let ſuch as are in-
" credulous hear this alſo to confirm their opinions; as to
" my being favoured of the gods, when Chærephon, in the
" preſence of many witneſſes, inquired of the oracle at
" Delphos concerning me, Apollo anſwered, that no
" man was more free, more juſt, more wiſe; yet the ſame
" god ſaid more of Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian law-giver,
" that he knew not whether to call him a god or a man.
" Me he compared not with the gods, though he gave
" me the priority amongſt other men, but truſt not the
" gods herein, conſider me exactly your ſelves, whom have
" you leſs a ſlave to ſenſual pleaſures? Whom more free?
" I accept neither ſtipends nor gifts. Whom more juſt
" than him who conforms himſelf ſo to the preſent time, as
" that he ſtands not in need of the defence of any other?
" who will ſay that he deſerves not the title of wiſe, who,
" ſince he was able, never loſt any opportunity of learning,
" by enquiry, all the good poſſible? And that I took not the
" pains in vain, is evident from hence, that citizens and
" ſtrangers, ſtudious of virtue, have preferred my conver-
" ſation to that of other men. Why do you think ſo many
" deſire to oblige me by gifts, whom they know to have
" no capacity of requiting them? or how can you account
" for my engaging ſo many, without requiring any re-
" turn from them? that when the city was beſieged,
" and every one lamented the wretchedneſs of his con-
" dition, I ſhewed no alteration of temper, but remain-
" ed the ſame as before; that while others lay out their
" money on exterior things to pleaſe themſelves, I furniſh
" myſelf from within, with ſuch things as pleaſe me better.
" If none can controvert what I ſay, how comes it to paſs
" that I deſerve not commendation both of gods and men,
" inſtead of being charged, as I am now by you, Melitus,
" that with theſe inſtructions I corrupt youth? Every one
" knows what it is to corrupt youth; can you name one

" whom

" whom I of religious have made impious, whom from a " modeſt deportment I have rendered impudent, of a frugal " diſpoſition prodigal, of a ſober habit debauched, of a har- " dy way of life effeminate ? know ye any of theſe ? " " I know thoſe, anſwered Melitus, whom you have per- " ſuaded to be more obedient to you than to their own pa- " rents. " " With reſpect to inſtruction, I confeſs, I " have, anſwered Socrates, for that was my ſphere, not " theirs. In regard to their health, men conſult phyſicians " before their parents ; in law-ſuits they apply to council, " not to couſins ; and in war you inquire as to your gene- " ral's ſkill in arms, not who are his allies. ". " With " good reaſon, cryed Melitus, and fit we ſhould. " " Is " it ſo, ſaid Socrates : If others are preferred for ſuch " things as they excel in, and with reaſon too, can you " think it fit, becauſe in the opinion of ſome I have an " advantage beyond others in the educating of youth, " which is a matter of the greateſt conſequence to ſo- " ciety, that therefore I ought to ſuffer death ? Anytus " and Melitus, O my judges, may procure that judg- " ment, but hurt me they cannot : to fear death is to " ſeem wiſe and not to be ſo, for it is to pretend " to underſtand what we really underſtand not, no " man knows what death is, or whether it be not the " greateſt happineſs which can arrive to us, yet all fear and " ſhun it, as if they were ſure it would be the greateſt miſ- " fortune. " Plato would alſo have ſpoke in his defence, and going up into the deſk, opened his ſpeech thus : Though I, Athenians, am the youngeſt of thoſe that come up into this place. The people immediately cried out, of thoſe which go down, which they conſtrained him to do with- out ſpeaking another word ; then proceeding to vote, it was carried againſt Socrates by two hundred eighty-one voices. He might, however, have eſcaped with a fine, which his friends offered to pay for him, but he contented himſelf with ſaying, that to pay a fine was to acknowledge an offence, and that what had provoked a proſecution againſt him deſerved rather the higheſt rewards, and a main- tenance out of the public ſtock, than a pecuniary mulct. At this the judges were ſo much incenſed, that they judged him to a capital puniſhment by a majority of eighty. He might eaſily have avoided this, if his friends could have pre- vailed upon him to have made his eſcape ; but he refuſed, drank the poiſon in their preſence, praying to God to make his paſſage from this life happy, and ſhewed the ſame calm-

neſs

neſs and reſolution in death, for which throughout his life he had been famous (O).

It

(O) Socrates happened to be condemned the very day after the ſacred ſhip ſet ſail for Delos. The reader muſt obſerve, that this ſhip went annually in commemoration of the mighty deliverance of Theſeus in Crete, and in conſequence of his vow. It was a rule of their religion never to be broken through, that from the time of the departure of this ſhip from the port of Athens to the time of its coming back, no malefactors were ever put to death; this ſometimes, by means of contrary winds, occaſioned the intervention of a conſiderable ſpace, as happened in the caſe of Socrates, who was in priſon thirty days before his death; in this time he was viſited by his friends, ſome of whom offered to carry him away by force, at which he laughed. Why, ſaid he, do you know any place out of Attica where death never comes? Plato hath wrote a long diſcourſe concerning the manner of his death; we will from thence tranſcribe only ſo much as relates immediately thereto, though indeed the whole is an admirable piece, and extremely well worth the reading. "It was now ſun-ſet, for "he had ſtayed long within, when the officer entered, and after a "little pauſe, ſaid, I have not, Socrates, obſerved that carriage "in you which I have found in others; but as I thought you "the moſt generous, the mildeſt, and beſt of all men, that ever "came into this place, ſo I now ſee you hate me not, for that "whereof others are the cauſe: you know the meſſage I bring, "farewel; bear what you cannot remedy. With that he de-"parted weeping; and fare thee well, ſaid Socrates, I am well: "how civil is this man? I found him the ſame all the time of "my impriſonment, he would often viſit and diſcourſe with me, "uſed me always courteouſly, and now ſee how kindly he weeps "for me; but come, Crito, let us do as he bids us, if the poi-"ſon be ready let it be brought. The ſun is yet ſcarce ſet, an-"ſwered Crito, others take it late after a plentiful ſupper and "full cups; make not ſo much haſte, there is time enough. He "replied, they who do ſo think they gain time, but what "ſhall I gain by drinking it late, only deceive my ſelf, as cove-"tous of life, and ſparing of that which is no longer mine? Pray "let it be as I ſay; then Crito ſent one of the attendants, who "immediately returned, and with him the man that was to ad-"miniſter the poiſon, bringing a cup in his hand. To whom "Socrates; Prithee honeſt friend, for thou art well verſed "in theſe buſineſſes, what muſt I do? nothing, ſaid he, but as "ſoon as you have drank, walk till you find your legs begin to "fail, then lie down, and in ſo ſaying he gave him the cup. So-"crates took it chearfully, not changing either countenance or "colour;

It is eaſy to judge, from the uſage they gave the worthieſt men amongſt them, the Athenians leaſt deſerved to meet with patriots; yet ſo it was, that notwithſtanding her ill uſage, never any city was more beloved by her citizens. Conon,

" colour; and, looking pleaſantly upon him, demanded, whe-
" ther he might ſpill any of it as a libation, who anſwered, he
" had made no more than would juſt ſerve. Yet, ſaid Socrates,
" I may pray to God, and will, that my paſſage hence may be
" happy, which I beſeech him to grant, and in that ſame inſtant
" drank it off eaſily, without any diſturbance. Many of us, who
" till now had refrained from tears when we ſaw him put the
" cup to his mouth and drink off the poiſon, were not able to
" contain any longer; which Socrates obſerving, Friends, ſaid
" he, what mean ye? for this reaſon I ſent away the women,
" leſt they ſhould be ſo unquiet: I have heard we ſhould die with
" gratulation and applauſe, be quiet then and take it patiently.
" Theſe words made us with ſhame ſuppreſs our tears; when he
" had walked a while, perceiving his legs to fail, he lay down on
" his back as the executioner directed him; who looking on his
" feet, pinched them hard, aſking him if he felt it; he anſwered
" no; he did the like to his legs, and ſhewing us how every part
" ſucceſſively grew cold and ſtiff, told us when that chilline's
" came to his heart, he would die; not long after he ſpake theſe
" his laſt words, O Crito, I owe Æſculapius a cock, pay it, no-
" glect it not. It ſhall be done, ſaid Crito, will you have any
" thing elſe? He made no anſwer, lay ſtill a while, then ſtretched
" himſelf forth; with that the executioner uncovered him, his
" eyes were ſet, Crito cloſed them. This was the end of the
" beſt, the wiſeſt, and moſt juſt of men". Tho' Leo Allatius and ſome others have endeavoured to repreſent the time of the death of Socrates as a point not eaſily ſettled, yet they are certainly in the wrong, ſince there is ſcarce a great event in the whole Greek hiſtory, the time of which is more unqueſtionably ſettled. The Arundelian marbles, and many other authorities, ſhew that it happened when Laches was archon, in the firſt year of the ninety-fifth olympiad, that is 2599 years after the flood, and four hundred before the birth of Chriſt. The reader may poſſibly be deſirous to know what became of his enemies; and becauſe we ſhall have no opportunity of inſerting it in the hiſtory, we will add it in this note. The Athenians grew very quickly ſenſible of the miſchief they had done, and becauſe it was irreparable they ſo hated its authors that they would not ſuffer them to light fire at their houſes. They would not anſwer them a queſtion. They would not bathe with them; and if they were ſeen to touch ever ſo large a veſſel of water, they threw it away as impure, until

theſe

Conon, who, after the misfortune which befel him at the battle of the Helleſpont, which was followed by the deſtruction of Athens, had kept himſelf cloſe in Cyprus and never ventured home, now conceived in his mind a mighty project, no leſs than the reſtoring of the Athenian affairs to their ancient ſtate, and beſtowing once more upon that city the empire of the ſea; with this view he cauſed a project to be tranſmitted to the Perſian king, wherein he endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the pride of the Lacedæmonians would be extremely detrimental to his affairs, that, their dominion once thoroughly ſettled in Greece, they would preſume to give laws to Aſia alſo, eſpecially with reſpect to the Greek cities therein, and that therefore it would be expedient for the Perſians to conſider of ſome means for putting it once more in the power of Athens to check the inſolence of that aſpiring ſtate, and thereby preſerve the great king's dominions in peace and ſafety. Conon's memorial was quickly ſupported by facts; two Lacedæmonian armies, within the compaſs of a few years, paſſed over into Aſia, the laſt under Lyſander and Ageſilaus, which performed great things, and would have performed greater, if the Perſian king had not, by ſending ſome of his agents with vaſt ſums of money into Greece, raiſed ſo many and ſo powerful enemies againſt Sparta, that ſhe was conſtrained to recal Ageſilaus to her aſſiſtance. The expediency of Conon's advice being ſo fully made known, he, as a perſon perfectly well ſkilled in maritime affairs, was preferred to be admiral of the Perſian fleet; the Athenians in the mean time had the courage to join with the Argives and other ſtates in a war againſt the Lacedæmonians, which they purſued with variety of fortune. Conon attacked the Lacedæmonian fleet, which was nearly equal to that of the Perſians, which conſiſted of ninety ſail, and after an obſtinate engagement, wherein the Spartan admiral was killed, totally defeated it, taking fifty ſhips and five hundred priſoners. Afterwards he and Pharnabazus obliged moſt of the ſtates, dependent on Lacedæmon, to change ſides, particularly thoſe of Coos, Niſæa, Teos, and Chios; Mitylene, Epheſus, Erythrea, and other places followed their

theſe men, unable to bear this uſage longer, hanged themſelves; and for the ſame reaſon the Athenians, that they might blot from their minds the memory of ſo black an action, forbad the name of Socrates to be mentioned in the theatre (2).

(2) Pluto in Phæd. Plut. de Invidia & odio.

their example, and thus the Lacedæmonians at once loſt the empire of the ſea. Conon determined after this unexpected ſucceſs to return to Attica, and in his way thither brought over the Cyclades, reduced Cythera, put a gariſon therein, and, after having confirmed the Corinthians in their league with the Athenians, ſailed from thence to Athens, where he promiſed the citizens to rebuild the long wall and to refortify the city, which he accordingly performed as far as in him lay, hiring a multitude of workmen, and landing a great number of men from the fleet; the Thebans alſo ſent five hundred carpenters and maſons, and other cities did the like; but Tiribazus, who commanded the Perſian armies in Aſia, envying Conon's great ſucceſs, gave out, that he made uſe of the Perſian power merely to get towns and countries of his own citizens. To anſwer which charge, he ſent for him to Sardis, where upon his firſt appearance he threw him into priſon [f].

The diſturbances in Greece gave the Athenians an opportuntity of re-eſtabliſhing their affairs, and making themſelves once more conſiderable; the Corinthian war particularly, as it laſted a conſiderable time and with various ſucceſs, ſerved as a kind of ſchool to the Athenian youth who addicted themſelves to arms; and it ſerved the better, becauſe the Athenian general, who then commanded, was Iphicrates, not only the beſt officer of Greece in his days, but who, in his knowledge of the art of war, exceeded all who went before him; others had ſtudied it from the glory reſulting therefrom, Iphicrates looked upon it as a ſcience, for which he laid down rules, and brought things nearer a certainty than it was ever conceived they would have been. Plutarch tells us, that he was the ſon of a ſhoe-maker, but Cornelius Nepos does not mention any thing of his family; the firſt exploit by which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf was in a ſea-fight, where finding himſelf wounded and unable to remain on board the enemy's ſhip, he catched up one of the ſoldiers in his arms and carried him on board his own, which ſhews, that he had great ſtrength of body, as well as mighty preſence of mind. We are told further with reſpect to his perſon, that it was wonderfully venerable, and that he ſtruck with

[f] Xenophon. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cononis.

with awe all ſuch as converſed with him. He ſhewed his good ſenſe in altering the habit and arms of the Athenian ſoldiers which had been uſed to his time; inſtead of large heavy ſhields, he gave them light ones; inſtead of ſhort ſpears, long ones, and inſtead of little ſtabbing ſwords, weapons of a more uſeful ſize. In this war of Corinth he gained by his ſkill great advantages over armies, more numerous and compoſed of better ſoldiers than his own. He carefully fortified his camp though it was in the country of his allies; and when ſome of his officers, who thought he gave the ſoldiers needleſs trouble, aſked him, who he was afraid of; I am afraid, anſwered he, of being forced to uſe that expreſſion, which of all others leaſt becomes a general, I did not think of it. Ageſilaus king of Sparta, whoſe troops had been elſewhere always victorious, were notwithſtanding beaten with great loſs by this Athenian, which exceedingly grieved Ageſilaus, and made him abate ſomewhat of that haughtineſs he had hitherto ſhewn upon all the offers which had been made to him for peace. Abroad the affairs of the Athenians went but ill, the exiles from Rhodes, which was now under a democratic government, went to Sparta, and boaſting there of their great intereſt, and of the facility with which their country might be brought to change ſides and join with the Lacedæmonians, two fleets were ſent to that iſland. The Athenians, greatly alarmed at this, diſpatched the famous Thraſybulus, to whom they owed their deliverance, to prevent the deſigns of the Lacedæmonians from taking effect. When this great captain came into theſe ſeas, he received ſuch intelligence from Rhodes, as thoroughly convinced him, that any attempt he made thereupon would be fruitleſs; he therefore ſailed to the Helleſpont, where he reconciled two Thracian princes, and made them confederates with the Athenian ſtate; after this he bent his endeavours to the reducing ſuch cities as, taking advantage of the bad ſtate of the Athenian affairs, had revolted from them. In purſuance of this ſcheme, he reduced Byzantium and Chalcis, and afterwards ſailing over to Leſbos, where all the cities had revolted except Mitylene, he brought them again under the obedience of Athens, and levied conſiderable ſums of money by way of fine for the revolt; after theſe victories he ſet ſail for Rhodes, hoping that the fame of them would awe the people of that iſland, and contribute to the end for which he had been ſent thither. Firſt of all

all he exacted a ſum of money from Aſpendus, but after it was paid him, his ſoldiers having plundered ſome of the inhabitants without his knowledge, it ſo much provoked them, that in the night, when Thraſybulus thought himſelf ſafe and expected no harm, they ſuddenly entered his camp, where they committed great ſlaughter, and in the beginning thereof ſlew him, which ſo terrified his ſoldiers, that, making what haſte they could to their ſhips, they withdrew, without attempting to proſecute further the expedition on which their general had been ſent. This end had Thraſybulus, a man who in point of virtue was inferior to none, in fortune ſuperior to moſt, and in the glory of freeing his country from ſervitude, without any view to his own intereſt, ſcarce equalled by any. The Athenians to ſupply his place were conſtrained to ſend Iphicrates, for they had not now, as formerly, choice of generals; their inſolence and their misfortunes having either driven away or extinguiſhed all their great men. Iphicrates had only with him eight gallies and twelve hundred men, when he joined the remains of Thraſybulus's fleet, hitherto commanded by one Argyrius; he having intelligence, that Anaxibius, the Lacedæmonian admiral, proud of ſome ſmall ſucceſſes he had obtained, lay very careleſly at Abydus, immediately ſailed thither, and intercepting him one day abroad with twelve more governors of towns, fell upon and ſlew them, after which Iphicrates ſailed to Cherſoneſus. Shortly after this Ægina, at the motion of Eteonicus revolted, whereupon the Athenians ſent one of their admirals with a fleet to reduce it, which could not be effected; on the contrary, the inhabitants of the iſland, as ſoon as the Athenian fleet was withdrawn, began to infeſt the coaſt of Attica, which vexed the Athenians exceedingly, and conſtrained them to keep a ſquadron continually at ſea, to protect as well the villages on the ſhore, as their ſhips employed in trade, an evil they had not experienced ſince the cloſe of the Peloponneſian war. The affairs of the Lacedæmonians obliging them to remove the fleet they had in the neighbourhood of Ægina, the Athenians ſent Eunomes with a ſtrong ſquadron to keep in Gorgopas, who was left to command there. Gorgopas, finding his much outnumbered by the Athenian gallies, retired into port and landed his troops, which when the Athenian admiral perceived, he put to ſea in the night, carrying a light in his poop, that the reſt of his ſhips might ſteer after him.

Gorgopas instantly reimbarked his men and stood away after the Athenian fleet, keeping aloof, till Eunomes, entering a port of Attica, began to land his men; which when he had half finished, Gorgopas fell upon them with great vigour, and after an obstinate fight carried off four gallies to Ægina; this loss was a little after repaired by Chabrias the Athenian general, for he sailing to Cyprus, with a fleet which had a body of land-forces on board, landed in Ægina in the night-time, and having posted the major part of his troops in a valley near the temple of Hercules, ordered the rest to advance towards a place called the Three Towers at break of day; Gorgopas, as soon as he had intelligence of the Athenians landing in the island, marched with what forces he could to oppose them, and sent orders to all who were on board the fleet to hasten to him with the utmost speed; which accordingly they did; and these rushing all by the ambuscade where Chabrias lay, he suddenly charged them in flank and rear, while the other Athenians fell upon them in front; Gorgopas with eight Spartans being quickly slain, the rest betook themselves to flight, of whom Chabrias cut off near four hundred men, which, with the want of the subsidies they expected from Sparta, so broke the spirits of the inhabitants of Ægina, that they undertook nothing for a considerable time after. At length Teleutias being sent from Sparta to command the gallies in that island, he so wrought upon the people by his fair speeches, that they went on board the ships, and offered to follow him where he pleased. He, having sacrificed and taken a day's provision on board, put out to sea, and having in the night rode very near the port of Athens, as soon as it was day, he sailed strait into the Pyræum, where he took several gallies and a great number of prisoners. These he sent presently away to Ægina, and afterwards cruizing along the coast, carried off several trading vessels and an immense booty, out of which having given his men a month's pay beforehand, he so raised their spirits, that they were ready to undertake any thing. In the height of their ardor he fell upon an Athenian squadron of eight gallies and took them; after which drawing together a fleet of eighty sail with twenty gallies of Syracuse, he roamed about without rival, and maintained the dominion of the sea for the Lacedæmonians [t].

The

[t] Xenophon. lib. iv. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphic. Thrasyb. & Chabr.

THE Spartans, willing to ſecure the great advantages they had obtained, ordered Antalcidas their admiral to ſettle with the miniſters of the king of Perſia the terms of a general peace in Greece; for, on account of the Corinthian war and the vaſt expence of keeping ſo many fleets at ſea, Sparta was grown weary of fighting, though ſhe had the better of her rival. The Athenians on the other hand, wearied out with continual misfortunes, were far from being averſe to the putting an end to the war; for which the reſt of the cities of Greece were anxious, provided the peace was not prejudicial to their intereſts; they therefore ſent all of them agents to Tiribazus to know what terms the king his maſter would propoſe. The Perſians having firſt ſhewn them the great king's ſeal, opened his diſpatch; the contents of which were, that the king thought it juſt the cities in Aſia ſhould belong to him and remain under his juriſdiction, and that all the reſt, little and great, ſhould remain free; of the iſlands, however, he claimed Clazomene and Cyprus; Lemnos, Imbros, and Sciros, he left to the Athenians, becauſe they had belonged to them time out of mind, declaring moreover, that if any of the Greek ſtates rejected theſe terms, he and the reſt of the confederates would compel them to accept them by continuing the war by ſea and land. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians accepted them, and became once more friends and allies; this from its author was ſtiled the peace of Antalcidas, which in the main was very ſcandalous to Sparta, who, after ſo long pretending to vindicate the liberties of the Grecian cities in Aſia, now delivered them up to the king [u].

Peace of Antalcidas. Year after the Flood, 2612. Before Chriſt, 387.

THE deſign of this peace was evidently the raiſing Sparta to an uncontroulable dominion over the Grecian ſtates, which ſhe began to exerciſe immediately after it took effect, falling firſt on the Mantineans, and afterwards on other little ſtates, at laſt on Thebes itſelf, where, without the leaſt provocation, the Lacedæmonians ſeized the citadel, and enabled the Thebans of their faction to tyrannize over their country, of whom four hundred fled to Athens, which city was far from making the ſame figure now as formerly; the Grecians remembering with averſion her cruelty when in power, and ſeeing with diſdain her indolence under the affronts of Sparta. The Theban exiles, however,

[u] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Artax. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphicr.

however, found here not only a ſafe place of refuge, but all the kindneſs and aſſiſtance they could reaſonably expect from the principal men of Athens, who laboured hard to perſuade the people, that it was both ſafe and honourable for them to ſuccour theſe unhappy men. The exiles, unſatisfied with being ſafe abroad, longed to live with freedom at home; they therefore found means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy in Thebes, and by the private aſſiſtance of the Athenians brought matters ſo to bear, that they got poſſeſſion of the city; but fearing leſt the Lacedæmonians ſhould ſend mighty ſuccours to their gariſon in the citadel, they ſent deputies to Athens, beſeeching the people to call to mind with what kindneſs they had received the Athenians, who were baniſhed by the thirty tyrants, and how far it was owing to their aid that the Athenians recovered that liberty which they now enjoyed, conjuring them not to deſert them now, when the Thebans were ready to fight againſt Sparta for the liberty of Greece, but to afford them ſuch ſuccours as might enable them to fight with hope. The people, having heard the Theban deputies, came preſently to a reſolution of ſending away ſuch a body of auxiliaries, as might at once demonſtrate their gratitude to the Thebans and their care of the liberty of Greece; with this view they ſent Demophoon at the head of five thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, who marched with prodigious diligence to Thebes, where they enabled thoſe of their party to take the citadel, which they effected before the Lacedæmonians could relieve it; after which the Athenians returned home. From this time forward they ſought by all means to raiſe a party againſt the Spartans, by putting themſelves at the head, by which they hoped to recover their ancient luſtre. The forces, however, of the Lacedæmonians, being as yet much greater than their own, made them ſometimes obliged to diſſemble their hatred to that ſtate, and alſo to diſcountenance thoſe orators who were notoriouſly enemies to Sparta. An accident happened at laſt which entirely changed the face of things, and conſtrained the Athenians to declare openly againſt Lacedæmon. One Sphodrias a Spartan, who commanded at Theſpis, undertook a bold expedition, in which if he had ſucceeded, his countrymen muſt have been abſolute lords of Greece; for he marched ſuddenly with a great body of troops towards Athens, and hoped to ſeize the fort of Pyræum in the night; but when he had marched as far as Eleuſina, the ſun began to appear, upon which his ſoldiers refuſed

refuſed to march any farther. That he miſſed his blow was far from being the worſt conſequence of his raſhneſs; the Athenians were ſo much alarmed, that they ſeized certain Spartan embaſſadors who were in their city, and made them priſoners, conceiving, that they were privy to this attempt; but they, aſſerting their innocence, aſſured the people of Athens, that Sphodrias ſhould be called to a ſevere account, and pay with his life for this infamous attempt, whereupon they were releaſed; but Sphodrias being brought to a trial and acquitted, the Athenians inſtantly declared war, accounting it better to hazard all things in the field, than to be in danger of having their throats cut in their houſes by ſuch ſudden expeditions. They named on this occaſion three generals, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Calliſtratus, directing them to levy an army of twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; they likewiſe ordered a fleet to be fitted out of two hundred ſail. To ſhew that they did not intend to fight for themſelves only, but that they would do juſtly by all their confederates, they reſtored all the lands, which had been divided among their citizens, out of Attica to their ancient proprietors, and offered ſuch reaſonable terms to their allies, particularly the fixing a ſenate, which was to conſiſt of one deputy from each city of Athens, that they preſently drew over a great number to their ſide, and exceedingly alarmed the Lacedæmonians. The fame alſo of the Athenian generals was of no ſmall ſervice to their country, for Timotheus was exceedingly eſteemed on account of his father Conon's merit, and for his own magnanimity and prudence; Chabrias was reputed one of the firſt generals of his age, and Calliſtratus was a man of great worth and high accompliſhments; as for Iphicrates, the king of Perſia had begged him of the Athenians, and they held the friendſhip of that prince, in conſideration of the great ſervices he received from that experienced general. In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians invaded Bœotia under the command of their king Ageſilaus, who with a mighty army braved the Thebans and their allies in the neighbourhood of their own city. Chabrias, who commanded them, took poſt along the deſcent of a hill; and when Ageſilaus led the Spartan army in battalia towards them, Chabrias ordered his ſoldiers to lean one knee on the ground, to let their ſhields hang careleſsly on their arms, but to keep their ſpears extended as if they intended to continue in their poſts, and to expect the Spartans without putting themſelves into any hurry.

Ageſilaus having weighed within himſelf the advantage they had in ground, the intrepidity of the men, and the experience of their general, retired without attempting to force them. Afterwards the Athenians obtained ſome advantages, and in conſequence of them obliged Cleombrotus king of Sparta to retire without entering Bœotia. Chabrias in the interim was recalled to take upon him the command of the Athenian fleet which was to go againſt Naxus; he beſieged the capital of that iſland, but in vain, Pollis the Lacedæmonian coming with a great fleet to its relief. Chabrias, deſirous to regain the honour of his country, reimbarked his forces, and offered the Lacedæmonians battle; the engagement was long and obſtinate, at laſt, however, he gained an abſolute victory, though with the loſs of eighteen gallies, the Lacedæmonians loſing twenty-four, beſides eight that was taken with all their men. But Chabrias did not purſue this victory as he might have done, being deterred by the fate of the ſix generals, who had ſuffered for not ſuccouring the wounded and burying the dead; as it was, he recovered the Athenian reputation at ſea, for this was the firſt naval victory, which, with their own proper forces, the Athenians had acquired ſince the Peloponneſian war. Afterwards he ſailed againſt the Thracians, and delivered the Abderites whom they had treated with great cruelty; but while he was here taking care of the affairs of the city and providing againſt the return of the barbarians, he was, as ſome ſay, aſſaſſinated, none knew by whom, or for what reaſon. The Athenians ſent Timotheus to ſupply his place, which he effectually did, proving more formidable to the Lacedæmonians in his ſingle perſon, than all their enemies beſide; for by his eloquence, affability, and juſtice, he drew many of their allies to forſake them, and by his great ſkill in maritime affairs he vanquiſhed them in a ſea fight at Leucades, ſo that all things went proſperouſly for the Athenians on this ſide. Artaxerxes king of Perſia endeavoured all this time to reconcile the Grecians among themſelves, becauſe he wanted mercenaries to be employed in a war he intended againſt Egypt. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians themſelves were weary of war, and therefore ſuffered themſelves to be the more eaſily intreated; beſides, they were both apprehenſive, that the Thebans would at length run away with that authority for which they had ſo long contended; they therefore clapped up a ſudden peace, which was ill kept, upon theſe terms,

terms, that all cities ſhould be free; to which the Thebans would by no means yield, for they would never conſent, that all the little cities of Bœotia ſhould be freed from their dominion. Iphicrates, much about this time quitted the Perſian ſervice, where he had been entruſted with the command of twenty thouſand Greeks, eſcaping with a ſingle ſhip to Athens. The reaſon of this was, that Pharnabazus and he had differed, whereupon the Athenian, fearing that this Perſian general would ſerve him as he had Conon, that is clap him into a priſon and put it out of his power to defend himſelf, choſe rather to quit his command than hazard his liberty, and therefore retired in the manner before-mentioned; he was quickly followed to Athens by Perſian embaſſadors, who charged him with mighty crimes, and earneſtly deſired that he ſhould be puniſhed; to which the Athenians anſwered, that they would puniſh him when he was proved guilty; but in the mean time, having occaſion for his ſervice, they made him admiral of their fleet. The late peace having given the Grecian cities a juſt title to freedom, diſputes aroſe in many of them, whether ariſtocracy or democracy ſhould prevail, and theſe diſputes not being accommodated by words, ſedition and civil war enſued in ſeveral places, eſpecially in Zacynthus and Corcyra; the Lacedæmonians, notwithſtanding the peace, aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power ſuch as were for oligarchy, and the Athenians, according to their old practice, befriended every where the democratic government. Mneſippus the Lacedæmonian general blocked up Corcyra, the inhabitants of which were on the very point of being ruined; Timotheus, who had been ſent to their aſſiſtance, having found it neceſſary to ſail to Thrace, preferring the ſervice of his own country to the neceſſities of its allies, for which the Athenians rewaded him and Iphicrates after the old manner, that is to ſay, they condemned them both; but when the former brought along with him many embaſſadors, who deſired to renew the ancient leagues between their conſtituents and Athens, and alſo proved that he had encreaſed the fleet with thirty gallies and brought mighty ſums into the public treaſury; the Athenians, in regard to his own and his father's merit, who by rebuilding their walls had made Athens once more a city, reſcinded their former decree, and reſtored Timotheus to his command. In the mean time, Cteſides was ſent with five hundred men to Corcyra, where he was ſo fortunate as to kill the Lacedæmonian general, and to leave very

little to be done by Timotheus and Iphicrates, who came at length with the fleet. Artaxerxes ſtill labouring to reconcile the Grecian ſtates, and the Athenians having conceived a violent antipathy againſt the Thebans for deſtroying Platæa and Theſpis, ſent deputies to Sparta with Calliſtratus at their head, and there concluded a peace on the old terms, that all the cities ſhould be ſet at liberty, to which, as before, the Thebans refuſed to conſent; this happened in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond olympiad, Alciſthenes being archon at Athens [x].

The Athenians declare for and aſſiſt the Lacedæmonians.

THE Athenians, now perceiving that they were become very inconſiderable, endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves, by propoſing an oath to the cities of Greece, that they would obſerve the truce eſtabliſhed by the king, and in caſe any injury was offered to one city, that ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by all; this was readily yielded to by all, except the Eleans and Thebans: between the latter and the Spartans a new war broke out, in which the latter were ſo diſtreſſed, that they demand aid of the Athenians, who thereupon ſent Iphicrates, who in this expedition loſt ſome part of his reputation. Some Negotiations for a general peace being ſet a-foot at the court of the Perſian king, the Athenians amongſt the reſt ſent deputies, and amongſt them one Timagoras; the Thebans, who now aimed at the dominion of Greece, ſent Pelopidas, a man of ſuperior abilities, who drew to himſelf the confidence of the Perſian king, and having found a way to bring over Timagoras to his party, he clapped up a peace, whereby it was agreed, that Meſſene ſhould be exempted from the Lacedæmonian government; that the Athenians ſhould no more pretend to the ſovereignty of the ſea; that the cities ſhould be governed by their own laws, and the Thebans be eſteemed the king's chief friends and allies. Timagoras on his return was accuſed to the Athenian people of having betrayed his truſt, upon which he was condemned and put to death. The Argives falling upon the Phliaſians on account of their remarkable fidelity to the Lacedæmonians and bringing them to great ſtreights, the latter deſired aid of the Athenians, who thereupon ſent Chares to their aſſiſtance, who behaved himſelf with great prudence and valour, and gained two victories againſt the Argives. After this the Athenians entered into a ſtrict league with the Arcadians, for they were forced to temporize,

[x] Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Timoth. Juſtin.

porize, and to take ſuch opportunities, as the times offered for maintaining themſelves in any ſhew of power. Timotheus their laſt great commander gave, however, ſome degree of credit to their arms, by reducing Torone and Potidea in Macedonia under their obedience, and raiſing the ſiege of Cyzicum. The war ſtill continuing between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas, deſiring to put an end to it at once, fought the famous battle at Mantinea, againſt the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, Achæans, Eleans, and Athenians; of the latter there were ſix thouſand, who behaved very well in the left wing where they were poſted, but were at laſt put to flight by the Thebans; however, they rallied again and remained in the field of battle till the engagement was over, wherein, indeed, the Thebans had the victory, but it coſt them very dear; for they loſt here Epaminondas their glorious general, who firſt inſpired them with the thoughts of attaining the ſovereignty of Greece both by land and ſea. Some ſtirs in Arcadia engaged the Athenians to ſend thither a great army under the command of Pammenes, who performed what he was ſent for, and returned home with honour. Alexander, prince or tyrant of Pherea, having undertaken an expedition againſt the Cyclades, met with ſome oppoſition therein from Leoſthenes the Athenian, whereupon he attacked ſome gallies belonging to that ſtate and took them; upon which the Athenians being angry with Leoſthenes's bad ſucceſs, condemned him, and ſent Chares with a fleet into thoſe parts, who was ſo far from repairing the diſaſters which had already fallen out, that by his ill management he greatly increaſed them, plundering the confederates of the Athenians, delaying any attempts upon the enemy, creating ſeditions where-ever he came, and ſeeming to have nothing elſe in view but to enrich himſelf [y].

The firſt Macedonian war. Year after the Flood, 2639. Year before Chriſt, 360.

We are now come to thoſe times in which the Athenians came to contend with Philip of Macedon, unluckily for them, when all their great captains were exhauſted, and when this prince appeared with a genius ſuperior to all the politicians and chieftains of his time. The Athenians were very early apprehenſive of his abilities, and therefore they eſpouſed the cauſe of Argius his competitor, to whoſe aſſiſtance they ſent Mantias, at the head of three thouſand men, with a great fleet. This Mantias put things into

[y] Xenoph. Hellen. lib. vii, viii. Diodor. lib. xv. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. vi.

into a good poſture at his firſt arrival ; for beſides the Macedonians, who adhered to Argius, the Pæonians and the Thracians were of his Party. King Philip advanced, however, with an inferior army, as if he came to an aſſured victory, rather than to a doubtful engagement. Firſt, he took off the Pæonians and Thracians, by giving them a prodigious ſum of money, and as ſoon as they were retired, he fell upon Argius and Mantias, who ſtill lay with their army at Methone, and thoroughly routed them. The Macedonians of Argius's party he purſued, but ſuffered the Athenians to make an orderly retreat, which mightily affected the ſpirits of that people, and readily diſpoſed them to an accommodation, wherein they chiefly ſought to make themſelves maſters of Amphipolis, to which Philip quitted his claim, the ſituation of his affairs requiring it, and in conſequence thereof a peace was concluded ; however, he took it ſhortly afterwards, pulled down its walls, and expelled ſuch of its citizens as had given him offence ; the Athenians not being able to relieve it, on account of the many troubleſome affairs in which they were now engaged, and of which we are next to give an account [z].

The ſocial war. Year after the Flood, 2643. Year before Chriſt, 356.

The Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, growing weary of the Athenian yoke, reſolved to throw it off and ſet themſelves free. The Athenians on the firſt notice thereof ſent Chares with a land army to beſiege Chios, while Chabrias (who, as we obſerved, Diodorus affirms to have been ſlain long before) was to block up the place by ſea. Cornelius Nepos, who expreſly wrote the life of that general, ſays, that he was no more than a private man in this expedition, but that the ſoldiers and ſeamen, having a better opinion of his ſkill than of their general's, in a manner forced on him the command, which reſpect of theirs proved his deſtruction ; for endeavouring firſt to enter the haven where he had broke in, no-body followed him, ſo that being encompaſſed by the enemy, his galley was ſunk, out of which caſting himſelf he might eaſily have eſcaped, as others did, but preferring a glorious death to a life without honour, he continued fighting till he was ſlain. If we may credit the author beforementioned, the Athenians, doubting whether Chares with his fleet of ſixty ſail would be able to reduce the confederates again under their dominion, diſpatched away ſixty other ſhips under the command of Timotheus and Iphicrates, making them all equal

[z] Diodorus lib. xvi. Plut. Corn. Nep. Juſt. ubi ſupra.

equal in commiſſion. In the mean time, the confederates fitted out a fleet of a hundred gallies, and with it infeſted Imbros and Leſbos, taking all ſhips that fell into their hands, and raiſing contributions where-ever they landed their troops, ſo that by theſe methods they acquired mighty ſums of money, where-with they paid their armies and fleets; they afterwards beſieged Samos both by land and ſea. The Athenian generals, to conſtrain them to abandon this deſign, went and beſieged Byzantium, which had the effect they propoſed, for immediately the confederates raiſed the ſiege of Samos, and with their utmoſt force bore away for Byzantium. When they came before the port, they offered the Athenians battle; but a great ſtorm ariſeing, Timotheus and Iphicrates thought it improper to fight, though Chares vehemently preſſed it; and becauſe he could not carry his point, he ſent home to Athens and accuſed his collegues, at which the people were ſo incenſed, that they caſhiered and fined them; Timotheus, being unable to pay his mulct, did not return to his country, but retiring to Chelos broke his heart. Such was the end of the great Conon's ſon, a man no way inferior to his father, either in military ſkill or in love to his country; the Athenians, when they heard of his demiſe, remitted the greateſt part of his fine to his ſon, but they obliged him to pay a tenth of it, which they moſt unaccountably appropriated to the reparations of thoſe walls, which had been built by his grandfather. Philip of Macedon in the mean while took Pydna, which he afterwards delivered up to the Olynthians, after which he beſieged and took Potidea, which had ſo long been under the power of the Athenians, and which was of vaſt advantage to them in all their Thracian war. Chares the Athenian admiral, having now no-body to check him, raſhly engaged in an arduous affair, whereby he hoped greatly to ſerve his country. Pharnabazus having revolted from the king of Perſia, a mighty army was ſent againſt him by the king; Chares, hoping that the Perſian would well repay the favour, joined him with his forces, and together they proved an over-match for the king's generals, whom they totally routed. The Athenians, as their cuſtom was, ſtruck with the firſt news of the victory, cried up Chares as one of the greateſt patriots that could be; but afterwards, when the Perſian king by his ambaſſadors complained of the act, as contrary to the amity which ſubſiſted between them, and when it was reported abroad that the Perſians intended to lend the confederates a great fleet, the

Athenians treated Chares as a traitor, and cried out vehemently againſt that action which they had as vehemently commended, and, in the firſt tranſports of fear, reſolved to make a peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them, almoſt upon their own terms; accordingly peace was concluded, tho' little to the honour of the Athenians, after the war had laſted four years [z].

Phocian war Year after the flood, 2644. Before Chriſt 355.

THE Phocian war broke out the ſame year, in which the Athenians made peace with the ſtates which had revolted from them; this war concerned all Greece, and particularly the Athenians, and therefore, though they had nothing to do with the beginning of it, yet it is requiſite we ſhould give an account thereof here. The Phocians had plowed ſome of the lands dedicated to the Delphian Apollo, for which they were fined by the Amphictyones or ſtates general of Greece, but inſtead of ſubmitting to the judgment of that court, the Phocians, at the motion of Philomelus a bold and daring ſpeaker, carried their inſult on Apollo yet farther, and ſeized on the temple and all its riches; this put all Greece into a flame, the Locrians and Bœotians made war on the Phocians, and to countenance their cauſe ſtyled it ſacred; the Phocians, on the other hand, pretended, that they were far from being ſacrilegious perſons, for that they meddled not at all with the riches of the temple, but only reſumed the honour of protecting it, which had belonged to their anceſtors; but knowing that an army could better ſupport their pretenſions than fine ſpeeches, they applied themſelves to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and prevailed on them to become their allies. The war laſted a long time and with various ſucceſs, ſometimes the Phocians, and at other times the Thebans, prevailing; however, it was conceived, that the Athenians acted unworthily in ſending ſuch great ſupplies as they did to the Phocian commanders; at one time no leſs than five thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, becauſe it was certain, that the chief reaſon which induced them thereto was the high pay given to their troops, and as the money expended on this occaſion was raiſed, either by the coinage, or ſale, of the dedicated things in the temple of Delphos, it was conſidered as a ſacrilege to recive any part of this theft, eſpecially for defending the robbers. But indeed the Athenians were much degenerated in their manners, of which their inclinations to theſe ſort of proceedings may paſs for a manifeſt

[z] Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nep. Juſt. ubi ſupra.

feſt proof; for though it is certainly beneath a wiſe and free people to run, as the Athenians had formerly done, into groſs and cruel ſuperſtitions, yet it has been in all times accounted a certain ſign of corruption and degeneracy; when people loſe all ſenſe of religion, and openly affront thoſe powers they pretend to worſhip. It is true, the Athenians pretended to colour the aſſiſtance afforded by them to the Phocians, by pretending they were their old allies, and that they endeavoured to raiſe up their power to ballance that of the king of Macedon; but even at this diſtance of time we may conclude, that theſe were merely pretences, ſince it is certain, that when Iphicrates intercepted ſome ſtatues of gold and ivory, ſent by Dionyſius the Sicilian, they ſent him orders to ſell them publickly, notwithſtanding they were dedicated to the Olympian Jupiter and to the Delphian Apollo. But it muſt be owned, that not Athens only, but all Greece, was at this time governed by money; the Perſian king, who had always made uſe of gold to preſerve himſelf from the unwelcome viſits of the Greeks, and to purchaſe their aſſiſtance when he found it neceſſary, employed it now more than ever, and laid out greater ſums in Greece than any of his predeceſſors, becauſe bribery, like other vices, riſes higher by degrees; and when men have been accuſtomed to take money, they require larger wages than thoſe which contented them at firſt. Philip of Macedon, having found a way to render the gold mines in Thrace infinitely more beneficial to him, than they had been to the Athenians, openly practiſed the ſame art, maintaining penſioners in all the ſtates of Greece, and in Athens among the reſt. The Phocian chiefs had nothing elſe to ſupport their cauſe but money, and that they parted with it very freely, we may gueſs from what Diodorus and Plutarch tell us; that in a few years they ſquandered ten thouſand talents, which falls little ſhort of two millions of our money. The orators, or, as the Athenians ſtiled them, the Demagogues, that is, ſuch as led the people by their ſpeeches, were the moſt of them retained by ſome or other of theſe parties. Demoſthenes himſelf, who was by far the moſt worthy of that number, was not unimpeached of accepting Perſian gold. He became about this time eminent, and therefore, according to our cuſtom of giving the characters of Athenian ſtateſmen, it is neceſſary, that we ſhould here draw his, ſince he was the Pericles of his time, and in right of his eloquence held a kind of dominion over his fellow-citizens. He was the ſon of an emi-

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nent Athenian, who had raiſed a great fortune from the manufacture of ſword-blades, but was far from being a black-ſmith, as Juvenal would have us believe. Demoſthenes himſelf ſeemed leaſt of all deſigned by nature for an orator, his perſon was far from being handſome, his tongue was too large, his voice weak and broken, and his geſture very uncouth. His father dying when he was young and his own conſtitution being weak, his mother indulged him to the prejudice of his education, and his guardians, taking advantage of his tender years, impoſed on him to the prejudice of his fortune; theſe unforeſeen accidents led him to commence orator, for being engaged by that time he was ſeventeen years old in ſeveral law-ſuits, he pleaded his own cauſe, which no law forbad, and having from thence attained an ability of ſpeaking, he attempted, when of a proper age, to harangue the people, in which he ſucceeded ſo ill, that it had like to have diſcouraged him from ſpeaking more; but his paſſion for becoming an orator enabled him to get the better of nature and the people; to render his tongue flexible, he accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak with ſtones in his mouth; to raiſe his voice to a proper pitch, he declaimed on the ſea ſhore; to repreſs a habit he had got of ſhrugging his ſhoulders, he hung a ſword drawn in his chamber, at ſuch a height, that when he practiſed his orations it pricked his ſhoulders whenever he pulled them up: long practice ſupplied him with all things, and knowing he had nothing to truſt to but his merit, he by ſtudy and patience acquired a manly ſolid eloquence, not only ſuperior to that of his contemporaries, but alſo excelling all that went before, and all who have come after him, which his orations, yet in our hands, demonſtrate beyond a queſtion. He declared himſelf, in loud terms, againſt the prevailing follies of his countrymen, he reproached them with their fickleneſs, faithleſſneſs, and want of true regard for the public intereſt. He exclaimed againſt their vanity, in attributing to themſelves the merit of their anceſtors, and fancying that the reputation of the antient Athenians would ſupport the vices of their poſterity. He expatiated on the neceſſity of purſuing the old method of making war, by maintaining an army of free citizens, not of mercenaries, and taking care of their naval affairs; he adviſed them to be kind to their allies, and ready on all occaſions to aſſiſt them, whereby they might keep war at a diſtance, enure their ſubjects to martial toils, and revive the glory of the

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Athenian name. He exhorted them to live always upon good terms with the Perſian, becauſe it was no longer in his power, or indeed in his will, to think of conquering them; but, on the contrary, it was his intereſt to preſerve them from being conquered, as it was theirs to preſerve the independency of all the ſtates of Greece. Above all, he cautioned them againſt the growing power of the Macedonian, he obſerved, that the dominion of republics ſeldom laſted long, whereas monarchies laſted the longer for being powerful; whence he inferred, that they ought to fear Philip more than the Thebans, and not ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed, either by his ſpecious pretences of loving peace, or of his affection to the Athenian ſtate; but in theſe diſcourſes, as he ſhewed himſelf a true patriot, ſo there wanted not many pretended ones, who ſtrenuouſly pleaded the cauſe of Philip. But the Macedonian in the mean time did not altogether depend either on his money, or the friends purchaſed by his money, but endeavoured by force to eſtabliſh himſelf in that abſolute power over Greece which he affected. He made uſe of the war then raging between the Phocians and the Bœotians to march into Greece, and though he had ill ſucceſs in two engagements, yet he overcame at laſt, and, partly by force, partly by fraud, gained poſſeſſion of the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; then it was that Demoſthenes endeavoured to rouſe the Athenians to a proper ſenſe of their danger, and to that end compoſed the firſt of thoſe orations which bear the title of Philippic, and which to this day are held inimitable in their kind; he ſhewed the Athenians, with great perſpicuity and candor, that it was to no purpoſe to make uſe of palliations in their dangerous condition, or to fancy that to apply a remedy to this evil and that would preſerve them from ruin. He proved to them, that Philip's plain and ſettled deſign was to advance himſelf to the ſovereignty of Greece, in conſequence of which they muſt become his ſubjects, tho' he might perhaps call them his allies. He therefore adviſed them to think of forming a plaiſter as broad as the ſore, and, inſtead of oppoſing Philip here and there, in ſending ſuccours as they had two or three times already done to places taken before they could arrive, to begin a war in earneſt, to excite all their confederates to riſe in arms, and concur with them in deſtroying the power of an ambitious prince, who would neither be contented with his own, nor ſuffer other people to enjoy their poſſeſſions in quiet. He concluded with aſſuring them, if they truſted any longer to expedients

they would be ruined, becauſe Philip would every day grow ſtronger, and they weaker; whereas, by following vigorous and uniform counſels, they might poſſibly retrieve all things, and reduce Philip and his Macedonians to their primitive obſcurity. The Athenians liſtened, as they were wont to do, attentively to his diſcourſe, and came to ſome reſolutions which were ſuitable thereto; but contented themſelves with this, and took no care to put their votes in execution. To ſay the truth, they were at this time very unfit for great undertakings; the general they chiefly relied on was Chares, a man of great vices and ſmall abilities; it is true, Phocion was then in their ſervice, but they employed him in a trifling war in Cyprus, where it was not in his power to do them much good; beſides, he was ſo modeſt that he never ſought command, nor inſtigated wars that he might raiſe his authority by them, though, taken as a ſoldier and an orator, as a ſtateſman and a general, he was by far the greateſt Athenian of his time. As he was a moſt diſintereſted patriot, he could have no great affection for Philip, but, as he perfectly well knew the diſpoſition of his countrymen, and how unlikely they were to ſupport long ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary to pull down the Macedonian power, he did not expreſs himſelf vehemently, but choſe rather to cultivate the eſteem which on all occaſions Philip ſhewed for the ſtate of Athens as a means of preſerving her, when things ſhould be in that ſtate which he conceived they wanted virtue to prevent. From this character the reader will eaſily diſcern, that Demoſthenes and he could not well agree, the former was always warm, his language copious, and his deſigns vaſt and ſurpriſing; Phocion on the other hand was of a mild temper, delivered himſelf in very few words, and propoſed things at once fit and eaſy to be done; yet he ſeldom or never concured with the people, but ſpoke as poignantly againſt their vices as Demoſthenes himſelf; inſomuch, that this orator once told him, The Athenians, Phocion, in ſome of their mad fits will murder thee. The ſame, anſwered he, may fall to thee, Demoſthenes, if ever they come to be ſober. At this ſeaſon ſuch of the Athenians as had a competent ſhare of eloquence and knowledge in ſtate affairs, applied themſelves to the management of the aſſemblies, to the practice of pleading, and other civil matters; ſuch again, as had ſpent their time in the army, addicted themſelves wholly to military employments, endeavoured to obtain ſuch commands

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as were at once honourable and lucrative, and meddled little with the civil polity, ſeldom aſpiring to the ſupreme magiſtracy, but confining themſelves wholly to what they conceived their ſphere. Phocion was too wiſe not to diſcern how dangerous ſuch a conduct muſt in the end prove to the ſtate; he ſaw, that their ſpeakers would dwindle into declaimers, and their officers become ſoldiers of fortune, valuing nothing but their rank and their pay. He applied himſelf therefore alike to both, he ſpoke frequently in the aſſemblies, but in few, plain, and ſignificant words; he refuſed no commands that were aſſigned him, never canvaſſed for any, and lived and died poor. The Chalcidian cities fell moſt of them into the hands of Philip in the laſt year of the hundred and ſeventh olympiad, and the year following he made war on the Olynthians, a people who had hitherto been a match for him, and had frequently been an over-match for his predeceſſors. When the news of this expedition was ſpread through Greece, Demoſthenes exerted his utmoſt eloquence to engage the Athenians to aid the people of Olynthus to the utmoſt of their power, and there are ſtill remaining three excellent orations on this ſubject. The reaſons offered by him appeared ſo clear, and the neceſſity of ſending ſuccours to Olynthus was made ſo evident, that relief was decreed. The ſupplies ſent were ſmall, but they came ſo opportunely, that the Olynthians received great advantages from them, which being reported at Athens, the people became inſolent with their good fortune, and affected to give out, that the Athenians had nothing more to do than to appear in a war, in order to carry victory to the ſide they favoured; but Demoſthenes ſhewed them the vanity of theſe light conceits in his third oration on the Olynthian war, wherein he told them, that there was indeed ſome merit in beginning well, but that they were in danger of loſing even this, if they did not proceed with the ſame ſpirit, and enable their confederates not only to repulſe the invaſion of Philip, but alſo to invade him in their turns, and to carry that terror into Macedon, which of late years Philip had ſtruck through all his neighbours. But the Athenians were not able to reliſh ſuch high-ſeaſoned diſcourſes, they were content to ſend a ſquadron now and then to the coaſts of Thrace with a ſmall body of land-troops on board; but to think ſeriouſly of a war like that which their fore-fathers had ſuſtained againſt the Peloponneſians, and for it to forego all their public diverſions, and relinquiſh all the donatives which they at preſent received

ceived from the revenue of the ſtate, was what the Athenians of thoſe times could not be brought to endure; what therefore Demoſthenes had predicted came exactly to paſs, Olynthus could not long reſiſt the power of Philip's armies and his bribes; on the contrary, two of its cizizens betrayed the place into his hands, where having exerciſed all that his cruelty and his avarice could dictate, he marched away, big with new projects for aggrandizing his own empire and ruining his neighbours [z].

The Phocian, or, as the friends of Philip affected to call it, the ſacred war, was open yet, and the Bœotians and their allies, who were unable to carry it on with their proper forces, entreated the king of Macedon to come down into the heart of Greece, and put an end thereto. But Philip, being at that time intent on his conqueſts in Thrace, did not liſten ſo readily to this propoſal as was expected; the true reaſon was, that he grew apprehenſive of the Athenians, and was in ſome doubt, whether, conſidering their great intereſt in Thrace, they might not be able to ſtir up much miſchief in his abſence. He therefore propoſed to make peace with them, and, his party in Athens having drawn over many to an opinion that this would be a mighty advantage to their republic, Æſchines with ſome other deputies were ſent to treat with him. He made theſe embaſſadors wait his leiſure, until he had finiſhed his affairs in Thrace; then he came ſuddenly down into Theſſaly, propoſing to paſs immediately into Phocis, which grievouſly alarmed the Athenians, notwithſtanding their miniſters had concluded a peace for ſeven years. Demoſthenes adviſed them to ſend and demand a ratification of the treaty before he paſſed the Pylæ, as alſo to perſuade him not to undertake a war againſt the Phocians. On the other hand, the Bœotians ſent to intreat him to continue his march and come ſpeedily to their aſſiſtance. Philip heard all the embaſſadors, and though their demands were diametrically oppoſite, he promiſed them all to do as they deſired, and thereby kept them in a ſtate of dependence, till he ſeized the poſt of Thermopylæ; then coming down with a mighty army into Locris in the third year of the hundred and eighth olympiad, he put an end to the ſacred war by his preſence only, for the Phocians, finding themſelves too weak to give him battle, made a treaty, whereby their general obtained leave

[z] Diodor. lib. xvi. Plut. in vit. Demoſt. & Phocion. Juſtin. lib. ix. Demoſt. Olynth. & Philip.

leave to march away with ſuch as would follow him; the reſt were left to the mercy of Philip, who referred them to the Amphictyons, which great council, in return for this eminent ſervice, took from the Phocians their double voice, and gave it to Philip and his ſubjects, who till then had no voice at all. Returning crowned with glory into his own country, he bent his arms firſt againſt the Illyrians, and ſoon after, when he conceived the Athenians unable to help them, he attempted to bring the Perynthians under his dominion. Perynthus was ſeated on the ſhore of Propontis, and, as it always favoured the Athenians, had incurred the Macedonian's high diſpleaſure. The inhabitants, however, were not eaſily ſubdued, they had learned from the Athenians to ſet a high value on their liberty, and prepared to defend themſelves valiantly, when they heard that Philip was marching againſt them. The Perſian king beginning to doubt the deſigns of the Macedonian, whoſe anceſtors had been his tributaries, gave inſtructions to his lieutenants, who were neareſt Perynthus, to favour the inhabitants as much as poſſible; the Byzantines alſo, doubting much the intentions of Philip, ſent Perynthus a very great ſupply, inſomuch, that they not a little weakened their own forces, of which Philip having intelligence, he left part of his army to block up Perynthus, and marched at the head of the reſt to ſurprize or beſiege Byzantium; at the news of this the Athenians were indeed affrighted; they therefore decreed, that ſuccours ſhould be immediately ſent, and with more than ordinary care put it in the power of Chares, who was elected general, to ſail with a good fleet and a numerous army to the aſſiſtance of the Byzantines; yet this effected nothing, for when the fleet appeared off of Byzantium, the inhabitants of that city refuſed to let it enter their port, having before experienced the worth of the Athenian admiral, and knowing him to be no better than a pyrate with a commiſſion. Chares having dreſſed this refuſal in the worſt colours poſſible, diſpatched advice of it home, where it put the Athenians into a mighty chafe, and cauſed many of them to ſay in the aſſembly, that it was a pity they had aſſiſted the Byzantines at all; upon which Phocion riſing up addreſſed them in the following conciſe terms: My maſters, you ought not ſo much to blame the jealouſy of your allies, as the baſe behaviour of your generals, who have rendered you ſuſpected even to thoſe

who are unable to ſupport themſelves without your aſſiſtance. Upon this the people with their uſual inconſtancy dropped their former opinion, and unanimouſly choſe Phocion general, who, immediately ſailing to the Helleſpont, received the command of the fleet from Chares, and again appeared before Byzantium, landed his forces, and would have encamped without the city; but the Byzantines would by no means permit it, ſetting open their gates, and joyfully receiving the Athenians when they had Phocion for their general, who quickly obliged Philip to return to his own dominions, took many of his ſhips, recovered ſeveral places into which he had put gariſons, and exceedingly haraſſed the frontiers of his kingdom, ſo that it appeared, that the Macedonian was not invincible when oppoſed by a man of probity as well as of abilities [a].

SOMETIME after this the Megarians privately fought the friendſhip of the Athenians. Phocion, being apprehenſive that the Bœotians would exert themſelves to prevent this union, cauſed an aſſembly to be called very early in the morning; where having preſented the petition from Megara and backed it with great warmth, the Athenians came into it very readily; whereupon he made proclamation, that all ſuch as would go on this expedition ſhould immediately aſſemble in arms, and a great number preſenting themſelves very readily, he without more ado put himſelf at their head, and marched directly away to Megara, where he was very joyfully received. He re-edified the long walls, joining that city to its port Niſæa, and thereby effectually ſecured it to the Athenians; after this he was ſent again among the iſlands to regulate all things for the intereſt of his country. Philip in the mean time neglected nothing which might either tend to the raiſeing of his own power, or depreſſing that of the Greek ſtates; but, above all deſiring to humble the Athenians, he came ſuddenly down to Phocis, and having ſeized Elatæa, he there aſſembled a mighty army with a reſolution to invade Attica, for which purpoſe there was an abſolute neceſſity of paſſing through Bœotia; the Athenians upon this were in the utmoſt confuſion, ſo that Demoſthenes had need of all his eloquence to keep up their ſpirits; at laſt, however, he prevailed upon them to declare

[a] Diodor. Plut. Juſt. ubi ſupra.

declare war againſt Philip, and to ſend to the Bœotians to intreat them to ſtand faſt for the liberty of Greece; he alſo engaged them to raiſe a very conſiderable army in an inſtant, and to chuſe Chares and Lyſicles generals, who without more ado marched into Bœotia, where they were kindly received and promiſed all things. Philip, however, reſolving to have as few enemies as he could to deal with, ſent Python into Bœotia to perſuade the people of that country to be quiet; to him the Athenians oppoſed Demoſthenes, whoſe eloquence prevailing, the Bœotians joined their utmoſt force with the Athenians, and reſolved to hazard all in a general engagement. Demoſthenes magnified this at Athens as a mighty ſtroke of policy, becauſe he put the war at a diſtance from Attica, to which Phocion ſhrewdly replied; Let us not be ſo careful about the place where we are to engage, as how to get the victory; that is the only way to keep the war at a diſtance; whereas, if we are overcome, the very worſt of calamities will be ſoon at our doors. Phocion had the reſolution alſo to expreſs at the ſame time a diſlike of the war and a doubtfulneſs of its event, nay even to propoſe an accommodation and the renewing of the peace with Philip, when an Athenian of very bad character cried out, Dareſt thou, Phocion, think of diſſuading the Athenians from the war, now the ſword is drawn? Yes, I dare, returned he, though I know that in time of war I ſhall always be thy maſter, whereas in peace thou perhaps may be mine. The event ſhewed how juſt a notion Phocion had of things, for Philip coming down at laſt with an army of thirty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, the Athenians and Bœotians met him at Chæronæa. In this battle, which began at the riſing of the ſun, Alexander commanded one wing, and his father the other; the confederate army was divided according to the nations of which it conſiſted, the Athenians having the right, and the Bœotians the left; at the beginning the confederates had the better, whereupon Stratocles an Athenian commander cried out, Come on, brother ſoldiers, let us drive them back to Macedon; which king Philip hearing, ſaid very coolly to one of his officers, Theſe Athenians do not know how to conquer. Whereupon he directed the files of his phalanx to be ſtreightened, and drawing his men up very cloſe, retired to an eminence hard by, from whence, when the Athenians were eager in their purſuit, he came down like thunder, broke, and routed them with prodi-

gious ſlaughter. Demoſthenes acted very unbecomingly in this engagement, for he deſerted his poſt, and was one of the firſt that fled. Philip did not preſerve that wiſdom after his victory which he had ſhewn in the fight; for he danced about like one diſtracted with joy, and comeing up to the band of Athenian priſoners, treated them with ſcoffs and ill language; upon which Demades, who was one of them could not help reproving him: Since fortune, O Philip, ſaid he, ſeems to have aſſigned thee the part of Agamemnon, why wilt thou play Therſites? At which Philip bluſhing ordered him to be immediately releaſed, and diſcharged likewiſe the reſt of the Athenian captives, who ſending afterwards to demand their baggage, Philip ſaid laughing, I believe theſe people don't think we beat them in earneſt. He ordered them, however, to be given them; he likewiſe ſent embaſſadors to Athens to renew the peace, which was done. After this Philip convoked a general aſſembly of the Greeks, into which Demades perſuaded the Athenians to inſiſt on being received. Phocion oppoſed it, alledging, that they ought firſt to be informed what Philip would demand in that aſſembly; however, it was carried againſt him; but when it afterwards appeared, that the Athenians were by this raſh ſtep obliged to furniſh the king with a body of horſe and a ſquadron of ſhips, they repented their meddling at all, and reproached in the aſſembly Demades and the other orators, who were ſo forward in the buſineſs, expreſſing at the ſame time a doubt, whether they ought to comply with articles ſo unworthy of the Athenian ſtate. Phocion upon this ſtood up again, I foreſaw, gentlemen, ſaid he, what would happen, and therefore I was againſt this ſtep when it was firſt propoſed; but ſince it is once taken, I am for it, and adviſe you to bear it as well as you can, always remembering the conduct of your anceſtors, who ſuited their behaviour to their fortune; ſometimes giving laws, ſometimes receiving them, but doing both with a good grace, whereby they not only preſerved their own city, but alſo all Greece. The kindneſs expreſſed by the king towards the Athenians was not over ſincere, ſince he doubted ſo far of them, as to require, on the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra, that a deputy ſhould be ſent from them with a gold crown, as from the reſt of the cities, which was accordingly done, and preſented to him in the midſt of the marriage ſolemnities, with this remarkable compliment; that if any conſpira-

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tor againſt Philip fled to Athens he ſhould be delivered up. At this marriage, however, Philip was murdered, which gave a new turn to affairs at Athens; Demoſthenes and his party making great rejoicings, wearing chaplets of flowers, and behaving as if they had gained a great victory, which Phocion reprehended, bidding them remember, that the army, which had beat them at Chæronæa, was leſſened but by one. This reproof, however grave, however poignant, had little effect; the very people who put Lyſicles their general to death, merely becauſe he was ſo unlucky as to command them in that battle, who directed Demoſthenes to exalt the memory of thoſe who fell therein in a funeral oration, who in contradiction to theſe meaſures had juſt now flattered the king by ſending him a crown of gold, ran again into the ſame extravagancies, and heard with pleaſure all the harſh things the orators could ſay of the young Alexander, whom they repreſented as a giddy wrong-headed boy, ready to graſp all things in his imagination, and able to perform nothing; but he ſoon gave them occaſion to underſtand, that they were mightily miſtaken by his quick diſſolution of that confederacy which they formed, not only for depriving him of the command of Greece, but even of his hereditary dominions; for Demoſthenes taking pains to inſpire all the ſtates with high notions of liberty, the Ætolians firſt of all made a decree to recal the exiles whom Philip had driven out of their country. The Ambraciots drove out the Macedonian gariſon, the Thebans caſt out that which had been eſtabliſhed in the citadel, the Arcadians, as they had refuſed to give their votes for Philip's becoming general of Greece, ſo they now rejected Alexander; the Argives, Eleans, Lacedæmonians, and others in Peloponneſus, all ſpoke the ſame language, and all determined to throw off that yoke which the Macedonians had impoſed; they likewiſe treated with Attalus, Alexander's uncle, who aſpired to the kingdom, to favour his pretenſions; ſo that if the ſon of Philip had really been as weak as the Athenian orators would have repreſented him, he muſt have been cruſhed by ſuch a load of oppoſition; but he, far from being diſmayed, came firſt into the council of the Amphictyons, where he procured himſelf to be recognized general of Greece. He then marched immediately towards Thebes with a numerous army, ſacked, and plundered it, and thereby ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt of the confederates, that no-body durſt oppoſe him. As to the Athenians, he refuſed to admit them into his favour, unleſs they

delivered up to him Demoſthenes, and, as ſome ſay, nine more of their orators; other hiſtorians ſay, but ſeven. This ſtruck the aſſembly with the utmoſt terror, none knowing what to ſay, or what to propoſe; at laſt they called upon Phocion and deſired his opinion, upon which, ariſing up and pointing to his friend Nicocles: Theſe perſons, ſaid he, whom Alexander demands of you, are they who have brought you into theſe miſerable circumſtances; circumſtances ſo miſerable, that if he demanded that friend of mine, I ſhould adviſe you to deliver him innocent as he is. As for my own life, if that would purchaſe your ſafety, I would reſign it chearfully; but truly it pierces my heart, that thoſe who have fled for ſuccour from the deſolation of Thebes, ſhould have ſo little hopes of ſafety here; ſurely it would be more for our intereſt to pacify the conqueror in time, and to intercede for both cities, than to hazard another battle: Demoſthenes contented himſelf with ſaying, that once on a time the wolves offered to make peace with the ſheep, but firſt, ſaid he, they would have them give up their dogs. The ſtream, however, was too ſtrong, and therefore he and his party were forced to give way. The firſt decree which the Athenians paſſed for making peace and which they ſent to Alexander, he would not deign to take notice of, but turned his back upon the embaſſadors, as if they had not been worthy of his notice; but when Phocion preſented the ſecond decree, he received him very graciouſly, and not only granted him his requeſts, but liſtened to his advice, nay he had the complaiſance to tell him at parting; Your Athenians ought to have their eyes about them, for, if I ſhould miſcarry, they only are worthy to command. The friendſhip which Alexander contracted with this general, was not broke off or interrupted by his expedition into Aſia; on the contrary, he wrote to him frequently, offered him mighty preſents, and even his choice of four cities; nay, what was ſtill a greater mark of his regard, when he no longer uſed in his letters the phraſe of Alexander wiſhes health, he preſerved it to him and Antipater, as if they had been his equals. When that conqueror had occaſion for gallies to complete his fleet, he ſent to demand thoſe which had been promiſed him by the Athenians; the orators, as they were wont, oppoſed this as derogatory to their freedom; at laſt Phocion being required to ſpeak, delivered his ſentiments freely, which were, that the gallies ſhould be immediately ſent; For, ſaid he, till you can put your ſelves at the head of Greece, I would have you the friends

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of thoſe who are at the head of it. Harpalus, one of Alexander's commanders, having in ſeveral reſpects failed in his duty, and dreading the reſentment of his prince, fled with an immenſe quantity of treaſure, which he had amaſſed together out of the ſpoils of Aſia. Athens was the city of Greece he thought the moſt proper place for his retreat, and therefore thither he came and brought his plunder along with him, not doubting, that, ſince he came laden with wealth, he ſhould meet with friends enough to be purchaſed. Accordingly moſt of the orators came flocking about him, to know how they might be ſerviceable, and upon what terms; as for Demoſthenes, his good ſenſe engaged him to make a warm oration againſt receiving a perſon who was little better than a thief, and thereby involving the commonwealth in a war, at once dangerous and unjuſt; but a few days after, when the treaſure was publickly brought aſhore and laid up, Demoſthenes being preſent took notice of the king's golden cup, whereupon Harpalus deſired him to poize it in his hand, and conſider its weight; which he did, and then aſked the price of it; To you, Sir (ſaid Harpalus) it ſhall come with twenty talents; at night accordingly it was ſent, and Demoſthenes, when he was called upon the next day in the aſſembly to deliver his opinion, ſhewed his neck, which was ſwathed round with ſeveral rollers, and made ſigns, that he was unable to ſpeak, upon which ſome of the wits ſaid, The orator had got a ſilver quinſey. As for Phocion, Harpalus knew well that he was of another diſpoſition, and therefore he ſent him no leſs than ſeven hundred talents, and offered to commit himſelf and all his affairs to his diſpoſal; but Phocion treated thoſe who came to him very roughly, and threatened not to be content with words, if he went on thus to corrupt the people; when the matter came to be debated the laſt time in the aſſembly, thoſe who had received his money railed moſt at Harpalus to conceal their own guilt, whereas Phocion expreſſed a great regard for his misfortune, and treated him in ſuch gentle terms, that Harpalus again offered him money; but he was impregnable, and in the end the Athenians expelled the Macedonian the city, and ordered the court of Areopagus to take cognizance of ſuch as were impeached of bribery: which court dealt very ſeverely with them, and particularly fined Demoſthenes fifty talents, and ordered him to be impriſoned till it was paid, but he ſhortly after made his eſcape from thence and fled to

Ægina,

Ægina, where he remained till after the death of Alexander, which was no very long time [a].

THIS great event altered all the affairs of Greece; the Athenians had been much diſſatisfied with him, for deſigning to take from them Samos, in order to reſtore it to its antient inhabitants; and therefore, when Aſclepiades, the ſon of Hipparchus, brought the firſt news of it to Athens, the people ran immediately into the market-place, where many contradicted it, but the majority cried out, that what Aſclepiades had related was true. Phocion, fearing they would do ſome mad action or other, cried out, Well, ſuppoſe it is, if it be true to day, it will be true to morrow, ay, and the next day, ſo that we ſhall have time enough to deliberate coolly. The orators unanimouſly concurred in prompting the people to make war, and indeed all Greece was in commotion, ſo that at length it was carried by a great majority, that the Athenians ſhould take upon them the defence of the common liberty, ſhould free all the cities from their gariſons, ſhould fit out a fleet of two hundred and forty ſail, and that all men under forty years old ſhould take up arms. Leoſthenes was the commander, who drew together a very fine army, with which he marched againſt the Macedonians. Antipater, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, ſent to Craterus in Cilicia to come to his aſſiſtance, but in the interim he marched into Theſſaly himſelf with 13000 foot, and 600 horſe. The Theſſalians joined him with a great body of cavalry; but when Leoſthenes approached, and it appeared, that the Athenians and their confederates were by far more numerous, the Theſſalians deſerted to them; yet Antipater had the courage to venture a battle, in which his troops were thoroughly beaten, and himſelf conſtrained to fly; but he ſhewed himſelf a great general in his flight, for arriving with ſome foot at Lamia a city in Theſſaly, he cauſed the place to be fortified, and received into it all his troops as faſt as they came up, ſo that he drew together again 8 or 9000 men, and prepared to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. Leoſthenes, coming up with the confederate army, inveſted and attacked this city, but finding that it could not be taken by ſtorm, he was conſtrained to make a regular ſiege: Antipater watching his opportunity, though he was every day attacked by freſh troops, made a ſally

[a] Diodor. lib. x. ii. Plut, in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion. Juſtin. lib. xi. & xii.

ſally upon the workmen, and put them in great diſorder. Leoſthenes, coming to encourage them, was unfortunately killed with a ſtone, which greatly diſpirited the Greeks; however, they choſe Antiphalus their general and continued the war, notwithſtanding Antipater had eſcaped out of Lamia; not long after they routed the Macedonians, under the command of Leonatus, which victory was their ruin; for ſlighting the Macedonians, many returned home to their reſpective cities. Antipater having joined the remains of Leonatus's army, and being joined afterwards by Craterus, who yielded to him the command, he ſoon after fought and routed the Greeks under the command of Antiphalus and Memnon: though there were but five hundred men ſlain in this battle, yet the confederates were ſo diſpirited that they ſent to Antipater to treat of peace; but Antipater refuſed to treat at all of a general peace, profeſſing at the ſame time, that he was willing to hear and receive embaſſadors from each of the cities, and to conſider their reſpective demands. At firſt the Grecians rejected this with ſcorn, but when ſeveral of the Theſſalian cities were taken by ſtorm, they were glad to treat upon the terms preſcribed, upon which Antipater received the embaſſadors very kindly, and granted almoſt every thing they deſired; thus the Athenians were deprived of all their confederates, and in a ſhort time reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this diſtreſs Phocion with ſome of the orators were deputed to go to Cadmæa, where Antipater was encamped, to procure from him, if poſſible, an honourable peace; when they came thither, Phocion intreated that the terms might be adjuſted there, whereas Craterus was for marching into Attica, and treating with the Athenians, as it were at their own doors; ſaying it was unreaſonable to burden their friends with an army, while they were treating with enemies. Antipater replied, that what he ſaid was juſt; But yet, continued he, let us grant this favour to Phocion. In fine, a treaty was concluded, or rather Antipater impoſed upon the Athenians theſe conditions; that Demoſthenes and Hyperides ſhould be delivered up, that the antient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored, that they ſhould receive a gariſon into Munichia, defray the charges of the war, and ſubmit to ſome other taxes. Phocion was very deſirous that they might be ſpared the gariſon; but Antipater anſwered, I will deny thee, Phocion, nothing, but what will inevitably tend to thy ruin and my own. In conſequence of this treaty, Menyllus, a man of great ſweetneſs of temper

per and one of Phocion's friends, was ſent to command the gariſon, which entered Munichia; Demoſthenes in the mean time fled, fearing to be delivered up to Antipater; and being puſued by ſome perſons in that nobleman's ſervice, poiſoned himſelf (P). The Macedonian gariſon being

(P) As to the character and eloquence of Demoſthenes, we have ſpoken at large in the text; as to his works, the greateſt part of which have eſcaped the injuries of time, the reader is to expect an account of them elſewhere; in this note we have nothing in view, but his misfortunes and death, which to have related at length, would have broke in on the thread of our hiſtory, and to have paſſed over in few words, muſt have offended the peruſer. When he was baniſhed, that is voluntarily, by flying from priſon, ſome of his enemies followed him out of town; from theſe he endeavoured to hide himſelf, but they having him in view, kept cloſe to him, and at laſt coming near, called him by his name; and when he came out, exhorted him to bear his misfortunes patiently, and preſented him with a ſum of money for his ſupport; whereupon Demoſthenes broke out into a louder lamentation than ever, crying out, Alas, how ſhall I ſupport myſelf under ſo heavy an affliction, ſince I am forced to leave a city, where one's very enemies are more kind and generous than any friends I can hope to find elſewhere? To ſay the truth, his love for his country made him bear his exile but very indifferently, the greateſt part of which he ſpent either in Ægina or Trœzene, from whence he could ſee the coaſt of Attica, towards which he would frequently look with tears in his eyes; he had a juſt ſenſe, however, of the danger, to which wiſe men are expoſed in democratic governments; for looking once at the citadel, he could not help breaking out into this exclamation; O Goddeſs, Minerva, whence comes it, that thou delighteſt in three ſuch fierce and untractable creatures, the owl, the dragon, and the people. When Leoſthenes led the Greeks againſt Antipater, and endeavoured to prevent ſlavery from being induced by all the commanders of Alexander the great, Demoſthenes exerted his eloquence again, and was indefatigable in ſtirring up all the little ſtates to remain firm in their confederacy for ſupporting the Grecian liberty, amongſt the reſt, he travelled to the Arcadians, among whom one Pytheas an agent of the Macedonians was very buſy: this man, ſeeing the Athenian embaſſadors and Demoſthenes with them at a public aſſembly, could not help crying out, That as it is a certain ſign there is ſome diſeaſe in the family where aſſes milk is brought, ſo the coming of the Athenian embaſſy was a never-failing indication, that the city to which they came was indiſpoſed. Demoſthenes immediately retorted this compariſon. As aſſes milk, ſaid he, is never carried into

ing ſettled in Athens, a great number of the lower citizens were disfranchiſed and ſent into Thrace, where Antipater aſſigned

into a houſe, but with an intent to reſtore the health of thoſe who dwell therein ; ſo the Athenians never ſend their embaſſadors to any city, but with a view to cure it of thoſe diſtempers with which it is afflicted. On the report of this the Athenians inſtantly recalled him, found a means to ſatisfy his fine, and paid him the higheſt honours they could invent, but his proſperity was of a very ſhort continuance ; for in September the Greeks loſt the battle of Cranon, in October the Macedonian gariſon entered Athens, in November Demoſthenes fled to avoid death, which followed and overtook him the ſame month ; for one Archias a player having undertaken to Antipater to find him out, receiving intelligence, that he had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune in the little iſland of Calauria, he paſſed over thither with a ſmall detachment of Thracian guards. When he found Demoſthenes, he would fain have perſuaded him to go with him to Antipater, aſſuring him, that he would receive no harſh treatment, which was very improbable, becauſe moſt of his friends were already murdered. To theſe fine ſpeeches therefore the Orator anſwered, O Archias, I was never much pleaſed with you as a player, and now I am as little moved by you as a negotiator. Archias beginning at this to grow angry and to threaten him ; Now, ſaid Demoſthenes, thou ſpeakeſt like the oracle of Macedon ; before thou didſt but act a part. Therefore forbear only a little, while I write a word or two home to my family. Having thus ſpoken he withdrew himſelf farther into the temple, and taking ſome paper as if he meant to write, he put the quill into his mouth, and biting it as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for ſome time. Then he bowed down his head and covered it. The ſoldiers who ſtood at the door, ſuppoſing all this to proceed from puſillanimity, in deriſion called him effeminate faint-hearted coward. And Archias drawing near deſired him to riſe up, and repeating the ſame kind things he had ſaid before, he once more promiſed to make his peace with Antipater. But Demoſthenes, perceiving, that now the poiſon had pierced and ſeized his vitals, uncovered his head ; and fixing his eyes upon Archias, Now, ſaid he, as ſoon as you pleaſe you may act the part of Creon in the tragedy, and caſt out this body of mine unburied ; but, continued he, turning towards the altar, O gracious Neptune, I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, ariſe and depart out of this ſacred place, without profaning it ; but Antipater and the Macedonians have not left ſo much as thy temple unpolluted, but have defiled it by my death. After he had thus ſpoken, he deſired to be held up, becauſe already he began to tremble and ſtagger ; as he was

going

aſſigned them a place to build a city, and lands to cultivate. In the mean time, political affairs were managed by men of the better ſort, and eſpecially by Phocion, who was in very high credit with Antipater and the Macedonians. He was for proceeding ſtill on his old maxim of complying with the times, and making no attempts beyond the reach of their power. Happy had it been for the Athenians, if they had gone into this way of thinking; but they were continually repining at the loſs of that power, which they knew not how to manage, abhorred the ſight of the Macedonian gariſon, which they knew not how to remove, and earneſtly longed for an alteration of circumſtances, though there was no reaſon to hope that ſuch an alteration would be for their benefit. They were continually preſſing Phocion to apply to Antipater for removing the gariſon, and at laſt finding all their ſollicitations in vain, they turned their eyes on Demades the orator, who was alſo in the Macedonian intereſt, and had been greatly favoured by Antipater. This man, willing to do the people a pleaſure, and at the ſame time to make a diſplay of his intereſt, readily undertook the propoſed embaſſy. This Athenian was a man of parts and eloquence, but probity and diſintereſtedneſs were not among the number of his good qualities, as we may gueſs from this ſaying of Antipater's, That he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades, the former a man who would rceceive no ſatisfaction for the ſervices he did him, and the latter who would never be ſatisfied how much ſo ever he received. Whether Antipater had lately left off his liberality towards this orator, or whether Demades had reaſon to hope greater appointments from Perdiccas, who was Antipater's mortal enemy, is a point we cannot determine; but ſo it was, that Demades had entered into a correſpondence with Perdiccas, andhad put him upon invading Macedonia and Greece, and aſſuming the government of them himſelf, making uſe in one of his letters of this expreſſion, That at preſent they leaned on an old rotten ſtaff, meaning Antipater. It ſo fell out, that all theſe tranſactions, and particularly this very letter, were found out, while Demades and his ſon Demias were ſolliciting the recal of the gariſon; upon which Antipater ordered the ſon to be put to death,

going forward and paſſing by the altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghoſt (3).

(3) Plutarch. in vit. Demoſthen. prope fin.

death, not only in the presence of the father, but in such a manner, that his blood flew all over him. After this Demades himself was put to death, and the Athenians left without hopes of ever seeing this bit taken out of their mouths [b].

Cassander seizes Athens Year after the Flood, 2681. Year before Christ, 318.

On the death of Antipater two factions sprung up in Macedonia, the one headed by Polyperchon, who had the custody of the persons of the kings, and the other by Cassander the son of Antipater; the latter sent Nicanor to command the garrison in Athens, a man of great art and a good soldier; with him Phocion often conversed, labouring all he could to persuade him to use the citizens kindly, and to leave the government in the same condition in which he found it; Polyperchon, on the other hand desiring to recover the Greek cities from his rival Cassander, published a decree in the king's name, restoring them all to freedom, particularly Athens, directing the garison immediately to withdraw from thence, and the democracy to be restored; this had its effect, for it put the Athenians all into confusion; Nicanor refused to obey the decree, and because Phocion corresponded with him afterwards, the people accused him of being an enemy to his country, whereas he desired nothing more than to see their liberty restored, which it was not likely to be on a bare decree unsupported by arms, Nicanor paying no respect to Polyperchon's orders. Not long after, Polyperchon came with the kings and a great army into Attica, or at least to the borders of Attica, whither Phocion was sent, and deputies from the Athenians to accuse him; Polyperchon, willing to keep up to the terms of that decree which he had published, sent back Phocion and his friends chained in carts, with this message, That though he was convinced they were traitors, yet he left them to be judged by the Athenians as a free people. As soon as there was silence made that he could be heard, Phocion demanded, whether they intended to proceed against them by form of law; and some crying out that they would, Phocion demanded how that could be, if they were not allowed a fair hearing; but perceiving by the clamour of the people, that no such thing was to be expected, he cried out, As for myself, I confess the crime objected to me, and submit myself to the judgment of the law; but consider, O ye Athenians, what have these poor

[b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Plut. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. Justin. lib. xxvi.

poor innocent men done, that they ſhould be involved in the ſame calamity with me? The people at this cried aloud, They are your accomplices, and that is enough. Then the decree was read, adjudging them all to death, viz. Phocion, Nicocles, Theudippus, Agamon, and Pythocles; theſe were preſent; Demetrius Phalereus, Callimedon, Charicles, and others, were condemned in their abſence; ſome moved, that Phocion might be tortured before he was put to death; nay, they were for bringing the rack into the aſſembly, and torturing him there. The majority, however, thought it enough if he was put to death, for which the decree was carried unanimouſly, ſome putting on garlands of flowers when they gave their votes; as he was going to die, a perſon who was his intimate friend aſked him if he had any meſſage for his ſon, Yes, replyed Phocion, tell him, it is my laſt command, that he forget how ill the Athenians treated his father. The ſpleen of his enemies was not extinguiſhed with his death, they paſſed a decree, whereby his corſe was baniſhed the Athenian territories, they likewiſe forbad any Athenian to furniſh fire for the funeral pile. One Conopion an undertaker took up the corſe and carried it beyond Eleuſina, where he borrowed ſome fire of a Megarean woman and burned it. A Megarean matron, who attended with her maids, raiſed on the place an honorary monument, and having gathered up the bones carried them home, and buried them under her own hearth, praying at the ſame time thus to the Penates. To you, O ye gods, guardians of this place, I commit the precious remains of the moſt excellent Phocion; protect them, I beſeech you, from all inſults, and deliver them one day to be repoſited in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall become wiſer. It was not long before this came to paſs, when the Athenians began to cool a little, and remember the many kindneſſes they had received from Phocion; they decreed him a ſtatue of braſs, ordered his bones to be brought back at the public expence, and decreed that his accuſers ſhould be put to death; Agnonides, who was principally concerned, ſuffered; but Epicurus and Demophilus, who were alſo concerned in it, fled; however, Phocion's ſon met with them, and executed his revenge upon them, which was almoſt the only good action he ever did, he having a very ſmall ſhare of his father's abilities, and none at all of his virtues. It was not long, however, before Caſſander came with a great

great fleet into the port of Athens, and by the help of Nicanor, who commanded in the fort Munichia, reduced this city into ſuch ſtreights, that the Athenians were content to ſubmit to him upon theſe terms: that he ſhould leave a garriſon in the fort, and appoint ſome Athenian to preſide over the city. He accordingly placed Demetrius Phalereus in the office of governor, a man of great quality, being deſcended from Conon, and of great fortune, yet neither his birth nor fortune were equal to his virtue. He had ſtudied under the philoſopher Theophraſtus, and from him learned how to behave as an active as well as contemplative philoſopher; he treated the Athenians with the utmoſt kindneſs, and made uſe of that power, which he might eaſily have improved into a tyranny, to do thoſe things for them which their factions had hitherto hindred them from doing for themſelves. He encreaſed their public revenues, beautified their city with many magnificent ſtructures, reſtored ſuch as were in danger of falling through the injuries of time, and in every other reſpect gave ſuch ſignal teſtimonies of his tender affection for them, that the Athenians ſet up no leſs than three hundred ſtatues to his honour, moſt of them equeſtrian; but becauſe he derived his power from Caſſander, and they were not able to depoſe him at their pleaſure, they ſecretly hated him, of which we ſhall ſee many inſtances hereafter [c].

Demetrius Poliorcetes frees Athens. Year after the flood, 2692. Before Chriſt 307.

ANTIGONUS, the moſt magnanimous of Alexander's captains, and his ſon Demetrius Poliorcetes, i. e. the city-taker, having reſolved to free Greece from the yoke of Caſſander, determined to begin with Athens. The young prince Demetrius, who was the handſomeſt, and at the ſame time one of the braveſt, men of his time, took upon him the command in this expedition, which he executed with great facility; for hoiſting falſe colours he ſailed, without the leaſt oppoſition, into the port of Athens, where a multitude of people were aſſembled on the ſhore, who, when they diſcovered their miſtake, armed themſelves in haſte; but Demetrius quickly diſarmed them, not by force, but by fair words; for he cauſed a cryer to make proclamation, that he was come thither, by the command of his father, with no other deſign than to deliver them from the oppreſſion of Caſſander, to expel the garriſon which he had placed in the fort, and to reſtore to them their antient laws and government.

[c] Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin.

The people immediately welcomed him with loud ſhouts, beſtowing on him the title of deliverer and benefactor. As for Demetrius Phalereus, he was in a moment deſerted, and the very next moment loaded with reproaches, and in danger of ſuffering death. He thereupon ſent one Ariſtodemus to Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus, to entreat a guard to protect him, and to beg leave of him to retire to Thebes: Demetrius received this meſſenger very reſpectfully, ſaid he came not to injure perſons of worth, and granted Demetrius both his requeſts; after this he blocked up the fortreſs of Munichia, and then departed to Megara, where Caſſander had alſo a garriſon; having ſet this place at liberty, he returned to Athens and attacked Munichia ſo briſkly, that he took it by aſſault; after which at the earneſt entreaty of the Athenians he entered the city in great pomp, and having ſummoned an aſſembly, he therein publicly declared, that he did not only freely reſtore them to their former popular government, but that he would prevail on his father to beſtow on them fifteen thouſand meaſures of wheat, and ſuch a quantity of timber as would enable them to build a hundred gallies for the defence of their city. Theſe mighty favours the Athenians repaid with moſt unmanly flattery, for they beſtowed on Antigonus and Demetrius not only the title of kings, which hitherto they had not taken, but alſo ſtiled them tutelar deities and deliverers, and appointed a prieſt to them; and whereas they had till this time marked the year by the name of the firſt archon, they decreed, that for the future it ſhould be deſigned by the name of this prieſt. They cauſed the portraits of Antigonus and Demetrius to be placed among the number of their gods, they erected an altar where Demetrius firſt alighted from his chariot, and ſtiled it the altar of the deſcent of Demetrius; they added two new tribes to the ten which already ſubſiſted, and called them Antigonides and Demetriades. To ſum up all, Stratocles propoſed and had it decreed, that, as often as they ſent embaſſadors to Antigonus and Demetrius, they ſhould be ſtiled embaſſadors of the gods; they changed the name of the month Munichian into Demetrian. It would be tedious to dwell on the reſt of the follies of this degenerate people, who, at the ſame time that they paid all this court to Antigonus and his ſon, paſſed a decree, whereby they adjudged Demetrius Phalereus to death, ordered all his ſtatues to be thrown down, and even ſent perſons to execute, as far as in them

them lay, their decree, by endeavouring to way-lay and murder him, a practice which could not but give thoſe whom they now flattered to underſtand, that they would be ſure to deſert them, when they were deſerted by fortune. The democratic government was no ſooner reſtored in this city, than the effects of it were abundantly felt, accuſations were frequent, condemnations common, to be eminent induced danger, and to be low contempt. At the motion of Sophocles the people decreed, that no philoſophers ſhould teach unleſs licenſed by the ſenate and people, which occaſioned Theophraſtus the ſucceſſor of Ariſtotle to break up his ſchool. It is likely, that they were diſpleaſed with this great man, becauſe he was much in favour with Caſſander king of Macedon, and becauſe their late governor Demetrius Phalereus had been his ſcholar; however, their reſentment did not laſt long, for they afterwards reſcinded this decree, and recalled the philoſophers; but their protector Demetrius being engaged with all his force in the ſiege of Rhodes, Caſſander took this opportunity of vindicating his title to Greece, and coming with a powerful army to ſupport it, many of the cities revolted to him, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he penetrated as far as Attica, and laid ſiege to Athens. The Athenians, thus diſtreſſed, ſent for aid to Demetrius, who came ſpeedily to their relief, and after obliging Caſſander to raiſe the ſiege, ſtript him in a very ſhort time of all his conqueſts. After this ſucceſs he put various cities under the power of the Athenians, and multiplied his good turns, as if he intended to overwhelm them with benefits. The Athenians in return racked their wits to deviſe new compliments and acts of flattery, ſtill ſuperior to thoſe which they performed before. They aſſigned Demetrius lodgings behind the temple of Minerva, in the apartments belonging to the virgins devoted to her ſervice; this was a ſcandalous inſult on religion, becauſe Demetrius was remarkably intemperate with reſpect to women. But the Athenians were ſo corrupt, that they gave way even to his unnatural luſts, which afforded an inſtance of private virtue worthy of being recorded to lateſt times. There lived now in Athens a young gentleman ſo remarkably handſome, that he was ſtiled the beautiful Damocles; him Demetrius purſued where-ever he appeared, ſo that the poor young man was conſtrained to avoid the public bathing-places and to go to a private bagnio; yet even thither Demetrius came, and ſurprized him alone in the bathing-room; the unhappy youth, with a courage never enough

to be commended, threw off the cover of the chaldron, where the water was boiling for the bath, and leaping into it was ſtifled in a moment. It would have been unpardonable to have dwelt on ſuch particulars as theſe in any other period of the Athenian hiſtory; but the Athenians having now forgot to act, we are conſtrained to entertain the reader with what they ſaid, and having no more victories to ſpeak of, we are forced to record their flatteries. After all his mighty victories, Demetrius had a mind to be enrolled in the fraternity of the prieſts of Ceres, and admitted to all the myſteries. Now the conſtant practice in this caſe was, that he who deſired ſuch admiſſion was introduced as a novice in the leſſer myſteries in the month of November, and afterwards admitted to the greater in the month of Auguſt following: but when Demetrius ſignified his deſire it was the month of March. Stratocles furniſhed them with an invention which ſet all things to rights, and which ought everlaſtingly to be remembered to the diſhonour of this ſervile flattering people. He propoſed a decree and procured it to be paſſed, that the month of March ſhould become November; in conſequence of which, Demetrius was admitted to the leſſer myſteries: when this was over, Stratocles had it decreed, that the month before called November ſhould now be called Auguſt; and by virtue of this decree, Demetrius aſſiſted at the greater myſteries. Philippides the comedian could not help ſtigmatizing theſe mean compliances in the following diſtich:

What miracles by flatt'ry wrought are here,
Which in one month have crowded all the year!

THE pride with which the Athenians inſpired Demetrius and his father, drew upon them firſt the envy, and then a general confederacy of all the reſt of the ſucceſſors of Alexander againſt them; this obliged Demetrius to quit Greece and to go into Aſia, where in one battle his father Antigonus loſt his empire and his life, and Demetrius was conſtrained to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips from Epheſus towards Athens, where he had left his queen Deidamia and great part of his navy; but in the iſlands called Cyclades he met with embaſſadors from that city, who informed him, that the Athenians had made a decree, that no crowned head ſhould enter their city; a moſt grateful decree indeed towards a man whom a little before they acknowledged for their ſaviour and their god! Demetrius did not, however, reſent this uſage with that warmth which might have been expected; he only deſired, that his ſhips

and

and his queen might be delivered to him, which was done; however, the Athenians were ſhortly after ſeverely puniſhed, for their ſeditions among themſelves encouraged one Lacharis to ſeize the ſovereignty, and to reduce the people to ſubmit to him, who was but an obſcure perſon, rather than live under the protection of ſo great princes; but when the affairs of Demetrius were a little reſtored, he began to think of humbling this inſolent and inconſtant people, who, to ſhew their ingratitude and contempt, paſſed a decree in full aſſembly, whereby they made it death for any perſon to propoſe a treaty or intercourſe with Demetrius on any pretence whatſoever. This rather irritated the king, than at all inclined him to lay aſide his firſt deſign. He therefore firſt began to interrupt the trade of Athens, and to ruin its territories; at laſt he cloſely beſieged the city; Lacharis in the mean time applied to Ptolemy, beſeeching ſome relief, for the Athenians were almoſt ſtarved, Demetrius puniſhing capitally ſuch as attempted to bring them proviſions; by degrees their diſtreſs grew ſo great, that a buſhel of ſalt was ſold for forty drachms, and a buſhel of wheat for three hundred. At laſt a hundred and fifty ſhips laden with corn came from Egypt, and anchored at Ægina in ſight of Athens; but Demetrius being at the ſame time reinforced with three hundred ſail from Cyprus and other places, the Egyptians cut their cables in the night and ſteered away. Lacharis, as ſoon as he was acquainted with this misfortune, privately quitted the city; and the Athenians, who had no choice but ſtarving or yielding, ſurrendered at diſcretion to Demetrius, who immediately entered the place with all his forces. He firſt of all commanded, that the Athenians ſhould all inſtantly aſſemble in the public theatre, which when they had done, he ſurrounded it with his guards, and ſo brought in a body of armed men, who were poſted round the ſtage. The people, trembling with fear, expected every moment when the ſignal ſhould be given for putting them to the ſword, when through the door made for the actors, Demetrius came upon the ſtage, where in a ſhort oration he gently reprehended their former ingratitude, and told them at the ſame time, that he would receive them again into his wonted grace and favour, as an inſtance of which he preſented them with an hundred thouſand buſhels of wheat, and named ſuch magiſtrates as were agreeable to the people. The Athenians immediately relapſed into their old ſtrain of flattery, their orators were all at work in contriving fine ſpeeches to celebrate the gene-

roſity, and extol the clemency of this great prince, whoſe valour had acquired, whoſe abilities deſerved, and whoſe gentleneſs adorned the diadem he wore. Dromoclides, one of the ſpeakers on this occaſion, did him a much more acceptable ſervice than the reſt; for he, beſides his compliments, preferred a decree, whereby the haven of Pyræum and the caſtle of Munichia were given to the king, who was far from ſlighting ſo acceptable a preſent: he knew too well the ficklenеſs of that people to truſt them again, without taking ſome ſecurity for their behaviour; in Pyræum and Munichia therefore he placed garriſons by virtue of the decree, and in the Muſæum, becauſe it was convenient and fit for his purpoſe; thenceforward the Athenians were exceedingly faithful, eſpecially when Demetrius had poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Macedon; but when he was expelled from thence, and brought into ſuch circumſtances that he did not preſume to wear the habit of a king, the Athenians exerted their old ingratitude, degraded the prieſt of the two deities, and put all things into their old form. Sometime after their old maſter getting together an army, came and beſieged them, and reduced them to great ſtreights; they had then recourſe to Craterus the philoſopher, who went out to Demetrius, interceded with him, and ſo fully perſuaded him, that it would be more for his intereſt to paſs over into Aſia, that he left them in that liberty to which Olympiodorus had reſtored them [d].

Condition of Athens till freed by Aratus.

WHILE Lyſimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Softhenes held by turns the Macedonian kingdom, the Athenians remained free indeed, but without making any great figure; when the Gauls under the command of Brennus threatened the deſtruction of the Greeks in general, the Athenians for a time exerted ſomewhat of their ancient magnanimity, and under their general Calippus did great things; for then the common danger uniting all the Greeks, and even the king of Macedon himſelf, they had nothing to fear but the common enemy; but theſe dangers over, and the affairs of Antigonus Gonatus the ſon of Demetrius once in a proſperous way, the Athenians felt the weight of his power; for he, remembering how they had dealt with his father, reſolved to puniſh them for their former behaviour; and to make ſure of them for the future, he firſt waſted their territories, and afterwards cloſely beſieged Athens; at laſt unable

[d] Plut. in vit. Demet. Diogen. Laer. in vit. Theoph. Epicur. & Crat. Athen. in Deipnoſoph.

unable to hold out, and unwilling to yield, they made the beſt treaty with him they could, and in conſequence thereof admitted a garriſon, whereby, though they flattered themſelves with the face of liberty, they became effectually his ſubjects, and after his death were left as ſuch to to his ſon Demetrius. About this time a ſpirit of liberty revived in Greece, and the Achæans, who were far from being a conſiderable people, not only defended their own freedom, but made it their buſineſs to free others, in which they were exceedingly aſſiſted by the mighty genius of Aratus the Sicyonian, one of the ableſt, and in all reſpects one of the honeſteſt men, that Greece or any other country produced; for he bent all his great qualities, and expended the vaſt riches which the fame of his virtue procured him, in doing good to others, without having a view to any other reward than the ſatisfaction of doing good; this diſpoſition of his, co-operating with the inclination of the Achæans, put him on two or three ſudden expeditions in order to ſurprize Athens, not with any intent to ſeize and keep it, but to ſet the people free; all which expeditions proved unfortunate, and it ſo happened, that in the laſt of them, his forces being diſperſed, he wandered about in the night, and with much ado got back to Corinth, while a report prevailed he was dead; upon which the Athenians in a giddy ingratitude put on garlands, as if it became citizens to rejoice for the death of their beſt friends; ſometime after, when Aratus was ſick in his bed, the Athenians ſuddenly reſolved they would be free, and, as if the greateſt men, and even nature herſelf, muſt ſubmit to their deſires, ſent for Aratus to come to their aſſiſtance; he thinking only of the merit of ſuch an action, and forgetting their former ingratitude, cauſed himſelf to be carried thither in a litter; and having prevailed on Diogenes the Macedonian governor to give up the three fortreſſes, Pyræum, Munichia, and Muſæum, for a hundred and fifty talents, he advanced twenty of them out of his own pocket, and then left the Athenians abſolutely free, having alſo the protection of the Achæans to guard their freedom. This happened in the beginning of the hundred and thirty-ſecond olympiad, two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-ſeven years after the flood, and two hundred fifty-two years before Chriſt. Thus we have traced the hiſtory of the Athenians in a continued ſeries from their becoming a free people to their junction with the Achæans, which hitherto hath

not

not been done in our language, nor, that we know of, in any other [e].

[e] Plut. in vit. Arat. Athen. in Deipnoſoph. Juſtin. lib. xxvi. c. 3.

CHAP. XIX.

The Hiſtory of Sparta *from* Lycurgus, *to its being joined by* Philopœmen *to the* Achæans.

The ſcope of this chapter.

WE are in this chapter to give the hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians, from the time of Lycurgus till they ceaſed to be an independent ſtate; that is, for a long ſeries of years, while they were the moſt conſiderable people in Greece, not from extent of territory, not from their numbers or wealth, not from the convenience of their ſituation, or in ſhort from any other accidental or external cauſe, but from their wiſdom and virtue, their valour, their moderation, their ſtrict regard to honour, their love of liberty, and contempt of luxury under all its various diſguiſes. The ſtability, as well as glory of the Lacedæmonian government was derived from the wiſe inſtitutions of Lycurgus, the celebrated law-giver of Sparta, with whoſe adminiſtration we are to begin this chapter; but, previous thereto, it will be neceſſary to continue the liſt of the kings of Sparta begun in our former ſection relating to the Lacedæmonian affairs, that we may preſerve the ſame order which has hitherto obtained throughout this work.

A TABLE of the Lacedæmonian Kings.

The Agidæ, or family of Agis.			The Proclidæ, or family of Procles.		
xviii	Archelaus	60	xviii	Charilaus	64
xix	Teleclus	40	xix	Nicander	
xx	Alcamenes	37	xx	Theompus	
xxi	Polydorus		xxi	Zeuxidamus	
xxii	Eurycrates		xxii	Anaxidamus	
xxiii	Anaxander		xxiii	Archidamus	
xxiv	Eurycrates		xxiv	Agaſicles	
xxv	Leon		xxv	Ariſto	

The

The Agidæ, or family of Agis.		
xxvi	Anaxandrides	
xxvii	Cleomenes	
xxviii	Leonidas	
xxix	Pliſtarchus	1
xxx	Pliſtonax	68
xxxi	Pauſanias	14
xxxii	Ageſipolis	14
xxxiii	Cleombrotus	9
xxxiv	Ageſipolis	1
xxxv	Cleomenes	61
xxxvi	Areus	44
xxxvii	Acrotatus	
xxxviii	Areus	8
xxxix	Leonidas	
xl	Cleombrotus	40
xli	Cleomenes	

The Proclidæ, or family of Procles.		
xxvi	Dæmaratus	
xxvii	Leotychides	22
xxviii	Archidamus	42
xxix	Agis	42
xxx	Ageſilaus	41
xxxi	Archidamus	23
xxxii	Argis	9
xxxiii	Eudamidas	
xxxiv	Archidamus	
xxxv	Eudamidas	
xxxvi	Agis	
xxxvii	Furydamidas	
xxxviii	Epiclidas	

LYCURGUS at firſt held the crown in his own right, till it was known that his ſiſter-in-law the relict of Polydectus was with child; Lycurgus then declared, that he acted only as his guardian or protector who ſhould be born of the queen (in caſe ſhe ſhould be delivered of a ſon), which was a thing already common among the Spartans. The queen, who was an ambitious and profligate woman, privately intimated to Lycurgus, that ſhe would make uſe of means to make herſelf miſcarry, if he would promiſe to marry her. Lycurgus returned her many thanks, accepted a part of her propoſal, but entreated her not to hazard her own health by adventuring on any ſuch violent method, aſſuring her that for her ſake he would take the trouble of making away the child upon himſelf. The queen, amuſed by his fair ſpeeches, reckoned on her project as already accompliſhed when ſhe fell in labour, of which ſhe immediately gave notice to Lycurgus, who ſent ſome of his confidents to be preſent with inſtructions, if it was a ſon, to bring it to him, where-ever he was, or whatever he was about; but if it was a daughter, to deliver it to the women; accordingly, the queen being delivered of a boy, his agents brought it to him, where he was at ſupper with ſome of the principal perſons of the city. Lycurgus, taking the child in his arms, immediately produced him at the table, My Lords of Sparta, ſaid he, here is a king born unto us; then laying the child down on the chair of ſtate, when he obſerved that all

The wiſe conduct of Lycurgus, protector of Sparta.

who

who were preſent were extremely overjoyed at the ſight of ſo worthy and diſintereſted an action; he called the young prince Charilaus, i. e. the joy of the people. He then laid down all pretences to the royal authority, which he had exerciſed for about eight months, and took the title of protector only. This conduct of his, as it rendered him wonderfully beloved and admired by the people, ſo it exceedingly irritated the queen with all her family and faction; inſomuch, that they immediately began to calumniate Lycurgus, and to alledge, that notwithſtanding all this fair ſhew, he intended nothing leſs than to reſign the crown to his nephew; nay, Leonidas, the brother of the queen, had the aſſurance to tell him in a diſpute which happened between them, that he was confident it would not be long before he ſhould ſee him king. The queen likewiſe pretended much concern on the ſame account, and bewailed to her attendants the fate of her unhappy child. Lycurgus, greatly alarmed at theſe practices, and deſiring to avoid not only evil, but the very ſuſpicion of evil, reſolved to ſtifle the voice of malice itſelf by going into a voluntary exile, which reſolution he carried into execution ſoon afterwards, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of the people.

The injuries which he had received, and the baſe conſtructions which had been put on his beſt actions, did not hinder Lycurgus from applying himſelf, with the ſame diligence abroad, to the ſtudy of that ſcience which might render him uſeful to his country, that he was wont to practice while at home; to this end he devoted all his travels, and like a true patriot was careful, that neither time nor place ſhould alter his attachment to his fellow citizens. Full of theſe noble conceptions he firſt viſited Crete, an iſland famous in the moſt antient times for the laws whereby it was governed, and for that artful polity which had been eſtabliſhed there in the moſt early ages. As far as can be gathered from Plutarch, it was at this time governed by ſeveral princes, or was at leaſt cantoned into various independent ſtates, through all which Lycurgus travelled, procuring to himſelf the acquaintance of perſons of the firſt rank, and by their means a perfect knowledge of their laws; ſome of which he greatly approved, others he ſlighted. Amongſt all the friendſhips which he contracted in Crete, that which ſtood him in moſt ſtead was his intimacy with Thales the Lyric poet, whom he perſuaded to be the companion of his voyages, and afterwards to return with him to Sparta; this poet was not a writer of amorous or drunken ſongs,

ſongs, but one who made uſe of the ſweetneſs of poetic numbers to recommend temperance, modeſty, obedience, and civil harmony, and whoſe ſongs paved the way to the admiſſion of Lycurgus's laws, by removing that ferocity and querulous diſpoſition to which the Lacedæmonians had till then been addicted. From Crete Lycurgus paſſed over to the continent of Aſia, that he might philoſophize on the Ionian mode of life, which differed greatly from the Cretan. Here, as Plutarch conjectures, this noble enquirer after truth and virtue found the works of Homer, which he eagerly tranſcribed and brought over with him into Greece, whereas yet they had only ſcattered epiſodes of that famous author's poems, which were, however, highly eſteemed. From Ionia Lycurgus went into Egypt, a place never forgot by ſuch as went in queſt of wiſdom, and there he met with that method of diſtinguiſhing military men from mechanics, which he afterwards introduced at Sparta. As to his voyages to Spain, Afric, and the Indies, Plutarch ſays, the credit of them reſts ſolely upon one author; at this diſtance of time therefore we can affirm nothing about them. Inſtead of entering into a field of conjectures, from whence it might be difficult to get out, we will paſs to the affairs of Sparta during his abſence [a].

THE inhabitants of Lacedæmon, being in their nature bold and turbulent, were continually quarrelling amongſt themſelves, or treſpaſſing on the prerogative of their princes; the kings, on the other hand, ſometimes joining with the prevailing faction, practiſed a kind of tyranny, and at other times had much ado to ſupport a legal authority; theſe confuſions were greater or leſs, according as the princes were men of parts or otherwiſe. At this ſame time neither of the kings had any ſhining genius, Archelaus had the moſt wit, but Charilaus was the better man, more affable, and more beloved; the people, however, regarded neither of them ſo much as they did Lycurgus; wherefore taking it in their heads that many things went wrong, and that in ſhort the whole frame of the government was out of order ſince this great man's departure, they ſent embaſſadors to ſollicit him to return, which embaſſadors told him, that though they had indeed kings, whom their birth, their title, and their robes, ſhewed to be ſuch, yet as to royal qualities, and that diſpoſition of the mind which deſerves to rule, they had obſerved nothing among them ſince his departure of that

[a] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

that kind. We uſe the words of Plutarch, who obſerves farther, that though this language ſeemed to bear a little hard upon the princes, yet they were far from being averſe to his return, hoping, that his preſence would ſerve as a bulwark to ſcreen them from the growing inſolence of the people. To gratify the unanimous voice of his fellow citizens, Lycurgus ſhaped his courſe homewards, in order to put in practice that wiſdom, which with ſo much induſtry and pains he had acquired. On his arrival at Sparta he found all things in a very bad way, the people mutinous, the kings timorous, and no middle rank of people who durſt interpoſe between them. He acted in this caſe like a great phyſician; for knowing that palliatives would do little or nothing, he reſolved to alter the whole political conſtitution, in order to introduce health by thoroughly purging out all peccant humours. A glorious undertaking, but attended with mighty difficulties and no leſs dangers! To ſurmount theſe, and to avoid thoſe, he endeavoured firſt to gain the confidence of the moſt eminent men of Sparta, by communicating to them his ſcheme, and ſhewing them the reaſons upon which it was founded; and ſecondly, he ſought to ſecure the obedience of the people, by pretending to the ſanction of divinity, and aſcribing all he did to the counſels of Delphian Apollo. Having made a journey to Delphi, and there offered ſacrifice, he returned with an oracle, which ſtiled him, Beloved of God, and rather God than man; declared the laws he had framed perfectly good, and promiſed to make the commonwealth, wherein they were obſerved, the moſt famous in the world. This divine manifeſto having wonderfully awed the people, the next thing he had to do was to publiſh theſe laws, which that he might perform with ſecurity, he appointed thirty of his friends to appear by break of day armed in the market-place; but of theſe twenty-eight only appeared. At the news of theſe preparations, Charilaus, who though honeſt, was very timid, fled to the temple of Minerva the protectreſs, fearing that it was ſome conſpiracy againſt his perſon; but when Lycurgus ſent to inform him of his real deſign, the king not only quitted the ſanctuary, but repaired to the market-place and entered into the confederacy. The firſt ſtep taken was the eſtabliſhing a ſenate conſiſting of twenty eight perſons, or of thirty including the two kings; this alone was of very great conſequence, ſince it fixed the form of the government, which had hitherto fluctuated between tyranny and democracy; the ſenate poiſing the authority

both

both of the kings and of the people, ſiding with the former, if the latter were ſeditious, and with the latter, if the former were too enterprizing. That the people might not apprehend their condition to be worſe than it was before, Lycurgus allowed them to meet in a general aſſembly, which was to be held ſub dio, and wherein they were not allowed to deliberate, but had barely a power of aſſenting or diſſenting to or from what the kings and ſenate propoſed.

When Lycurgus by conſtituting a ſenate had ſecured to himſelf an acceſſion of power, he proceeded entirely to new-model the commonwealth, and to adjuſt all things to the ſcheme he had formed, without any reſpect whatſoever to their former ſtate and condition; a mighty project, which if we conſider, and take at the ſame time a ſtrict view of thoſe laws which he introduced, we ſhall have a juſt idea of his mighty genius, of the form of the Spartan government, and of the means whereby a ſtate, which was not conſiderable either for the number or wealth of its people, maintained itſelf ſo long in the ſovereignty of Greece. We have the rather taken upon us to enter into a diſtinct detail of the laws of Lycurgus, becauſe hitherto only general and imperfect accounts of the Spartan republic have been inſerted in our hiſtories of Greece, and even in books relating more ſtrictly to politics; whereas we ſhall make it evident, that theſe ſuperficial draughts of a conſtitution are by no means ſufficient to give us a juſt idea of its force and effects. The laws of Lycurgus may be properly divided into twelve tables, according to the ſubjects of which they treated, and by a proper attendance to the contents of theſe tables, we ſhall come at that perfect notion of Lycurgus's ſcheme, which is abſolutely neceſſary for the thorough underſtanding of the Lacedæmonian hiſtory.

In the firſt table we ſhall comprehend ſuch of the Spartan laws as regarded religion. The ſtatues of all the gods and goddeſſes worſhipped by this people were repreſented armed, even to Venus herſelf; the reaſon of which was, that the people might conceive a military life the moſt noble and honourable, and not attribute, as other nations did, ſloth and luxury to the gods. As to ſacrifices, they conſiſted of things of very ſmall value; for which Lycurgus himſelf gave this reaſon, that want might never hinder them from worſhipping the gods. They were forbidden to make long or raſh prayers to the heavenly powers, and were enjoined to aſk no more than that they might live honeſtly and diſcharge their duty. Graves were permitted to be

made

made within the bounds of the city, contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of the Greek nations; nay, they buried cloſe by their temples, that all degrees of people might be made familiar with death, and not conceive it ſuch a dreadful thing as it was generally eſteemed elſewhere; on the ſame account the touching of dead bodies, or aſſiſting at funerals, made none unclean, but were held to be as innocent and honourable duties as any other. As to the mode of burying, it was alſo rendered ſimple and unexpenſive by law, there was nothing thrown into the grave with the dead body, magnificent ſepulchres were forbidden, neither was there ſo much as an inſcription, however plain or modeſt, permitted. Tears, ſighs, outcries, were not permitted in public, becauſe they were thought diſhonourable in Spartans, whom their law-giver would have to bear all things with equanimity. Mournings were ſtinted to eleven days, on the twelfth the mourner ſacrificed to Ceres, and threw aſide his or her weeds. In favour of ſuch as were ſlain in the wars, however, and of women who devoted themſelves to a religious life, there was an exception allowed as to the rules before-mentioned, for ſuch had a ſhort and decent inſcription on their tombs. When a number of Spartans fell in battle at a diſtance from their country, many of them were buried together under one common tomb; but if they fell on the frontiers of their own ſtate, then their bodies were carefully carried back to Sparta, and interred in their family ſepulchres.

UNDER the ſecond table let us place the ſtatutes relating to the lands and to the city; Lycurgus divided all the country of Laconia into thirty thouſand equal ſhares; the city of Sparta he divided into nine thouſand, as ſome ſay, into ſix thouſand, as ſay others; and, as a third party will have it, into four thouſand five hundred. The intent of the legiſlator was, that property ſhould be equally divided amongſt his citizens, ſo that none might be powerful enough to oppreſs his fellows, or any be in ſuch neceſſity as to be therefrom in danger of corruption; with the ſame view he forbad the buying or ſelling of theſe poſſeſſions; if a ſtranger acquired a right to any of theſe ſhares, he might quietly enjoy it, provided he ſubmitted to the laws of the republic. The city of Sparta was unwalled, Lycurgus truſting it rather to the virtue of its citizens, than to the art of maſons. As to the houſes, they were very plain, for their cielings could only be wrought by the ax, and their gates and doors only

only by the ſaw, and their utenſils were to be of a likeſtamp, that luxury might have no inſtruments amongſt them.

As to the third table, it ſhall conſiſt of the laws regarding citizens. In the firſt place they were to be neither more nor leſs than the number of city-lots; and if at any time there happened to be more, they were to be led out in colonies: as to children, their laws were equally harſh and unreaſonable; for a father was directed to carry his new-born ſon to a certain place, where the graveſt men of his tribe looked upon the infant, and if they perceived its limbs ſtrait and thought it had a wholeſome look, then they returned it to its parent to be educated, otherwiſe it was thrown into a deep cavern at the foot of the mountain Taygetus. This law ſeems to have had one very good effect, viz. making women very careful, when they were with child, of either eating, drinking, or exerciſing to exceſs; it made them alſo excellent nurſes, for which they were in mighty requeſt throughout Greece. Strangers were not allowed to reſide long in the city, that they might not corrupt the Spartans by teaching them new-fangled cuſtoms. Citizens were alſo forbid to travel for the ſame reaſon, unleſs the good of the ſtate required it. Such as were not bred up in their youth according to the law, were not allowed the liberty of the city, becauſe they held it unreaſonable, that one who had not ſubmitted to the laws in his youth, ſhould receive the benefit of them when a man. They never preferred any ſtranger to a public office, but if at any time they had occaſion for a perſon not born a Spartan, they firſt made him a citizen, and then preferred him.

THEIR laws relating to marriage ſhall be comprehended under the fourth table. Celibacy in men was infamous, and puniſhed in a moſt extraordinary manner; for, in the firſt place, the old batchelor was conſtrained to walk naked in the depth of winter through the market-place: Secondly, while he did this, he was obliged to ſing a ſong in diſparagement of himſelf; and, thirdly, he had none of the honours paid him which otherwiſe belonged to old age, it being held unreaſonable, that the youth ſhould venerate him, who was reſolved to leave none of his progeny behind him to revere them when they grew old in their turns. The time of marriage was alſo fixed, and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to an action; as were ſuch alſo as married above or below themſelves; ſuch as had three children had great immunities; ſuch as had four were free from all taxes whatſoever. Virgins were

married without portions, becauſe neither want ſhould hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations. When a marriage was agreed on, the huſband committed a kind of rape upon his bride, who was not a tender raw girl, but one in the flower of her age, and fit to bring healthy children. Huſbands went for a long time ſecretly, and by ſtealth, to the beds of their wives, that their love might not be quickly and eaſily extinguiſhed. Huſbands were allowed to lend their wives, but the kings, however, were forbid to take this liberty; ſome other laws of the like nature there were, which it is not neceſſary for us to dwell on, becauſe, as they were evidently againſt modeſty, ſo they were far from producing the ends for which Lycurgus deſigned them, ſince, though the men of Sparta were generally remarkable for their virtue, the Spartan women were as generally decried for their boldneſs and contempt of decency.

UNDER the fifth table ſhall ſtand the laws relating to eating. It was the care of Lycurgus, that from their very nonage and infancy the Lacedæmonians ſhould be inured to conquer their appetites; for this reaſon he directed, that nurſes ſhould accuſtom their children to ſpare meals, and now and then to faſting; that they ſhould carry them when twelve or thirteen years old to thoſe who ſhould examine their education, and who ſhould carefully obſerve, whether they were able to be in the dark alone, and whether they had got over all other follies and weakneſſes incident to children. He directed, that children of all ranks ſhould be brought up in the ſame way, and that none ſhould be more favoured in food than another, that they might not even in their infancy perceive any difference between poverty and riches, but conſider each other as equals, and even as brethren, to whom the ſame portions were aſſigned, and who through the courſe of their lives were to fare alike. Only youths were allowed to eat fleſh, older men eat their black broth and pulſe, the lads ſlept together in chambers, and after a manner ſomewhat reſembling that ſtill in uſe in Turkey for the Janizaries; their beds in the ſummer were very hard, being compoſed of the reeds plucked by the hand from the banks of the Eurotas; in winter their beds were ſofter, but by no means downy or fit to indulge immoderate ſleep. They eat altogether in public, and in caſe any abſtained from coming to the tables they were fined. Xenophon ſeems to have penetrated farther into the reaſon of this inſtitution than any other author, as indeed

indeed he had better opportunity to do; for, whereas the reſt ſay, that this was only intended to repreſs luxury, he very wiſely remarks, that it was alſo intended to ſerve for a kind of ſchool or academy, where the young were inſtructed by the old, the former relating the great things that had been performed in their memory, and exciting the growing generation therefrom to perform great things alſo. It was alſo ſtrictly forbidden for any to eat or drink at home before they came to the common meal; even then each had his proper portion, that every thing might be done there with gravity and decency; the black broth was the great rarity of the Spartans, which was compoſed of ſalt, vinegar, blood, &c. ſo that in our times it would be eſteemed a very unſavoury ſoop. If they were modeſt in their eating, they were ſo alſo in their drinking; thirſt was the ſole meaſure thereof, and never any Lacedæmonian thought of drinking for pleaſure; as for drunkenneſs it was both infamous and ſeverely puniſhed; and that young men might perceive with how great reaſon, ſlaves were compelled to drink to exceſs, that the beaſtlineſs of the vice might appear. When they retired from the public meal, they were not allowed any torches or lights, becauſe it was expected, that men, who were perfectly ſober, ſhould be able to find their way in the dark; and beſides it gave them a facility of marching without light, a thing wonderfully uſeful to them in time of war.

THE laws relating to their habit fall under the ſixth table. As the poor eat as well as the rich, ſo the rich could wear nothing better than the poor; they neither changed their faſhion, nor the materials, of their garments; they were made for warmth and ſtrength, not for gallantry and ſhew; and to this cuſtom even their kings conformed, who wore nothing gaudy in right of their dignity, but were contented that their virtue ſhould diſtinguiſh them rather than robes. The young lads wore a tunic till they were twelve years old; afterwards they had a cloke given them, which was to ſerve them a year; and their cloathing was in general ſo thin, that a Lacedæmonian veſt became proverbial. Boys were always uſed to go without ſhoes, but when they grew up they were indulgent to them, if the manner of life they led required it; but they were always inured to run without them, as alſo to climb up and ſlip down ſteep places with bare feet, nay the very ſhoes they uſed was of a particular form, plain and ſtrong, and from the place of its invention Laconic. Boys were not permitted to wear their

hair, but when they grew up they did not cut it. Baths and anointing were not much in uſe among the Lacedæmonians; the river Eurotas ſupplied the former, and exerciſe the latter. In the field, however, their ſumptuary laws did not take place ſo ſtrictly as in the city; for when they went to war they wore purple habits; they put on crowns when they were about to engage the enemy; they had alſo rings, but they were of iron, which metal was moſt eſteemed by this nation. Young women wore their veſts or jerkins only to their knees, or, as ſome think, not quite ſo low, which beyond queſtion was indecent, and as ſuch it is cenſured both by Greek and Roman authors. Gold, precious ſtones, and other coſtly ornaments, were permitted only to common women; which permiſſion was the ſtrongeſt prohibition to women of virtue, or who affected to be thought virtuous. Virgins went abroad without vails, with which married women, on the contrary, were always covered, it being conceived fit for the one to be looked on, but not the other; in certain exerciſes and ſhews both the young women and men were naked, a thing for which Plutarch endeavours to apologize, as if there could be no nakedneſs where the mind was in the habit of virtue; this is evidently playing with words, for without queſtion there never was a more immoral impudent practice than this; the truth is, Lycurgus had nothing in view but the rendering the common-wealth of Sparta powerful and laſting; and that he might do this, he ſought by all means to eradicate the ſeeds of civil diſſentions; hence the equal diviſion of eſtates; hence the baniſhment of wealth; and hence the accuſtoming men to bear with the wantonneſs of women; that birth, riches, jealouſy, which, in other countries and in other ſtates, produced ſuch ſtirs and tumults, might be able to effect little or nothing in Lacedæmon.

DISCIPLINE and manners, that is the rules regarding theſe, ſhall fall under the ſeventh table. Though the Spartans were always free, yet it was with this reſtriction, that they were ſubſervient to their own laws, which bound them as ſtrictly in the city, as ſoldiers in other ſtates were bound by the rules of war in the camp. In the firſt place, ſtrict obedience to their ſuperiors was the great thing required in Sparta; this they looked upon as the very baſis of government, without which neither laws nor magiſtrates availed much. Old age was an indubitable title to honour in Sparta; to the old men the youth roſe up whenever they came into any public place; they gave way to them when they

they met them in the ſtreets, and were ſilent whenever their elders ſpoke. As all children were looked upon as the children of the ſtate, ſo all the old men had the authority of parents, they reprehended whatever they ſaw amiſs, not only in their own, but in other people's children, and by this method Lycurgus provided, that as youth are everywhere apt to offend, ſo they might be no-where without a monitor. The laws went ſtill further; if an old man was preſent where a young one committed a fault and did not reprove him, he was puniſhed equally with the delinquent. Amongſt the youths there was one of their own body, or at moſt two years older than the reſt, who was ſtiled Iren; he had authority to queſtion all their actions, to look ſtrictly to their behaviour, and to puniſh them if they did amiſs; neither were their puniſhments light, but on the contrary very ſevere, whereby the boys were made hardy, and accuſtomed to bear ſtripes and hard uſage. Silence was a thing highly commended and greatly valued at Sparta, where modeſty was held to be a moſt becoming virtue in young people; nor was it reſtrained only to their words and actions, but to their very looks and geſtures, Lycurgus having particularly directed that they ſhould look forward, or on the ground, and that they ſhould always keep their hands within their robes. A ſtupid inconſiderate perſon, one who would not liſten to inſtruction, but was careleſs of whatever the world might ſay of him, the Lacedæmonians treated as a ſcandal to human nature; with ſuch an one they would not converſe, but threw him off as a rotten branch and worthleſs member of ſociety.

THE ſtudies and learning of this people fall naturally into the eighth table. The plainneſs of their manners, and their being ſo very much addicted to war, made the Lacedæmonians leſs fond of the ſciences than the reſt of the Greeks; they meaſured the worth of all things by their uſefulneſs, and therefore, if they wrote to be read, and ſpoke to be underſtood, it was all they ſought. For this the Athenians, who were exceſſively vain of their learning, mightily condemned them, inſomuch, that Thucydides himſelf, in drawing the character of Braſidas, ſays, he ſpoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian. Theſe, on the other hand, valued themſelves no leſs on their roughneſs and their ſteady adherence to the maxims of their anceſtors, as, amongſt other inſtances, appears from this anſwer of a Spartan to one of the learned Athenians, who upbraided him with the ignorance of his country: All you ſay may

be true, and yet it amounts to no more, than that we only amongſt the Greeks have learned no evil cuſtoms from you. Arts were in no greater credit with them than ſciences; a ſoldier was the only reputable profeſſion in Sparta, a mechanic or a huſbandman was thought a low fellow; the reaſon of this was, that they imagined profeſſions which required much labour, ſome conſtant poſture, being continually in the houſe, or always about a fire, weakened the body, and depreſſed the mind; whereas a man free from theſe incumbrances was at liberty to attend the ſervice of the republic in time of peace, and to fight its battles when engaged in war. Such profeſſions as were neceſſary the Helotes exerciſed, but for curious arts, and ſuch as ſerved only to luxury, they would not ſo much as ſuffer them to be practiſed in their city, in conſequence of which rhetoricians, fortune-tellers, bankers, and dealers in money were ſhut out; neither tragedy nor comedy could obtrude itſelf on the Spartans, they would not bear the repreſentation of evil even to produce good; but other kinds of poetry were admitted, provided the magiſtrates had the peruſal of pieces before they were handed to the public. Above all things they affected brevity of ſpeech, and accuſtomed their children from their very infancy never to expreſs themſelves in more words than were ſtrictly neceſſary, whence a conciſe and ſententious oratory is to this day ſtiled Laconic. In writing they uſed the ſame method, of which we have a ſignal inſtance in a letter of Archidamus to the Eleans, when he underſtood that they had ſome thoughts of aſſiſting the Arcadians; it ran thus: Archidamus to the Eleans. It is good to be quiet. And therefore Epaminondas had reaſon to glory in having forced the Spartans to abandon their monoſyllables and to lengthen their diſcourſes. We need not wonder, that people, ſo much removed from their neighbours in their cuſtoms and manners, ſhould not be deſirous of having the cuſtoms and laws of ſtrangers publiſhed or diſcourſed of in their city; this therefore was a law given by Lycurgus, and ſtrictly adhered to; but ſome, who have inferred from thence, that the Lacedæmonians were equally cautious to prevent ſtrangers from gaining acquaintance with their laws and cuſtoms, are ſomewhat miſtaken; for in this point they were not ſo ſtrict. The greateſt part of their education conſiſted in giving their youth right ideas of men and things; the Iren or maſter propoſed queſtions, and either commended the anſwers that were made him, or reproved

ſuch as anſwered childiſhly; theſe queſtions did not relate either to trivial or to abſtruſe matters, but to points of the higheſt importance in civil life; ſuch as, Who was the beſt man in the city? wherein lay the merit of ſuch an action? and whether this or that hero's fame was well founded? Harmleſs raillery was greatly encouraged, and this, joined to their ſhort manner of ſpeaking, rendered Laconic replies univerſally admired. Muſic was much encouraged, but in this, as in other things, they adhered to that which had been in favour with their anceſtors; nay, they were ſo ſtrict therein, that they would not permit their ſlaves to learn either the tune or the words of their moſt admired odes, or, which is all one, they would not permit them to ſing them if they had learned them. The love of boys was much encouraged at Sparta, but it was a virtuous and modeſt affection, untinged with that ſenſuality which was ſo ſcandalous at Athens; female friendſhips were no leſs frequent, and no leſs warm; it is likely, that Lycurgus introduced theſe things in order the better to unite his citizens, which is the more probable, if we conſider, that neither in one caſe, nor in the other, rivals were angry, or bore ill-will towards each other; but on the contrary, their love to the ſame perſon begat a ſecundary friendſhip among themſelves, and united them in all things which might be for the benefit of the perſon beloved. There is but one thing more, in reſpect to their education, which deſerves mention, and it is this; That theft, if it was handſomely concealed, was not held ſcandalous amongſt them; a moſt abſurd inſtitution, for which many apologies have been offered, which have done as little honour to their authors, as this very law did to Lycurgus. When theft was diſcovered, however, it was ſeverely puniſhed, and what between this practice and the former the Spartan youth were ſo hardened, that they would endure any thing, after they had committed a theft, rather than ſuffer it to be known. It would be eaſy to alledge inſtances, but to what end? to prove, that in defence of vice men will dare to ſuffer pain? We ſee it every day, and therefore they are needleſs; it was an error in the Lacedæmonian policy, which we are not bound either to palliate or excuſe.

The exerciſes inſtituted by law fall under the ninth table; in theſe all the Greeks were extremely careful, but the Lacedæmonians in a degree beyond the reſt; for if a youth by his corpulence, or any other means, became unfit for theſe exerciſes, he fell into public contempt at leaſt,

if not baniſhment. Hunting was the uſual diverſion of their children, nay, it was made a part of their education, becauſe it had a tendency to ſtrengthen the limbs, and to render thoſe that practiſed it ſupple and fleet; they likewiſe bred up dogs for hunting with great care. They had a kind of public dances, in which they exceedingly delighted, and which were common alike to virgins and young men; indeed in all their ſports girls were allowed to divert themſelves with the youths, inſomuch, that at darting, throwing the choit, pitching the bar, and ſuch-like robuſt diverſions, the women were as dextrous as the men; for the manifeſt oddity of this proceeding Lycurgus aſſigned no other reaſon, than that he ſought to render women as well as men ſtrong and healthy, that the children they brought forth might be ſo too; violent exerciſes and a laborious kind of life were only injoined to the youth; for when they were grown up to mens eſtate, that is, were upwards of thirty years old, they were exempted from all kinds of labour, and employed themſelves wholly either in affairs of ſtate or in war. They had a method of whipping at a certain time young lads in the temple of Diana, and about her altar, which, however palliated, was certainly unnatural and cruel. It was eſteemed a great honour for lads to ſuſtain theſe flagellations without weeping, groaning, or ſhewing any ſenſe of pain; and the thirſt of glory was ſo ſtrong in theſe young minds, that they very frequently ſuffered death without ſhedding a tear, or breathing a ſigh. A deſire of overcoming all the weakneſſes of human nature, and thereby rendering his Spartans not only ſuperior to their neighbours, but to their ſpecies, runs through many of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus; which principle, if well attended to, thoroughly explains them, and without attending to which it is impoſſible to give any account of them at all.

The tenth table ſhall comprehend their laws reſpecting contracts and money-matters. Gold and ſilver were by the conſtitutions of Lycurgus made of no value in Sparta; he was ſo well apprized of the danger of riches, that he made the very poſſeſſion of them penal; but as there was no living without ſome ſort of money, that is, ſome common meaſure or ſtandard of the worth of things, he directed an iron coinage, whereby the Spartans were ſupplied with the uſeful money, and had at the ſame time

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no temptation to covetouſneſs afforded them; for a very ſmall ſum was ſufficient to load a couple of horſes, and a great one muſt have been kept in a barn or warehouſe; the coming in of all foreign money was alſo prohibited, that corruption might not enter under the name of commerce. The moſt antient method of dealing, viz. by barter or exchange of one commodity for another, was preſerved by law in Sparta long after it had been out of date every-where elſe. Intereſt was a thing forbid in the Spartan common-wealth, where they had alſo a law againſt the alienation of lands, and accepting preſents from foreigners even without the limits of their own country, and when their authority and character might well ſeem to excuſe them; thus by all poſſible methods Lycurgus ſought to ſhut out corruption, to oblige his citizens to live ſimply and innocently, without admitting amongſt them thoſe ſeeds of luxury and diſſenſion, which he ſaw had produced ſuch fatal effects in the regions through which he travelled.

SUCH of the laws of Sparta as related to courts of juſtice may be brought under the eleventh table. Thirty years muſt have paſſed over the head of him who had a right to concern himſelf in juridical proceedings; young men were thought unfit for them, and it was even held indecent, and of ill report, for a man to have any fondneſs for law-ſuits, or to be buſying himſelf at the tribunals, when he had no affairs there of his own; by theſe rules Lycurgus thought to ſhut out litigiouſneſs, and to prevent that multiplicity of ſuits which is always ſcandalous in a ſtate. As young people were not permitted to enquire about the laws of other countries, and as they were hindered from hearing judicial proceedings in their courts, ſo they were forbidden likewiſe to aſk any queſtions about, or to endeavour to diſcover the reaſons of, the laws by which themſelves were governed. Obedience was their duty, and to that alone they would have them kept. Men of abandoned characters, or who were notoriouſly of ill fame, loſt all right of giving their votes in reſpect of public affairs, or of ſpeaking in public aſſemblies; for they would not believe that an ill man in private life could mean his country better than he did his neighbour.

THE military laws of Sparta ſhall compoſe the twelfth table. Till a man was thirty years old, he was not capable of ſerving in the army, as the beſt authors agree, tho'

tho' ſome think, that the military age is not well aſcertained by antient authors; they were forbidden to march at any time before the full moon, the reaſon of which law is very hard to be diſcovered, if indeed it had any reaſon at all, or was not rather founded in ſome ſuperſtitious opinion, that this was a more lucky conjuncture than any other. They were likewiſe forbidden to fight often againſt the ſame enemy, which was one of the wiſeſt maxims in the political ſyſtem of Lycurgus; and we ſhall ſee, that Ageſilaus, by offending againſt it, deſtroyed the power of his country, and loſt her that authority which for many ages ſhe maintained over the reſt of Greece; for by continually warring againſt the Thebans, to whom he had an inveterate hatred, he at laſt beat them into the knowledge of the art of war, and enabled them under the command of Epaminondas to maintain for a time the principality of Greece. Maritime affairs they were forbid to meddle with, though the neceſſity of things compelled them in proceſs of time to tranſgreſs this inſtitution, and by degrees they transferred to themſelves as well the dominion at ſea as land, as the reader hath already ſeen in the Athenian hiſtory; but after the Peloponneſian war they again neglected naval affairs, from a perſuaſion that ſailors and ſtrangers corrupted thoſe with whom they converſed. As they never fortified Sparta, ſo they were not ready to undertake ſieges; fighting in the field was their proper province, and while they could overcome their enemies there, they rightly conceived that nothing could hurt them at home. In time of war they relaxed ſomewhat of their ſtrict manner of living, in which they were ſingular; the true reaſon for this was, in all probabilty, that war might be leſs burdenſome to them; for, as we have more than once obſerved, a ſtrong deſire to render them bold and warlike was the reigning paſſion of their legiſlator. For they were forbidden to remain long encamped in the ſame place, as well to hinder their being ſurpriſed, as that they might be more troubleſome to their enemies, by waſting every corner of their country. They ſlept all night in their armour, but their out-guards were not allowed their ſhields, that being unprovided of defence they might not dare to ſleep. In all their expeditions, they were careful in the performance of religious rites, and after their evening meal was over, the ſoldiers ſung together hymns to their gods. When they were about

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to engage, the king ſacrificed to the muſes, that by their aſſiſtance they might be enabled to perform deeds worthy of being recorded to lateſt times; then the army advanced in order to the ſound of flutes, which played the hymn of Caſtor; the king himſelf ſung the pæan, which was the ſignal to charge; this was done with all the decorum imaginable, and the ſoldiers were ſure either to die or conquer; indeed they had nothing elſe to do, for if they fled they were infamous, and in danger of being ſlain, even by their own mothers, for diſgracing their families. Hiſtory informs us, that a Spartan lady, on the news of her ſon's having fled from a battle, wrote him this ſhort letter, Fame ſpeaks ill of you, efface it, or be no more. In this conſiſted all the excellency of the Spartan women, who, if it were poſſible, excelled in bravery their men, never lamenting over huſbands or ſons, if they died honourably in the field, but deploring the ſhame brought on their houſe, if either the one or the other eſcaped by flight. The throwing away of a ſhield alſo induced infamy, and with reſpect to this, mothers, when they embraced their departing ſons, were wont to caution them, that they ſhould either return armed as they were, or be brought back ſo, that is, when they were dead; for, as we have before obſerved, ſuch as were ſlain in battle were nevertheleſs buried in their own country. When they had made their enemies fly, they purſued no longer than till the victory was out of doubt, becauſe they would ſeem to fight rather for the honour of victory, than that they might put their enemies to death. According to their antient rules of war, they were bound not to ſpoil the dead bodies of their enemies, but in proceſs of time this, and indeed many other of their moſt excellent regulations, fell into diſſuetude. He who overcame by ſtratagem offered up an ox to Mars, whereas he who overcame by force offered up only a cock, the former being eſteemed more manly than the latter. After forty years ſervice a man was diſcharged, that is, it was no longer required of him by law to go into the field, and conſequently, that if the military age was thirty, the Spartans were not held invalids, till they were ſeventy. Thus we have comprized the moſt conſiderable of the Spartan laws into twelve tables. Some indeed we have omitted, becauſe we ſhall be obliged to ſpeak of their being enacted elſewhere [b].

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[b] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. & in Inſtit. Lacon. Ariſt. Polit. Plat. de Legib. & de Repub. Xenoph. Inſt. Lac. Ælian. var. Hiſt. Herac. Pont. in Fragm.

The Cryptia what, and how publiſhed.

LYCURGUS did not put any of his laws into writing, becauſe he would have them written in the hearts of the people, and to impreſs them the more ſtrongly there, he took great pains to make it be believed, that they were given to him by Apollo, wherefore he ſtilled them Rhetræ, i. e. divine ſanctions. It is not clear, whether or not Lycurgus was the author of that political contrivance, which prevailed amongſt his countrymen, for leſſening the number of their ſlaves whenever they grew dangerous to the ſtate, and which was ſtiled Cryptia, i. e. the ambuſcade. Such as had the care of educating the Spartan youth picked out the ſtouteſt of them, and, having armed them with daggers, ſent them out to deſtroy their unhappy ſlaves, which they did, either by ſurpriſing them in the night, or falling upon them in the day, when they were at their work, without any crime being pretended againſt them, and for no other reaſon than that the ſtate might be ſafe from their attempts by this reduction of their number. Plato greatly condemns this law, for which reaſon Plutarch denies that it was made by Lycurgus; but when, or however, it was made, it was indubitably againſt natural equity, or, to ſpeak with greater propriety, againſt humanity; a cruel and unneceſſary expedient, and unworthy of a virtuous people [c] (A).

IT

[c] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. Plato de Legib. l. i. p. 633.

(A) The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians towards their ſlaves, or Helotes, is frequently ſpoken of, and generally decried by all authors, though Plutarch, who was a great admirer of the Spartans, endeavours every where to palliate it as much as may be. To give the reader a diſtinct account of this matter, we muſt firſt acquaint him who theſe Helotes are: Helos was an antient city in Laconia, againſt which on ſome pretence or other the Lacedæmonians made war, and having ſubdued it, they made all the inhabitants thereof, and of the adjacent diſtrict, ſlaves (1). And in proceſs of time, when they had enlarged the number of perſons in this unhappy condition by ſubjugating other places, they ſtill kept up the old name, and called them all Helotes, which, ceaſing then to be a proper name, became common to all who were in this ſtate of ſervitude. As to the terms of it, they were theſe: Firſt, their lords could not ſet them free; and ſecondly they had no power to ſell

(1) Homer. Iliad. B. v. 585. Strabo Geogr. lib. viii. p. 363. Pauſan. Lacon. 201.

IT is not to be conceived, that ſuch mighty changes could be wrought in a country without any oppoſition, neither indeed

Sedition in Sparta. Lycurgus wounded in the eye.

ſell them, ſo as that they might be tranſported out of the Lacedæmonian dominions (2). Hence it came to paſs that they were prodigiouſly numerous, which ſometimes alarmed the Spartans, and made them deviſe the law above recited to keep them under. Ariſtotle expreſly affirms, that it was deviſed by Lycurgus (3). Plutarch would gladly have this diſbelieved, merely becauſe he thinks it injurious to that legiſlator; for he offers no reaſon for it whatſoever, and at the ſame time owns, that Plato himſelf had been diſpleaſed with Lycurgus for the cruelty and injuſtice of this law (4). Plutarch elſewhere informs us, that the Helotes were employed to cultivate the lands of their lords, that they did not give an exact account of their produce, but paid a ſmall ſettled rent, which their lords could not raiſe without incurring public cenſure (5). This is Plutarch's account of the matter, from whence one would be led to conceive, that theſe Helotes were a kind of bailiffs, ſtewards, or lower ſort of farmers. But other authors ſpeak quite a different language, they tell us, that liberty and ſlavery were in their extremes at Sparta, that none were ſo perfectly free as the citizens of Lacedæmon, nor any ſuch deſpicable ſlaves as theſe Helotes; they were diſtinguiſhed, that is, marked out for ſlaves in their dreſs, their geſture, and in ſhort in every thing; they wore dog-ſkin bonnets, ſheep-ſkin veſts; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their maſters; when their lords were ſo diſpoſed, theſe poor men were obliged to drink themſelves drunk, that the free-born Spartans might ſee the beaſtlineſs of that vice in their behaviour. Once a day they received a certain number of ſtripes, for fear they ſhould forget they were ſlaves; and to crown all they were liable to this Cryptia, which was ſure to be executed on all ſuch as ſpoke, looked, or walked like freemen (6). To take off ſomewhat of the horror and ſcandal of ſuch a practice, the ephori, after they were inſtituted, at their coming into office declared war againſt them (7); againſt whom? why againſt poor naked ſlaves, who tilled their lands, dreſſed their food, and did all thoſe offices for them which they were too proud to do for themſelves. Plutarch, according to cuſtom, endeavours to place all this cruelty far lower than the times of Lycurgus, and alledges, that it was introduced on account of the Helotes joining with the Meſſenians after a great

(2) Strabo, lib. viii. Pollux. lib. 3. c. 8. (3) Polit. lib. ii. (4) In vit. Lycurg. (5) Inſtit. Lacedæm. (6) Miron. Prien. ap. Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. xiv. (7) Ariſt. Polit. lib. ii.

indeed were they ; for when he proceeded to the diviſion of property, a great ſedition aroſe, wherein at laſt the people proceeded to blows, and Lycurgus found himſelf obliged to quit the aſſembly in order to fly to a ſanctuary ; ſome of them, however, cloſely purſued him, and amongſt the reſt one Alcander, a young nobleman of a generous, but too haſty, diſpoſition, who, on Lycurgus's looking back, ſtruck him on the eye, and, as ſome ſay, beat it out ; the legiſlator then ſtopped, and ſhewing his face all covered with blood, the people were ſo ſtruck thereat, that they immediately aſked his pardon, and delivered up Alcander into his hands to be treated as he thought fit. Lycurgus accepted the propoſal, and carried Alcander home with him, where, inſtead of puniſhing, or even reproving him harſhly, he received him as his attendant, cauſed him to wait on him at meals, and kept him always near his perſon ; this mildneſs was of great ſervice to them both, for Alcander perceiving that Lycurgus was not, as he had ſuppoſed him, a man of a harſh and moroſe diſpoſition, but of a moſt ſweet and affable temper, he became from his fierceſt enemy his greateſt admirer, which wrought mightily on the minds of the people, and engaged them to receive as oracles the inſtructions of Lycurgus. Another good it wrought was this, that it became immediately a law, from which they never receded, that no weapon whatſoever, no not ſo much as a ſtaff, was brought into their aſſemblies or public councils [d].

[d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

WHEN

great earthquake, whereby a great part of Lacedæmon was overthrown (8 ; but Ælian tells us expreſly, that it was the common opinion in Greece, that this very earthquake was a judgment from heaven upon the Spartans for treating theſe Helotes with ſuch inhumanity (9). Thucydides gives a glaring inſtance of the jealouſy of the Lacedæmonians on account of theſe poor men ; he ſays, that about two thouſand of them, being manumitted by law for their great ſervice in the Peloponneſian war, were crowned with garlands, led about to the temples, and entertained with ſhews ; after all which they diſappeared on a ſudden, nor could any body ever tell what became of them (10).

(8) Plut. in vit. Lycurg. (9) Hiſt. Var. lib. iii. (10) Thucyd. de Bell. Pelop. lib. iv. vide etiam Ubb. Emm. de Repub. Lac. Crag. de Repub. Lac. lib. i. c. 11. Meurſ. Miſc. Lacon. lib. ii. c. 6.

When Lycurgus had fully perfected his deſign, and wrought the commonwealth into that form, which, from the conſideration of the nature of men and of the different effects of various governments upon them, he thought moſt eligible; his next care was to render this fixed and ſtable, and to prevent his countrymen from overturning that ſtructure which he had raiſed, and running back into the condition wherein he found them. After ſome time he fell upon a method of effecting it, which was this: He called a general aſſembly, wherein he declared, that he now thought every thing was brought into its proper order, and that there remained behind but one point to be ſettled, which was indeed of the higheſt importance, and what he could not acquaint them with till he had conſulted the oracle at Delphi; to which place he was ready to go, provided they would engage themſelves to obſerve his rhetræ inviolably till his return. To this all ranks and degrees of people readily aſſented, and to bind their aſſent, Lycurgus took an oath upon the ſpot from the two kings, the ſenate, and the commons; after which he departed, as he had propoſed, and went to Delphi. There he propoſed this queſtion to the oracle; ſhall the laws eſtabliſhed in Sparta make that city virtuous and happy? The reſponſe was, The laws given to Sparta are excellent, and the city ſhall continue in the higheſt renown, while it obſerves the polity of Lycurgus. This he took in writing and ſent to Sparta, after which he ſacrificed a ſecond time to Apollo, and having ſolemnly taken leave of his friends and of his ſon, he determined with himſelf to put an end to his life by faſting, that the Lacedæmonians might never have it in their power to free themſelves from the oath which he had taken from them. Plutarch expreſſes himſelf in very high terms in reſpect to the death of Lycurgus, he commends it as one of the nobleſt inſtances of patriotiſm, which is to be met with in antient hiſtory; becauſe, ſays he, the legiſlator ſecured a double point by this manner of dying; he put a moſt honourable end to a virtuous and well-ſpent life, and he affixed his death as a ſeal to his laws, which he left as his laſt will and teſtament to his country. He tells us likewiſe, that his bones were carried home to Sparta, and buried under a plain tomb, which, as a mark of the divine favour, he ſays, was afterwards blaſted with lightning, an accident peculiar to Lycurgus and Euripides the poet. The Spartans, to do honour to his memory, erected a temple to him, and ſacrificed annually thereat. But after all this pompous account,

Method taken by this legiſlator to ſettle his laws.

Plutarch

Plutarch himſelf acknowledges, that authors are not well agreed, how, or where, this great man died; ſome ſay, he ended his days at Cirrha, Apolothemis affirmed, that he died at Elis, Timœus and Ariſtoxenus agree, that he finiſhed his days in Crete, and the latter ſays the inhabitants ſhewed his tomb. Ariſtocrates the ſon of Hipparchus wrote likewiſe that he died in Crete, but he added, that by the direction of Lycurgus the perſons with whom he lodged burnt his body, and ſcattered the aſhes thereof in the air, and on the ſea, that they might never be tranſported to Lacedæmon, to prevent the people apprehending themſelves releaſed from their oath. He left behind him one ſon, whoſe name was Antiorus, who dying without iſſue, his race became extinct. His relations and friends held an annual aſſembly in commemoration of the deceaſed, and that they might therein diſcourſe, and exhort each other to the imitation of his virtues; the days of this meeting were in honour of the legiſlator ſtiled Lycurgides [c] (B).

From

[c] Plut. in vit. Lycurg.

(B) The life of Lycurgus was the firſt which Plutarch publiſhed, as he himſelf obſerves (11). He ſeems to have had a mighty liking to the Spartans and their cuſtoms; for, beſides this life and thoſe of ſeveral other Spartan chieftains, we have a treatiſe of his on the laws and cuſtoms of the Lacedæmonians, and another of Laconic apophthegms; he owns notwithſtanding, that with reſpect to the family and the time of the birth of this legiſlator, there is great uncertainty. He makes him, however, in all things a perfect hero, and alledges his behaviour as a proof that the wiſe man ſo often deſcribed, and ſo much commended by philoſophers, was not a mere ideal character unattainable by human nature. He is very particular as to the ſalutation of the prophetеſs at Delphi, which, he ſays, run in theſe words: Welcome, beloved of God, and rather God than man (12). This oracle was certainly very famous in Greece, and generally ſpeaking believed, otherwiſe Socrates would not have quoted it in his defence (13), or Plutarch have ſo often urged it as a full anſwer to all the calumnies raiſed againſt his hero. Yet ſomething may be ſaid, not greatly to the reputation either of the oracle or Lycurgus, viz. that this was all contrivance, in order to bring about what could otherwiſe never have been brought about, the impoſing his harſh laws upon the Spartans. It is very likely, that he took this hint from the conduct of Minos the Cretan lawgiver,

(11) In vit. Theſei. (12) Plut. in vit. Lycurg. (13) Xenoph. de Reb. Memor.

FROM the death of Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian hiſtory is for a long time very perplexed, there being no other materials from whence it may be collected, than ſcattered paſſages of antient authors, which, as well as we are able, we ſhall put together. Charilaus made war on the Argives, but with little ſucceſs; afterwards he fell on the Tegeatæ a people of Arcadia; but in this war alſo he had very bad fortune, The reigns of Charilaus and Teleclus. Year after the Flood, 2095. Before Chriſt, 904.

giver, who aſcribed all his laws to Jupiter; but from whomſoever he took it, an antient author of great note affirms, that the reſponſes of the oracle were framed by his wit, and procured by his money (14). The reader has ſeen in the Athenian hiſtory many inſtances of a like nature, and we ſhall hereafter ſhew, that Lyſander knew how to make Apollo ſpeak kindly in his favour, as well as Lycurgus. It is clear, that our law-giver depended chiefly on the people's apprehending his inſtitutions to be divine; for this cauſe he would never ſuffer his laws to be put into writing, but truſted them to the memory, that they might at once make the greater impreſſion, and give the government greater power. Plutarch affords us an inſtance of this; he ſays, that by a Rhetra of Lycurgus the people had power to aſſent or diſſent from what was propoſed to them by the kings and ſenate; but when by degrees they extended this power, and began to gloſs upon the laws, to aſſent to one part of them and to diſſent from another, the kings and ſenate, that they might be even with them in their own way, added a new clauſe to the Rhetra to this purpoſe, that if the people ſhould offer any croſs propoſal, then the ſenate and kings might reject it. Which clauſe, by dint of a little of their legiſlator's art, they impoſed as a genuine injunction, and thereby ſtrengthened their own authority at the expence of the people's (15). Moſt politicians have held Lycurgus's invention of a ſenate to have been a moſt excellent contrivance: Plato was ſo much charmed with it, that from thence he ſtiles its author a divine ſpirit reſiding in a human nature (16): yet Ariſtotle, who was an excellent politician, found great fault with that inſtitution; he thought it unreaſonable, that ſenators ſhould be made for life, becauſe frequently mens abilities decay, ſo that inſtead of being able to mind public affairs, they become unfit to tranſact thoſe of their own family. He was likewiſe offended, that they were left without controul, for he thought, that as all men were liable to errors, ſo all men ought to be accountable for them, eſpecially if their errors might any way affect the ſtate (17). The laſt act of Lycurgus, of

(14) Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 16. (15) Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg. (16) Plato de Legib. lib. iii. (17) Ariſt. lib. ii. & lib. vi.

fortune, for he was taken priſoner in a battle, which was won chiefly by the volour of the women ; and to purchaſe his liberty, he was conſtrained to take a ſolemn oath, that he would never make war on this people any more, which oath, however, he kept very indifferently [f]. He then turned his arms againſt the Achæans, who had taken from the Lacedæmonians ſeveral frontier towns, which he and his collegue Teleclus recovered. Among theſe were Amyclas, Pharis, and Geronthra ; the firſt they raſed, the inhabitants of the other two cities by agreement were permitted to retire out of Peloponneſus ; ſuch were the military exploits of Charilaus or Charillus ; he retained always a great reſpect for his tutor Lycurgus, as appears from ſeveral of his ſayings which have reached our times : for being once aſked, why Lycurgus had made ſo few laws, he anſwered, Men of few words need but few laws ; and it being demanded of him what kind of polity he held to be the moſt compleie, That, ſays he, wherein moſt of the citizens contend in virtue without diſturbing each other [g]. His collegue of the other regal houſe was Teleclus, a prince of indifferent parts and fortune. Being told before he ſucceeded to the crown, by ſome who ſought to flatter him, that his father had ſpoke ſlightingly of him, he anſwered, That he was ſorry for it, becauſe he would not have done it, if himſelf had

[f] Pauſan. in Arcad. [g] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

of which we have any certainty, is his ſending the oracle from Delphi to Sparta, ſignifying the approbation given by Apollo to all his laws ; that he ſtarved himſelf there is improbable, but that he returned no more to his country ſeems to be perfectly agreeable to his manner of acting ; for he was extremely ambitious of being thought ſomewhat more than man, as appears from the whole tenour of his behaviour, and his life could never have been cloſed by any act more ſhining than this of quitting ſupreme power, when his countrymen unanimouſly deſired that he ſhould retain it. This ſhewed, that he was truly diſintereſted, and did not ſeek any other reward for the ſervices he rendered Sparta, than the glory of having ſerved her. Solon, though a perſon of a different temper, was as diſintereſted as he ; he ſettled the Athenian commonwealth, refuſed the ſovereignty when offered to him, travelled to avoid the importunities of his countrymen, oppoſed tyranny in his old age, and when he found his oppoſition vain went into voluntary exile. Lycurgus and Solon were both great men, but the former had the ſtronger, the latter the milder, genius, the effects of which appeared in the commonwealths they founded.

had not deſerved it [h]. His death gave occaſion to the Meſſenian war, but after what manner cannot eaſily be determined. There was, it ſeems, a temple of Diana ſeated on the marches between Laconia and Meſſenia, to which the inhabitants of both regions reſorted; ſome Spartan virgins repairing thither were violated by the Meſſenians, and Teleclus, endeavouring to prevent this outrage, was ſlain; the women alſo famiſhed themſelves to death. This is the Spartan ſide of the ſtory; the Meſſenians reported it thus: That Teleclus, intending to ſurprize ſome of the principal perſons of their country, came thither with certain of his friends in female habits, with poignards under their cloaths, and that, a fray happening, Teleclus and ſome of his aſſociates were ſlain. But there wanted not other cauſes of ill-will among theſe people, for the Spartans entertained an opinion, that their kings Euryſthenes and Procles were cheated by their uncle Creſphontes in the aſſignment of their territories, the moſt barren being given to them, and the beſt reſerved to himſelf. While things were in this ſituation, an injury done to a private perſon kindled up the fire of war. Thus it happened; Polychares a Meſſenian entruſted Euephnus a Lacedæmonian with ſome cows, on condition that he ſhould have a moiety of the profit ariſing from their milk. The Spartan ſold theſe cows to certain chapmen, and not only the cows, but the herdſmen who kept them, his merchants agreeing to take them away by force; as ſoon as this was done, Euephnus went to Polychares, and told him a melancholy ſtory of certain robbers who had ſtolen the cattle and their keepers. But, unluckily for him, while he was in the midſt of his tale, came one or two of his herdſmen, who had made their eſcape, and falſified all he ſaid; upon this the Lacedæmonian confeſſed the truth, and told Polychares, that if he would ſend his ſon home with him, he would give him a moiety of the money, to which the Meſſenian readily agreed. But when they were come to Sparta, Euephnus moſt perfidiouſly murdered the lad, and Polychares, coming ſeveral times to Sparta to demand juſtice, was forced to retire unredreſſed and unheeded. He, being exceedingly provoked with ſuch barbarous uſage, reſolved to take vengeance of the whole nation, and in conſequence of this reſolution, killed as many of the Lacedæmonians as he could meet with, which on the other hand was highly reſented by that people [i].

[h] Plut. ubi ſupra. [i] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Strab. lib. vii, viii, Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 5.

Theſe tranſactions we have thrown together, though they happened at ſome diſtance of time, becauſe we were willing to place all the cauſes or ſuppoſed cauſes of the Meſſenian war in the reader's view at once; we will, however, interrupt this narration a little, that we may preſerve in its juſt order the ſucceſſion of the Spartan kings.

The reigns of Nicander and Alcamenes.

To Charilaus ſucceeded his ſon Nicander, who reigned thirty-nine years, and in the thirty-fourth year of whoſe reign was celebrated the firſt olympiad; he is ſaid to have carried on the war with the Argives, and to have done them a great deal of miſchief; but for the other great actions of his life, if there were any, they were not recorded. Teleclus had for his ſucceſſor his ſon Alcamenes, who, with his collegue before-mentioned, ſent to the Meſſenians to demand juſtice againſt Polychares, and that he ſhould be delivered up; the Meſſenians were at that time governed by Androcles and Antiochus, brothers; the former was much againſt yielding on any terms to the requeſt of the Lacedæmonians, alledging, that they were the aggreſſors, and therefore ought to do juſtice firſt; the latter was againſt hazarding the public ſafety on account of a private perſon, and therefore declared that he would give up Polychares rather than break with the Spartans; the diſputes on this occaſion roſe ſo high, that from words they came to blows, wherein Androcles was ſlain. Antiochus, now reigning alone, ſent immediately embaſſadors to Sparta, beſeeching the king and ſenate to conſider, that they were originally of the ſame ſtock, and that therefore they ought not to be ready on every turn to make war on each other, offering in the preſent caſe to leave the deciſion of this matter either to the Argives, who were their common allies, to the Amphictyonian council, or to the ſenate of Areopagus at Athens. The Spartans gave no anſwer to theſe deputies, and while things were in this ſituation, Antiochus died, and was ſucceeded in his dominions by his ſon Euphaes; to him the Lacedæmonians made no complaint, neither did they renounce their correſpondence with the Meſſenians, yet were they all this time providing ſecretly for the war, and, when all things were ready, engaged in it without giving the leaſt notice. Before they proceeded to hoſtilities, the kings and ſenate called a general aſſembly, in which the troops appointed for the war took a ſolemn oath never to return home till they had entirely conquered Meſſenia, which ſhewed, that this was a war of ambition rather

ther than juſtice, and intended not to repair their own injuries, but to ravage the country of their neighbours [k].

ALCAMENES king of Sparta, at the head of a complete army, entered the Meſſenian territory ſuddenly and by night, in conſequence of which he eaſily ſurprized the city of Amphea, the gates of which were open as uſual, the inhabitants not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of what afterwards happened. The Spartans behaved on this occaſion very cruelly, they ſlew without diſtinction all who came in their way, nor did even temples or altars afford a ſanctuary to ſuch as fled thither for protection. The conveniency of the city, which the Lacedæmonians knew would ſerve them as a proper magazine during the war, tempted them to this exploit, and in all probability engaged them to treat the people thus harſhly, that they might make themſelves abſolutely maſters of it and its diſtricts. Euphaes the Meſſenian king on the firſt news of this extraordinary ſtroke, aſſembled his people, and encouraged them to keep up their ſpirits, and not to believe that all was loſt, becauſe Amphea was in the hands of the Lacedæmonians; he likewiſe gave them his opinion of the war, and of the manner in which they might beſt carry it on; he obſerved to them that the Lacedæmonians were not only brave, but were alſo bred up to war as to a trade, nay, were indeed bred up to nothing elſe; whence he inferred, that it was by no means prudent for them to engage in pitched battles with ſuch an enemy. Wherefore his counſel was, that they ſhould carry on a defenſive war in the beſt manner they were able, till by degrees they acquired experience enough to fight the Spartans upon equal terms. The Meſſenians, following his advice, maintained a defenſive war for three years, in which they ſuffered the Spartans to obtain very few advantages over them. In the fourth year Euphaes ventured an engagement, but it was with great circumſpection, for, having intrenched his beſt troops, he drew out his horſe and light-armed forces, ſkirmiſhing with theſe; and when the Spartans drew nearer, and thought to have brought it to a general battle, he withdrew his army behind his retrenchments; and as the Spartans had no materials for filling up the ditch which lay before his works, they were conſtrained to retire, and ſhortly after returned to their own country, where they met with a very indifferent

The Meſſenian war commences. Year after the Flood, 2256. Year before Chriſt, 743.

[k] Pauſan. & Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

different reception, on account of the oath which they and their forces had taken, never to return till they had thoroughly reduced Meſſenia [l]. A very ſhort time after this both the kings died. As to Nicander, we find little of him in antient authors more than has been already mentioned; with reſpect to Alcamenes, Plutarch hath preſerved ſome paſſages of his life, which ſhew that he was a wiſe and prudent prince [m]. Being once aſked how a prince might beſt ſecure his government, he anſwered, By deſpiſing gain. When the Meſſenians ſought by preſents to have gained him to their intereſt, he refuſed them; and the reaſon of this being demanded, he readily anſwered; If I had taken them, the laws and I could never have agreed. He inherited, it ſeems, a great deal of wealth from his father, and increaſed it by his own management, living ſtill in a plain parſimonious manner; for which being reproached, he ſaid; Is it not a mark of virtue and good ſenſe, when he who has abundance chuſes to live, rather according to reaſon than appetite? It is a misfortune to us, that we know not from whom the author before mentioned copied theſe ſayings; and the reader, it is to be hoped, will excuſe us, if, finding little to ſay of their deeds, we entertain him ſometimes with the ſayings of thoſe Spartan kings.

Polydorus and Theopompus ſucceed in the Spartan kingdom.

POLYDORUS ſucceeded his father Alcamenes in the kingdom, and Theopompus his father Nicander. With theſe princes the Spartans entruſted a new army, with expreſs inſtructions not to act as their predeceſſors had done, but to put their country in poſſeſſion of a prize which ſhe had ſo long deſired. The Meſſenians, under the command of Euphaes their prince, no longer fled from their enemies, as hitherto they had wont; but prepared to give them battle, as ſoon as a proper opportunity offered. It was not long before they had occaſion to make trial of each other's valour; the Lacedæmonians then marched towards the enemy in battalia, Theopompus commanding the right wing, and Polydorus the left; the Meſſenians diſpoſed their army ſo as beſt to oppoſe the Spartans, Antander and their king Euphaes commanding their left, and Pytharatas their right; the engagement was very obſtinate, the centre in both armies remaining firm; the right

[l] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 4. [m] Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

right wing of the Spartan army was routed by Euphaes, as was the right wing of the Meſſenian army by Polydorus, Pytharatas their general being ſlain. Theſe advantages, however, were ſo inconſiderable, that neither party durſt purſue the other, and the next day a truce was agreed to, that both ſides might have leiſure to withdraw and bury their dead; after which the Spartans, notwithſtanding the inſtructions they had received, thought fit to return home, the conqueſt of Meſſenia appearing by this time a thing impracticable for the preſent [n]. The reader will obſerve, that we have aſcribed this war to motives of intereſt, which at firſt ſight may ſeem to claſh with what the hiſtorians, whom we have mentioned, have ſaid about it; but that the fact was ſo, putting all circumſtances together, is indubitably true; nay, Polydorus the Spartan king openly profeſſed as much when he went to this war; for ſome of the Meſſenians having demanded of him, If he would fight againſt his brethren, alluding to their and the Lacedæmonians deſcent from the ſame parents, the king readily anſwered, No, but I will put in my claim to an eſtate, to which as yet no body has any good title [o]. The great reſiſtance the Meſſenians made on this ſecond invaſion determined the Spartans not to carry on the war any longer in the ſame manner, but to content themſelves with harraſſing and plundering the country, whereby the ſpirits of their own troops would be kept up, and the Meſſenians worn out and deſtroyed; for in this lay the great advantage of the Spartans, that war was their buſineſs, in which if they were not engaged they were idle, whereas the Meſſenians, having their country affairs to mind, were beggared and deſtroyed by being thus obliged to keep many garriſons, beſides a ſtanding body of troops in the field. To add to theſe misfortunes, which were already almoſt inſupportable, a diſtemper raged in Meſſenia, which differed little from the plague, except that it did not ſweep off ſuch numbers. Theſe misfortunes produced a long and ſerious conſultation among the chief perſons in the kingdom, who at length came to a reſolution to abandon ſuch villages and little towns as were leaſt capable of defence, and to fortify a city which ſtood on the top of the mountain Ithome, to which the inhabitants of the demoliſhed places might repair; from this they promiſed themſelves two things; firſt, that they

[n] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [o] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

ſhould be releaſed from the expence of garriſons; ſecondly, that in time of diſtreſs this might be made a place of certain ſafety [p].

The Argive or Thyrean war.

THE Spartans were about this time called off from the Meſſenian war to engage with the Argives; the diſpute was about the city Thyrea and its diſtrict, which lying on the borders of Argolis and Laconia, had been an old bone of contention between thoſe ſtates [q]. To avoid a great effuſion of blood, it was by both parties agreed, that three hundred Argives and as many Lacedæmonians ſhould decide the quarrel between the nations, the armies on both ſides retiring. In conſequence of this agreement, theſe ſix hundred men engaged, and fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that when night came on, there were but two Argives, viz. Alcinor and Chromius, and one Spartan, whoſe name was Othryades, left alive. The Argives ran home to their city to carry the news of the victory. Othryades remained in the field of battle and erected a trophy; hence a new diſpute commenced, both parties claiming the victory; the Argives, becauſe two of their men were left; the Spartans, becauſe the Argives fled and left Othryades in poſſeſſion of the field of battle; this produced a new war, in which the Lacedæmonians were victors, a great battle having been fought between their army, under the command of Polydorus, and that of the Argives, with a mighty ſlaughter of the latter. Some would have perſwaded the Spartan king to have purſued this victory, and to have attacked Argos itſelf; but he anſwered with a generoſity becoming his character, that the Spartans ſent him to aſſert their rights, and not to rob others [r]. Thus ended the Argive war, ſome circumſtances of which are variouſly reported (C). Let us now return to the affairs of the Meſſenians after their fortifying Ithome.

THE

[p] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [q] Herod. lib. i. Pauſan. in Argol.
[r] Suidas in voce Οθρυάδης. Pauſan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

(C) In the leſſer treatiſe of parallels between the Greeks and Romans, generally aſcribed to Plutarch, the abovementioned fact ſtands thus: "The Argives and Lacedæmonians being engaged in a diſpute about the city and diſtrict of Thyrea, the Amphictyons decreed, that it ſhould be decided by combat. "The

THE deſire of freeing themſelves from this grievous war with Sparta engaged them to ſend a perſon to conſult the oracle at Delphi; the name of this man was Tiſis, who in his return was attacked by ſome of the Lacedæmonian garriſon in Amphea, from whom, however, he eſcaped, though grievouſly wounded; of which wounds, having firſt revealed the oracle to the king, he died; the purport of it was, that unleſs a virgin of the houſe of the Æpytidæ, that is, the royal family, was ſacrificed to the gods, the war would end in the ruin of their nation; this oracle, when reported, ſtruck the Meſſenians, and eſpecially the royal family, with the utmoſt terror. Lots, however, were caſt, and the daughter of Lyſiſcus taken; but when ſhe ſhould have been ſacrificed, Epebolus the ſoothſayer declared, that ſhe was not Lyſiſcus's daughter, but impoſed upon him by his wife, who thereby ſought to eſcape the imputation of barrenneſs. While the ſoothſayer was ſetting forth this matter to the people, Lyſiſcus withdrew his daughter, and fled with her to Sparta. Upon this Ariſtodemus, one of the royal houſe, freely offered his daughter; a young man, who was preſent, alledged, that he was contracted to her, and that therefore her father had no right over her, which plea being over-ruled, he ſet up another, that he had conſummated his marriage, and that ſhe was actually with child by him; Ariſtodemus, conceiving this to be a diſhonour to his family, ſlew his daughter inſtantly with his own hand, after which opening her womb, he ſhewed it to the people. The ſoothſayer inſiſted that another ſhould be ſacrificed,

The meaſures taken in this ſpace by the Meſſenians.

" The Lacedæmonians choſe for their captain Othryades; the
" Argives Therſander; the battle being over, there remained
" only two Argives, whoſe names were Agenor and Cromius,
" who ran ſtrait to the city to carry the news of their victory.
" In the mean time, while all was quiet, Othryades, who was
" not quite dead, roſe from the ground, and having propped him-
" ſelf up with two pieces of broken launces, he drew together
" as many ſhields as lay within his reach, and piling them up,
" wrote on the uppermoſt with his own blood theſe words: To
" Jupiter the conqueror, guardian of trophies. This creating a
" new diſpute, which was again brought before the Amphictyons,
" they went to take a view of the place, and having thoroughly
" examined all things, decreed in favour of the Spartans. This
" is recorded by Chryſermus in the third book of his Peloponne-
" ſian hiſtory (18).

(18) Plutarch. in Paral. p. 606.

ficed, the daughter of Ariſtodemus having rather died by the paſſion of her father, than as a victim; but all the family of the Æpytidæ joined with the king, who perſuaded the people, that the oracle was fulfilled by the death of Ariſtodemus's daughter. Public rejoicings therefore were made, and the Meſſenians concluded, that whenever the war ſhould be renewed they would be victors [s].

The Spartans renew the war with the Meſſenians.

Six years after the flight of Lyſiſcus, and eight from the fortifying of Ithome, the Lacedæmonians entered Meſſenia again with a great army. The Meſſenians might undoubtedly have received great aſſiſtance from their neighbours, if they had carried on the war as they were wont, that is defenſively; but they, confiding in the oracle, were eager for an engagement, which, ſuiting the Spartan method of making war, quickly fell out; this battle, like the former, though obſtinately fought, was not deciſive, the night parting them; Euphaes, however, venturing too far againſt Theopompus the Spartan king, was mortally wounded, and fell down; this, far from checking the ſpirit of the Meſſenians, made them the more eager, inſomuch, that a warm conteſt began about carrying off the dying king, in which the Meſſenians prevailed, though with the loſs of Antander, one of their beſt captains; Euphaes, being carried back to Ithome, expired in a few days, after a reign of thirteen years, which had been one continual ſcene of war and confuſion. Euphaes leaving no iſſue behind him, the people claimed a right of electing out of the royal family, whereupon Cleonnis, Damis, and Ariſtodemus put in their claims; the people elected the laſt, notwithſtanding the ſoothſayers alledging he was incapable on account of his having ſlain his daughter. This new monarch was no ſooner ſeated on his throne, than he began to negotiate with the Arcadians, Argives, and Sicyonians, in order to draw them to his aſſiſtance againſt the Lacedæmonians, wherein he was very ſucceſsful, almoſt all the Peloponneſians beginning to be apprehenſive of the mighty power and warlike genius of that nation. At the ſame time Ariſtodemus laboured with all his might to unite the minds of his countrymen, and to engage them to behave bravely in a war which ſo nearly concerned them, and on the event of which it depended, whether for the future they ſhould be freemen or ſlaves; with this view he ſhowered his favours upon all, he raiſed his competitors to the chief dignities in the

[s] Pauſan. in Meſſen.

the kingdom, he conferred honours on men of birth and fortune, and diſtributed money amongſt the people. Such was the beginning of Ariſtodemus's reign, who was an avowed and moſt dangerous enemy to the Spartans [t].

The ephori created at Sparta.

ABOUT this time, as the beſt authors agree, a great change was made in the Spartan republic, which is aſcribed to Theopompus, who ſeeing the neceſſity of leaving magiſtrates to execute the laws, when the kings were obliged to be in the field, appointed the ephori, who afterwards made ſo great a figure in the Spartan ſtate [u]. Some think, that they were at firſt the king's friends to whom they delegated authority, which is very probable; but they ſoon grew to have no dependence on the kings, but on the contrary made the kings dependent upon them. They were five in number, choſen by the people out of their own body, ſometimes out of the very dregs of it; for whoever was a bold, factious, talking citizen, was moſt likely to be elected into this office; they were in fact a kind of tribunes of the people, and placed as checks on the ſenate and kings; they were annually elected, and in order to effect any thing, the unanimous voice of the college was requiſite; as to their authority, it was in a manner boundleſs, they preſided in popular aſſemblies, collected their ſuffrages, declared war, made peace, treated with foreign princes, determined the number of forces that ſhould be raiſed, appointed the funds to maintain them, and diſtributed rewards and puniſhments in the name of the ſtate; they likewiſe held a court of juſtice, enquired into the behaviour of all magiſtrates, inſpected into the deportment and education of youth, had a particular juriſdiction over the Helotes, and in ſhort by degrees drew the whole adminiſtration into their own hands. This Theopompus's queen is ſaid to have conjectured on their firſt appointment, which made her reproach her husband with ſuffering the regal dignity to deſcend to his children mutilated, and in a worſe condition than he received it from his anceſtors. Theopompus anſwered her with great prudence, that, far from having leſſened or injured the regal authority, he had ſtrengthened and ſecured it, becauſe the people, being ſatisfied by this inſtitution, would have leſs inclination to run into tumults and ſeditions, in which princes are never ſafe [x].

One

[t] Pauſan. in Lacon. & Meſſen. [u] Ariſt. Polit. lib. v. c. 11. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Valer. M. lib. iv. [x] Ariſt. Polit. ii. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Plat. de legib. iii. Polyb. lib. iv.

One great privilege of the ephori was, that they did not riſe up at the preſence of the kings, as all other magiſtrates did [y]; another, that from the firſt elected of theſe magiſtrates the year was denominated, as at Athens from the firſt of the archons [z]; the third high mark of their authority was, that if the kings offended againſt the laws, or were guilty of any ſort of exceſs, the ephori took cognizance thereof, and puniſhed them [a]. Some diſputes there are as to the nature and extent of this office, which will be diſcuſſed in the notes, but it is now time to reſume the thread of the hiſtory (D).

THE

[y] Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm. [z] Pauſan. Lacon. [a] Plut. Inſtit. Lacedæm.

(D) We have in the text placed the inſtitution of the ephori under the reign of Theopompus, though it muſt be owned, that not only Herodotus in his hiſtory (19), but Xenophon alſo, treating expreſly of the republic of Lacedæmon, aſcribes the ſettling of the ephori to Lycurgus (20). It is fit therefore, that we give our Reaſons why we have rejected theſe authorities, which certainly would be admitted in any other caſe, and have placed the ephori a hundred and thirty years lower than Lycurgus. Firſt then, we think, that the nature of this office very little agrees with that legiſlator's ſcheme of government, ſince he ſeems to have ſought, as far as in him lay, to ſupport the authority of the kings and nobility; otherwiſe, why did he inſtitute the ſenate? or why did he leave to the people in their general aſſembly nothing more than a negative voice? We do admit that theſe arguments would be of no weight at all againſt ſuch authorities as Herodotus and Xenophon, if there had not been writers of no leſs character on the other ſide. For, ſecondly, Ariſtotle is expreſs in placing their inſtitution lower (21); Plutarch in his life of Cleomenes introduces that prince, aſſigning them the ſame inſtitution which we have done; beſides Theopompus's anſwer to his queen is recorded by authors of the beſt credit (22). So that on the whole, it is by far more probable, that this office began under the reigns of Theopompus and his collegue, rather than under that of Charilaus. Undoubtedly their power grew by very ſlow degrees, and that at their firſt inſtitution they were far from having that authority, which in after-times they exerciſed with ſo high a hand. Some have imagined, that they were at firſt appointed

(19) Herod. lib. i. (20) Xenoph. de Repub. Lacedæm. (21) Ariſt. Politic. lib. v. (22) Ariſt. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Lycurg. Valer. Max. lib. iv.

THE adminiſtration of affairs at home being thus provided for, the Spartan kings renewed the Meſſenian war, and having engaged the Corinthians to lend them ſome aſſiſtance, they marched with a great army towards Ithome. Ariſtodemus, like a great captain, diſpoſed his own forces and thoſe of his confederates in the beſt manner poſſible; himſelf and Cleonnis commanded the heavy-armed forces, thoſe who were light-armed being committed to the care of Damis; the Argives and Sicyonians he oppoſed to the Corinthians; and the choiceſt of the Arcadian troops, with the flower of the Meſſenian infantry, he ranged againſt the Lacedæmonians; the light-armed ſoldiers were poſted behind the hill, and all things thus diſpoſed, the battle began with great vigour on both ſides; the Lacedæmonians, though

The Spartans again invade Meſſenia. Year after the Flood, 2276. Before Chriſt, 723.

appoited by the kings at their pleaſure, but that afterwards the people got the power of electing them into their hands; nay, thoſe who have this notion have aſſigned the time, viz. in the fifty-fifth olympiad, when Chilo was the firſt of the ephori, that is the Eponymos, or him from whom the year took its name; but as there is no authority of any antient author offered in ſupport of this notion, and as it is founded only on the ſuppoſed ſenſe of a paſſage in Diogenes Laertius, it is ſufficient that we have mentioned it, nor are we bound to refute it. It is true, that Cleomenes, in his ſpeech recorded by Plutarch, alledges the ſame thing, that they were originally appointed by the kings, though he does not aſſign the time when their election was veſted in the people, which yet it would have been natural for him to have done, if that time had been exactly known; the truth ſeems to be, that the election was always in the people, but that king Theopompus firſt deviſed this expedient of creating ephori for the preſervation of the public peace; nor are we to regard what Cleomenes ſays as the opinion of Plutarch, or as an authority indubitable in all its circumſtances; for he delivered this diſcourſe to the people after he had taken away the ephori, and therefore it is to be preſumed he would ſay any thing that might ſerve to colour his deſigns; but we find it elſewhere recorded by the ſame author, that the ephori gave this account of the inſtitution of this office, that they were intended to be arbitrators between the kings, when their diſputes were likely to prove fatal to the ſtate (23). We ſhall hereafter have occaſion frequently to mention the conduct of theſe magiſtrates, and the methods they took to enlarge their authority; at preſent we have done all that was neceſſary, in producing the reaſons which have engaged us to believe, that the ephori were ſet up under the reign of Theopompus, but were always elected by the people.

(23) Plut. in vit. Agid.

though hard preſſed, ſtood firmly in their poſts, and the Corinthians behaved very bravely for a long time, but when, on a ſignal given, the light-armed forces commanded by Damis took them in flank, and bya ſhower of miſſive weapons deſtroyed a great many men; they were at laſt conſtrained to betake themſelves to flight with very conſiderable loſs, tho' the number be not aſcertained. The Spartans were exceedingly afflicted at this miſcarriage, and the Corinthians were ſadly diſtreſſed, for they knew not which way to retreat, having on every ſide an enemy's country to paſs through before they could reach home [b]. The Lacedæmonians continued the war, and ſent deputies to conſult the oracle at Delphi on its event; the Meſſenians did ſo too; to the former the oracle anſwered to this purpoſe, By fraud, (i. e. of Creſphontes) Meſſenia was obtained, and by fraud it muſt be ſubdued. To the latter the oracle alſo gave an anſwer, but ſo perplexed and obſcure, that no body either could explain it, or pretended to explain it; the Spartans, in purſuance of their reſponſe, contrived many ſtratagems, and at laſt fixed upon this; they pretended to condemn a hundred men for treaſon, ſecretly inſtructing them to fly to Ithome as ſuppliants, from whence they might eaſily give their fellow-citizens notice of all the enemy's councils; in this they followed the example of Ulyſſes, but not with the like ſucceſs, for Ariſtodemus, immediately penetrating the fraud, obliged the pretended deſerters to return home, and directed them to tell the Spartans, that though their injuſtice was new, yet their trick was ſtale [c]. Some time after they began to be extremely alarmed by ill omens at Ithome, Ariſtodemus himſelf had ill-boding dreams, wherein his daughter appeared to him and upbraided him with her death. They had recourſe to the old remedy, ſending deputies to Delphi, and theſe deputies brought them advice, that whoever firſt dedicated a hundred tripods in the temple of Jupiter at Ithome ſhould remain maſters of the place. This raiſed the ſpirits of the Meſſenians again, who, having no money to make the tripods of braſs, immediately fell to cutting them out in wood. The oracle being ſent from Delphi to Sparta, one Oebalus, a crafty workman, made a hundred little tripods in clay, and, diſguiſing himſelf like a fowler, got into Ithome, and having placed them in the temple of Jupiter, eſcaped. The Meſſenians at this were again ſtruck with deſpair, eſpecially when they found the city

[b] Pauſan. Meſſen. [c] Pauſan. Lacon.

city inveſted by a great army from Sparta; Ariſtodemus encouraged them a while, but perceiving all things go ill, and that the city in ſpight of all his care would at laſt fall into the hands of the enemy, he fell himſelf into a deep melancholy, and going one night to the tomb of his daughter, there laid violent hands on himſelf [d]. On his demiſe the Meſſenians did not elect any other king, but choſe Damis their chief by the title of general only. He did for them all that man could do; but all proving ineffectual, ſuch of the Meſſenians as had any hopes of a good reception fled into the adjacent countries; the reſt, together with the city of Ithome, were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the Spartans, who treated them with great rigour. Polyœnus indeed tells us [e], that Ithome was taken by the following ſtratagem: Theopompus with part of the army pretended to deſert his collegue, actually removing from the camp and pitching behind the city; the Meſſenians greedily laid hold of this opportunity of falling on Polydorus, with whom they were no ſooner thoroughly engaged, than Theopompus with his forces attacked the city and took it by ſtorm. However this matter happened, Ithome was certainly raſed by the Lacedæmonians, and the Meſſenians, who remained in their own country, were tied to theſe conditions; firſt, that they ſhould cultivate their lands with all diligence and render half their fruits to the Spartans; and ſecondly, when any of the nobles of Sparta, or either of the kings, died, they and their wives were to attend at the funeral proceſſion in their weeds, on pain of ſuffering the higheſt penalties if they neglected. Beſides, the Spartans gave away a part of their territories which bordered on the ſea to the Aſinei, and another part to the deſcendants of Androcles [f]; this was the end of the famous Meſſenian war, which makes ſuch a figure in the Greek hiſtorians; that is to ſay at this time; for we ſhall ſee it break out again hereafter, and create new troubles to the Spartans.

Sparta loſes both her kings after the Meſſenian war.

SOME time after this war was over the Spartans loſt both their kings, whoſe characters therefore we ſhall take this opportunity of giving our readers, with all the certainty and impartiality we may. Theopompus was a wiſe and gentle prince, as in a great meaſure appears from an anſwer he made to the following queſtion; By what means a mo-

[d] Pauſan. Meſſen. & Lacon. [e] Strateg. lib. 1. c. 15.
[f] Pauſan. Lacon.

a monarch might live with the greateſt ſafety? Let him (anſwered the king) permit his friends to adviſe him freely, and be himſelf always ready to puniſh the wicked ſtrictly, and with a good will [g]. He loſt his ſon Archidamus a little before the Argive war, which was the reaſon that the conduct thereof was committed to his collegue. It is very probable, that there were great ſtirs in Sparta during their reigns, for beſides eſtabliſhing the ephori, theſe kings had recourſe to the contrivance before-mentioned, of ſubſtituting a new clauſe in the Rhetra concerning laws, whereby they reſtrained the power of the people [h]. The Pillians, having received great favours from this prince, were inclined to pay him exceſſive honours, which he declined by this ſhort meſſage; Moderate honours time increaſes, but takes the immoderate away. He died in peace a natural death, after a long and glorious reign [i]. Polydorus was a prince of the moſt amiable qualities, brave in war, prudent in peace, mild and juſt in both; he was prodigiouſly beloved by his people, yet in the end died a violent death; for one Polemarchus, a Spartan of a conſiderable family and who was himſelf eminent in the ſtate, killed him, for what reaſon is unknown [k]. The Lacedæmonians, as a grateful teſtimony of their juſt ſenſe of his merit, honoured his memory with a ſtatue, and, which ſurpaſſed the uſual meaſure of their favours, ordered his effigies to be engraven on the ſeal which their public magiſtrates were to make uſe of for the future, as if they were deſirous of placing the example of this excellent prince continually before their eyes; a noble inſtance ſurely of their gratitude, and his virtues [e].

Eurycrates and Zeuxidamus. Year after the Flood, 2290. Year before Chriſt, 709.

EURYCRATES ſucceeded his father Polydorus, and Zeuxidamus the ſon of Archidamus his grandfather Theopompus, theſe princes reigned with great tranquillity, there happening no foreign war in their time, neither the Meſſenians nor the Argives having yet recovered ſpirit enough to begin any new diſturbances; at home, however, a conſpiracy was diſcovered, which might have been very prejudicial to the ſtate. The accounts we have of it are various from various authors, but to us it ſeems reaſonable, that the relation of Ephorus the hiſtorian ſhould be preferred [m]. The Spartans, when they were engaged in the Meſſenian war, having been ten years abſent from the city,

[g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. & Inſt. Lacon. [h] Plut. in vit. Lycurg. [i] Pauſan. Lacon. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. hiſt. lib. vii. Plut. in Apophthegm. [m] Apud Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 5.

ty, becauſe of the oath they had made not to return till they had entirely ſubdued that country; the women ſent to them to put them in mind, that while they were ſo careful to ſubdue their enemies, they neglected the city; upon which they decreed, that ſuch young men amongſt them as came out of Sparta under age, and ſo were not obliged by the oath, ſhould return, and aſſociating themſelves promiſcuouſly with the unmarried women, preſerve the city from falling to decay. This project being carried into execution, ſuch as were born of theſe young women were ſtiled Partheniæ, i. e. ſons of virgins. When the Lacedæmonians returned after the reduction or Meſſenia, they viſibly neglected theſe young men, who at the ſame time found themſelves under great difficulties, having neither parents to apply to, nor inheritances to expect; they therefore began to intrigue with the Helotes, who were as unhappy as they could be, determining to fall upon the citizens at a general aſſembly, and to open to themſelves a path to riches and honours with their ſwords. They went ſo far as to appoint the ſignal for the attack, which was to be the throwing up of a cap; but ſome of the Helotes dreading the conſequences diſcovered the whole matter, and when the time was come for the aſſembly, in which the conſpiracy was to be executed, the cryer by command of the ephori made proclamation, that no man ſhould throw up his cap, whereby the Partheniæ underſtood that their deſign was diſcovered; the Lacedæmonians did not, however, treat them harſhly, but weighing the hardſhips they were under, and conſidering at the ſame time their numbers and their intrigues with the Helotes, they wiſely agreed to paſs the matter by, and by public decree permitted Phalanthus, who had been the ringleader in this buſineſs, to ſail with them over into Italy, where they ſettled themſelves in Tarentum [n]. Such was the iſſue of a very dangerous buſineſs, and which fully proves the ſhallowneſs of human policy, which in this caſe was driven to undo what it had before brought to paſs, and which when it was brought to paſs, no doubt was interpreted as an extraordinary ſtroke of wiſdom. Farther particulars of theſe kings we have none, except a few ſayings of Zeuxidamus, which are of no great importance [o].

Anaxander

[n] Strabo ubi ſupra. Heracl. de Polit. Euſeb. in Chron. Can.
[o] Pauſan. in Lacon. Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon.

Anaxander and Anaxidamus. Year after the Flood, 1314. Year before Chriſt, 683.

Anaxander ſucceeded his father Eurycrates, as Anaxidamus did his father Zeuxidamus; in their reign the ſecond Meſſenian war began, for theſe poor people, having for a long time born the cruel treatment of their inſulting lords, became at laſt unable to ſuſtain it longer. Ariſtomenes the ſon of Nicomedes of Andania, deſcended of the royal blood, was the chief promoter of this revolt; he was bold, enterprizing, intrepid, a man of ſtrong judgment, ſtrict honour, and enthuſiaſtically fond of liberty and his country. He perceived, that the Argives and Arcadians were friends only by force to the Spartans, wanting and wiſhing an opportunity to revenge the many injuries which had been done them by this haughty nation. To theſe Ariſtomenes applied, and receiving an anſwer more conformable to his wiſhes than his expectation, he engaged his countrymen unanimouſly to take up arms thirty-nine years after the taking of Ithome, as Pauſanias relates, though Juſtin and Euſebius allow an interval of eighty years between the firſt and ſecond Meſſenian war [p], which is far from being probable, though, as we ſhall hereafter ſhew, this variance is not altogether unaccountable. About a year after the revolt began, and before either party had received any auxiliaries, the Spartans and Meſſenians met at a village called Deræ, where an obſtinate engagement enſued; Ariſtomenes behaved himſelf ſo well therein, that he brought victory to his ſide, and was conceived to have performed more than mortal atchievements; in gratitude therefore, reſpect being alſo had to his deſcent from Egyptus, his countrymen unanimouſly ſaluted him king, which title he modeſtly waved, alledging that he took arms to ſet them free, and not to make himſelf great: He conſented, however, to accept the title of general, with a power of doing whatſoever he thought requiſite for the ſervice of the public. Knowing well the ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived, he reſolved to intimidate the Spartans, by ſhewing them what he was ſure they would take for an ill omen. Diſguiſing himſelf therefore, he went privately to the city, where in the night he hung up a ſhield on the wall of the temple of Minerva, with this inſcription; Ariſtomenes dedicates this of the ſpoils of the Spartans to the goddeſs. It was eaſily perceived, that this war would be both long and bloody; the Lacedæmonians therefore ſent deputies to Delphi to enquire of the oracle concerning its event; the anſwer they brought

[p] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Juſtin. lib. iii. Euſeb. in Chron. Can.

brought was, That it behoved the Spartans to ſeek a leader from Athens. The Athenians, naturally envious of the Spartans, granted their requeſt indeed, but in ſuch a manner as manifeſted their ſpight, for they ſent them for a general Tyrtæus a ſchool-maſter and poet, lame of one foot, and who was ſuſpected to be a little out of his wits. But here their ſkill failed them, for this captain, notwithſtanding his deſpicable appearance, proved of mighty conſequence to Sparta, teaching them how to uſe good fortune, and how to bear up under ill [q]. In the mean time Ariſtomenes had drawn together a mighty army, the Eleans, Argives, Sicyonians, and Arcadians, having ſent troops to his aſſiſtance, the Spartans in this as in the former war having no ally but Corinth. The Spartan kings, according to the cuſtom of their city, no ſooner took the field, than, notwithſtanding their inferiority in number, they offered the enemy battle, which Ariſtomenes readily accepted; it was long, obſtinate, and bloody, but in the end the Meſſenians were victorious, and the Lacedæmonians put to flight with a great ſlaughter; Ariſtomenes purſued them, notwithſtanding Theocles the ſoothſayer called him back, perceiving Caſtor and Pollux in a tree, by which there was a neceſſity of paſſing in the purſuit, which he continuing notwithſtanding, when he came to that tree, loſt his ſhield, which gave the Lacedæmonians an opportunity of withdrawing without further loſs. It is ſcarce to be conceived how much the Spartans were ſtruck with this defeat; they grew weary of the war, diſſatisfied with their kings, diffident of their own power, and, in a word, ſunk into a ſtate of general uneaſineſs and want of ſpirit. It was now that the Athenian general convinced them, that he was capable of fulfilling all the promiſes of the oracle; he encouraged them by his poems, he directed them by his counſels, and recruited their broken armies with choſen men from among the Helotes; he ſhewed them the folly of diffidence, and rouſed them to the practice of thoſe virtues for which Sparta had been famous. Ariſtomenes, on the other hand, acted with no leſs prudence and vigour, he thought it not enough to reſtore the reputation of the Meſſenians, if he did not alſo reſtore their wealth and power; he therefore taught them to act offenſively againſt their enemies, and entering the territories of Sparta he took and plundered Pharæ, a conſiderable borough in Laconia, put-

[q] Strab. Geogr. lib. viii.

ting all ſuch as made any reſiſtance to the ſword, carrying off at the ſame time an immenſe booty ; this, however, was an injury which the Spartans could not brook with patience, they therefore ſent immediately a body of forces to overtake the Meſſenians, which accordingly they did, but little to their profit ; for Ariſtomenes routed theſe purſuers, and continued to make a mighty ſlaughter of them, till ſuch time as he was diſabled by having a ſpear thruſt through his thigh, which occaſioned his being carried out of the battle [r] ; his cure, which took up ſome time, being finiſhed, he reſolved to carry the war to the very gates of Sparta, and to that purpoſe raiſed a very great army ; but whether he found his deſign impracticable, or was really diverted by ſome dream, he gave out, that Caſtor and Pollux with their ſiſter Helena had appeared to him, and commanded him to deſiſt. A ſhort time after this retreat, going with a ſmall party to make an incurſion, and attempting to take priſoners ſome women, who were celebrating religious rites near Egila a village in Laconia, thoſe zealous matrons fell upon him and his ſoldiers with ſuch fury, that they put them to flight and took him priſoner ; however, he ſoon afterwards made his eſcape and rejoined his forces [s]. In the third year of the war the Spartans with a great force entered Meſſenia, whither Ariſtocrates king of Arcadia was come with a great body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his allies ; Ariſtomenes therefore made no difficulty of fighting when the Spartans approached, but they entering privately into a negotiation with Ariſtocrates, engaged him with bribes and promiſes to betray his confederates. When therefore the battle began, the deceitful Arcadian repreſented to the forces under his command the mighty danger they were in, and the great difficulty there would be of retreating into their own country, in caſe the battle ſhould be loſt ; he then pretended, that the ſacrifices were ominous, and having terrified his Arcadians into that diſpoſition of mind fitteſt to ſerve his purpoſe, he not only drew them off from both wings, but in his flight forced through the Meſſenian ranks and put them too in confuſion. Ariſtomenes and his troops, however, drew themſelves into cloſe order, that they might defend themſelves the beſt they could, and indeed they had need of all their valour and ſkill, for the Lacedæmonians, who expected this event, immediately

[r] Pauſan. Meſſen. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. [s] Id. ibid.

immediately attacked and ſurrounded them on all ſides. Fortune was on this occaſion too powerful either for the courage or the conduct of the Meſſenians, ſo that notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, moſt of their army were cut to pieces, and amongſt them the chief of their nobility. Ariſtomenes, with the poor remains of his ſhattered forces, retired as well as he could, and perceiving that it was now impoſſible to maintain the war againſt the Lacedæmonians upon equal terms, he exhorted his countrymen to fortify mount Era, and to make the beſt diſpoſitions poſſible for a long defence; he likewiſe placed garriſons in Pylus and Methone on the ſea-coaſts, and to theſe three places he gathered all the inhabitants, leaving the reſt of Meſſenia to the mercy of the Spartans. They, on the other hand, looked on the war as now in a manner finiſhed, for which reaſon they divided the lands amongſt their citizens, and cauſed them to be carefully cultivated, while they beſieged Era; but Ariſtomenes quickly convinced them that the war was far from being over. He choſe out of all the Meſſenians three hundred men, with whom he ravaged all the adjacent country, carried off prodigious booty, and when Meſſenia could no longer ſupply the wants of his garriſon, he penetrated into Laconia, and bore away corn, wine, cattle, and whatever elſe was neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of his countrymen ſhut up in Era; ſo that at laſt the Spartans were conſtrained to iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the cultivation not only of the Meſſenian territory in their hands, but alſo of Laconia in its vicinity, whereby they diſtreſſed themſelves more than their enemies, inducing at laſt a famine in Sparta itſelf, which brought with it its uſual attendant ſedition. Here again all things had gone wrong, if the wiſdom of the poet Tyrtæus had not ſupported the Spartan courage, nor was it without much difficulty that he influenced them to continue the blockade of Era, and to maintain a flying camp for the ſecurity of the country [t].

The Meſſenian war continued with the utmoſt vigour.

ARISTOMENES, in ſpight of all theſe precautions, committed terrible depredations with his ſmall corps of three hundred men. Amongſt other places which he plundered, the city of Amyclæ was one, from whence he carried not only a great quantity of riches, but alſo many carriages laden with proviſions. The kings of Sparta lying

[t] Pauſan. in Meſſen.

with their troops in its neighbourhood, as ſoon as they heard of this expedition, marched after Ariſtomenes with the utmoſt diligence, and as the Meſſenians were encumbered with their booty, they came up with them before he could reach Era. In this ſituation of things, Ariſtomenes, prompted rather by deſpair than prudence, diſpoſed his troops in order of battle, and, notwithſtanding they were ſo few, made a long and vigorous reſiſtance againſt the whole Lacedæmonian army. At length, however, numbers prevailed, the greateſt part of the Meſſenians were ſlain on the ſpot, and Ariſtomenes and about fifty of his men who ſurvived the ſlaughter, were taken priſoners, that cheiftain having received ſo many wounds, that he was ſenſeleſs when they carried him away. The Lacedæmonians expreſſed the loudeſt joy at the ſight of this illuſtrious captive, who for ſo many years by his ſingle abilities had enabled his exhauſted country to defend itſelf againſt the whole force of Sparta. When he was recovered of his wounds, they decreed him and all his fellow priſoners to be thrown together into a deep cavern, which was the common puniſhment of the loweſt kind of offenders. This judgment was executed with its utmoſt ſeverity, excepting that Ariſtomenes had leave to put on his armour. Three days he continued in this diſmal place, lying upon and covered with dead bodies; the third day he was almoſt famiſhed through want of food, and almoſt poiſoned with the ſtench of corrupted carcaſſes, when he heard a fox gnawing a body near him, upon this he uncovered his face, and perceiving the fox juſt by him, he with one hand ſeized it's hind-leg, and with the other defended his face by catching hold of the foxe's jaw when he attempted to bite him. Following as well as he could his ſtraggling guide, the fox at laſt thruſt his head into a little hole, and Ariſtomenes then letting go his leg, he forced his way through, and opened a paſſage to the welcome rays of light, from which the noble Meſſenian had been ſo long debarred. Feeble as he was, Ariſtomenes wrought himſelf an outlet with his nails, and, travelling by night with all the expedition he could, at length arrived ſafe at Era, to the great joy and amazement of his countrymen. When this news was firſt blazed abroad, the Spartans would have had it paſs for a fiction, but Ariſtomenes ſoon put the truth of it out of doubt, by falling upon the poſts of the Corinthians, who, as the allies of the Spartans had a conſiderable body

of

of troops before Era. Moſt of their officers, with a multitude of private men, he ſlew, pillaged their camp, and in ſhort did ſo much miſchief, that the Spartans, under a pretence of an approaching feſtival, agreed to a ceſſation of arms for forty days, that they might have time to bury their dead. On this occaſion Ariſtomenes for the ſecond time celebrated the Hecatomphonia, or the ſacrifice appointed for thoſe who had killed a hundred of the enemy with their own hands; he had performed the ſame before, after his ſecond battle when he loſt his ſhield; and he lived to do it a third time, which muſt appear wonderful to the reader, when he is informed, that notwithſtanding this truce, certain Cretan archers in the ſervice of the Spartans ſeized Ariſtomenes, as he was walking without the walls, and carried him away priſoner [u]. There were nine of them in all, who immediately ran away with the news to Sparta, and ſeven remained to guard their prize, whom they bound and conducted to a lone cottage, inhabited only by a widow and her daughter. It ſo fell out, that the young woman dreamt the night before, that ſhe ſaw a lion without claws, bound and dragged along by wolves, and that ſhe having looſed his bonds and given him claws, he immediately tore the wolves to pieces. As ſoon as Ariſtomenes came into the cottage, and her mother, who knew him, had told the daughter who he was, ſhe inſtantly concluded that her dream was fulfilled, and therefore plied the Cretans with drink, and when they were aſleep, took a poignard from one of them, cut the thongs with which Ariſtomenes was bound, and then put it into his hands; he preſently verified her viſion by putting all his guards to death, and then carried her and her mother to Era, where, as a reward for her ſervice, he married the young woman to his ſon Gorgus, then about eighteen years of age. When Era had held out near eleven years, it fell into the hands of Sparta by an accident; the ſervant of one Empiramus a Spartan commander, driving his maſter's cattle to drink at the river Neda, met frequently with the wife of a Meſſenian, whom he engaged in an amour; this woman gave him notice that her huſband's houſe was without the wall, ſo that he could come to it without danger when the good man was abroad, and ſhe likewiſe gave

[u] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. ii. c. 31. ſect. 2. Stephan. in voce Ανδανια.

him intelligence when her huſband was upon duty in the garriſon. The Spartan failed not to come at the time appointed, but they had not been long in bed before the huſband returned, which put the houſe into great confuſion; the woman however ſecured her gallant, and then let in the good man, whom ſhe received with the perfidious flattery peculiar to her ſex, enquiring again and again by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with his return; the innocent Meſſenian told her, that Ariſtomenes being detained in his bed by a wound, and the ſoldiers knowing that he could not walk the rounds, had a grant to retire to their houſes to avoid the bittter inclemency of the ſeaſon. The Spartan no ſooner heard this than he crept ſoftly out of doors, and ran poſt haſte to carry the news to his maſter; it ſo fell out, that the kings were at this time abſent from the camp, and Empiramus had the chief command of the army; as ſoon as he received this information, he ordered the army to begin its march, though it rained exceſſively and there was no moon-light; the fellow guided them to the fort, and managed matters ſo well, that they ſeized all the Meſſenian poſts; yet after all they were afraid to engage; darkneſs, a high wind, heavy rain, together with the dread of Ariſtomenes, kept them quiet in the places they had ſeized. As ſoon as it was light the attack began, and Era had been quickly taken, if only the men had defended it; but the women fought with ſuch fury, and, by their mingling in the fray, brought ſuch an acceſſion of numbers, as made the buſineſs doubtful; three days and two nights this deſperate engagement laſted; at laſt all hopes of preſerving the city being loſt, Ariſtomenes drew off his wearied troops. Early the fourth morning he diſpoſed the women and children in the centre, the Meſſenian youth in the front and rear, the leſs able men in the main body, himſelf commanded the van; the rear-guard was brought up by Gorgus and Manticlus, the former the ſon of Ariſtomenes, the latter of Theocles a Meſſenian of great merit, who had fallen with much glory in this attack, fighting valiantly in the cauſe of his country. When all things were ready, Ariſtomenes cauſed the barrier to be thrown open, and brandiſhing his ſpear marched directly towards the Spartan troops in order to force a paſſage. Empiramus, perceiving his intent, ordered his men to open to the right and left, and fairly gave them

them a paſſage, ſo that Ariſtomenes marched off, in triumph as it were, to Arcadia. It ſhould ſeem that writing, as we do, the hiſtory of the Lacedæmonians, we ſhould here have done with the Meſſenian captain, the war being now at an end; but it falls out otherwiſe, there is no keeping to the ſtory of Sparta without following this man to his laſt hour [x].

THE Arcadians, when they heard that Era was taken, were very deſirous of ſuccouring their old confederates in this deep diſtreſs: they therefore irritated their king Ariſtocrates to lead them into Meſſenia; but he, corrupted by the Lacedæmonians, perſuaded them that it was too late; that the Meſſenians were all cut off, and that ſuch a ſtep would only expoſe them to the fury of the conquerors; when the thing appeared to be otherwiſe, and it was known that Ariſtomenes was on the frontiers of Arcadia, they went in crouds to carry him proviſions, and to teſtify their readineſs to afford him and thoſe under his command all the aſſiſtance in their power. Ariſtomenes deſired to be heard before a general aſſembly, which being accordingly convoked, he there opened one of the boldeſt and beſt-laid ſchemes recorded in hiſtory; he ſaid, that he had yet five hundred undaunted ſoldiers, who at his command would undertake any thing; that it was very probable moſt of the Spartans were employed in pillaging Era; and that therefore he was determined to march and ſurprize Sparta, which appeared ſo feaſible, that all the aſſembly loudly commended his great capacity and unſhaken courage; Ariſtocrates, however, took care to betray him, having by various pretences retarded the execution of the project. The Arcadians, who began to ſuſpect him, waited for and ſurprized his meſſengers as they came back; they took the letters from them, and read them openly in the aſſembly; the purport of them was, that they acknowledged his great kindneſs both now and in the battle, and promiſed that the Lacedæmonians would be grateful. As ſoon as the letters were read, the Arcadians fell to ſtoning their king, frequently calling upon the Meſſenians to aſſiſt them, which, however, they did not, waiting for Ariſtomenes's orders, who, far from triumphing in this ſpectacle, ſtood ſtill with his eyes fixed on the ground which he wet with his tears, his ſoul pierced with ſorrow to ſee a crowned head ſo ſhamefully and ſo deſervedly put to death [y]. The Arcadians afterwards

The end of the ſecond Meſſenian war. Year after the Flood, 2331. Before Chriſt 668.

[x] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 5. [y] Pauſan. in Meſſen. Polyb. lib. iv. p. 301.

terwards erected a monument over him, with an inſcription to perpetuate his infamy. As for the Meſſenians under the command of Gorgus and Manticlus, they paſſed over into Sicily, where they founded the city of Meſſene, one of the moſt famous in the iſland. Ariſtomenes remained, however, in Greece, where he married all his daughters, except the youngeſt, to perſons of great rank. A prince of Rhodes enquiring of the oracle at Delphi whom he ſhould eſpouſe, that his ſubjects might be happy under his poſterity, was directed to marry the daughter of the moſt worthy of the Greeks, which anſwer was immediately underſtood to point at the virgin daughter of Ariſtomenes; her therefore he demanded and received, Ariſtomenes accompanying him back to his dominions, where he formed a ſcheme of uniting the Lydians and Medes againſt the Spartans, reſolving with this view to go himſelf to Media and to the court of Sardis; but while he meditated theſe great things, death ſurprized him, and thereby freed Lacedæmon from the moſt inveterate enemy ſhe ever had. His ſon-in-law honoured his memory with a moſt magnificent tomb, and as for his fame, all hiſtorians have ſhewn the utmoſt regard in conſerving it (E).

Meſſenia

(E) The ſtory of Ariſtomenes, as we have related it from the beſt authorities among the Greeks, tho' it contains a great many wonderful circumſtances, hath not in it, however, any thing abſurd or incredible; but it is not to be wondered, that ſuch as prefer the marvellous to conſiſtent hiſtory have laid hold of this great man's character to give colour to ſome of their ſtrange ſtories. Pliny has one concerning him, which may perhaps vie with any legend antient or modern; he ſays, that, when he was a third time taken, they were reſolved to ſee wherein he differed from other men; for they could not conceive, that, after ſo many accidents had befallen him, he could poſſibly keep up his ſpirits by the ordinary ſupplies of nature; they therefore cut open his boſom, and thereby diſcovered, as they conceived, the cauſe of his extraordinary courage; and what ſhould this be, but that his heart was hairy, a mighty probable cauſe truly (20)! In the beginning of the laſt Meſſenian war, or rather when Era was firſt beſieged, perſons were ſent to conſult the oracle at Delphi concerning the event; the anſwer was very diſagreeable, being to this purpoſe:

Thy

(20) Plin. hiſt. natur. lib. xi. c. 37. Stephan. Byzan. in voce Ἀνδανια.

Meſſenia once more reduced, the Spartans treated the remaining inhabitants with a ſeverity that became proverbial, making them all ſlaves, and dividing the whole country, excepting the diſtrict of Methone which they gave to the Argives, among their own citizens; whereby they became much more formidable than hitherto they had been, and began already to affect the ſovereignty of Greece. We find nothing farther which deſerves notice recorded of either of the Lacedæmonian kings, unleſs it be a ſaying of Anaxander; of whom it being demanded, Why the Lacedæmonians kept no money in their exchequer, he anſwered, That the keepers thereof might not be tempted to be thieves [z]. Meſſenia divided by the Lacedæmonians.

Eurycrates ſucceeded his father Anaxander, as Archidamus did his father Anaxidamus; of their reigns we know nothing The reigns of Eurycrates and Archidamus.

[z] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. Pauſan. in Lacon.

Thy fate Meſſene, now is near at hand;
Nor can I longer the decree withſtand,
Than till the he goat from its banks ſhall try
To taſte of Neda's ſtreams which ſwiftly fly.

In the Greek the word tranſlated he-goat is Tragos, and from hence it came to paſs, that the Meſſenians were ſcrupulouſly careful that no he-goat ſhould come near the river; but when the fate of Era really approached, it appeared, that the oracle had been quite miſunderſtood; for Theocles the ſooth-ſayer obſerving certain wild fig-trees which grew by the river's ſide, no longer ſhoot their leaves upwards as they were wont to do, but bending them down towards the river, recollected, that though the other Greeks called this tree Olynthos, yet the Meſſenians called it Tragos; he therefore gave notice of this to Ariſtomenes, and told him plainly, that he apprehended the oracle was fulfilled thereby; whereupon Ariſtomenes took a ſacred depoſitum, which Lycus the ſon of Pandion had foretold ſhould be preſerved till the Meſſenians were totally deſtroyed; this he interred in the moſt private part of the mountain Ithome, in doing which he hazarded his life by venturing without the walls of Era (21). There is nothing farther which deſerves to be added to this note, unleſs it be the explanation we promiſed of the different dates aſſigned to the laſt Meſſenian war, which is, however purely conjectural. It is this, that Euſebius did not ſay that the ſecond Meſſenian war began eighty years after the firſt, but that it ended at that time; which is true, if we compute from the firſt diſturbances on account of the death of Teleclus (22).

(21) Pauſan. in Meſſen. (22) Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 4. Euſeb. Chron. Canon.

nothing more than that they passed them in peace and quietness; for though various authors have recorded the names of these princes, remembrance of their actions we find none[a], unless it be the following wise saying of Eurycrates, whom Plutarch calls Eucratides; who, when it was asked him, Why the ephori sat every day to determine causes about contracts, answered, That we may learn to keep our words even with enemies[b]. Archidamus was also called Agasicles, which is the reason that Herodotus, making use of the Ionic dialect, writes his name Hegisicles.

The reigns of Leo and Aristo.

Eurycrates was succeeded by his son Leo, and Archidamus by his son Aristo, princes concerning whom historians are not so silent. Leo was a man of great capacity, and very sollicitous for the strict execution of justice; for it being demanded of him, Under what government a man might live safest, he answered immediately, Where the inhabitants are neither wealthy nor poor, where integrity is sure to meet with many friends, and fraud with none. At the olympic games, when every body commended the victors, How much better, said he, would it have been, if these men had laid out the pains they have taken to be swift in learning to be honest[c]! Aristo his collegue is remarkable in history for some extraordinary things which fell out in his family; he had two wives, but was so unfortunate as to have children by neither of them, which put him upon taking a third, though the wife of his friend Agetus, the most beautiful woman in Sparta. In order to obtain her, he contrived this scheme: He took his friend Agetus one day in a gay humour, and having first sworn to give him whatever precious thing he chose belonging to himself, drew from him a like oath; and when Agetus had chosen, the king in consequence of that oath demanded his wife. Agetus protested, that he did not comprehend his wife to be included in the promise that had passed between them; but Aristo insisted, that an oath was to be understood in the sense he who received it took it; Agetus submitted, and the king accordingly took his wife. About seven months after he had taken her, as he sat with the ephori hearing causes, a servant came in great haste to tell him that the queen was brought to bed; upon which, telling the months upon his fingers, he dropped some expressions, as if he doubted whether the child was his; however, he owned

[a] Herodot. lib. i. Pausan. ubi supra. [b] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon, & in Apoph. Reg. [c] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

owned the boy, and called him Damaratus [d]. During the reigns of Leo and Ariſto the Lacedæmonians were engaged in a war with the Tegeatæ, wherein they were ſucceſsful, as it ſhould ſeem from Pauſanias's account of the matter, though Herodotus tells it otherwiſe [e].

ANAXANDRIDES ſucceeded his father Leo during the lifetime of his collegue Ariſto; in his time the body of Oreſtes, or rather his bones, were recovered and removed. He is reported alſo to have had two wives, which was a ſingular thing in Sparta, for whom he built ſeparate houſes; the reaſon of it was, that the ephori commanded him to divorce his firſt wife, becauſe ſhe bore him no children; but he, not being able to bring himſelf up to this, contented himſelf with taking another wife, by whom he might have children; by her, not long after his marriage, he had Cleomenes; his firſt wife then alſo conceived and brought him a child, who was called Dorieus; the ephori pretending to make ſome ſcruple whether this was really her child or no, the buſineſs was quickly after effectually cleared up by her bearing Leonidas and Cleomenes [f]. This king Anaxandrides was certainly a very wiſe man, and had very juſt notions of government, as, amongſt others of his ſayings recorded by Plutarch, appears from this: That it being demanded of him, Why the Spartans were ſo cautious in paſſing capital judgments, and why, notwithſtanding his acquittal, they ſtill demanded a recognizance of a perſon accuſed; he anſwered, Becauſe in capital caſes execution can never be recalled; and in the other caſe they kept that recognizance, that if it ſo fell out, that the guilt of the perſon acquitted ſhould afterwards appear, he might be liable to a juſter judgment [g]. Ariſto was alſo a prince of great worth and probity, and in conſequence thereof, mightily beloved by his people. In the reigns of theſe princes, Crœſus king of Lydia was vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, and an end put to his kingdom by Cyrus; he was during his proſperity a great lover of the Greeks, and particularly of the Lacedæmonians, with whom he had frequent intercourſe, and with whom he endeavoured to make a league in obedience to the command of the oracle, which directed him to ally himſelf to the chief among the Greeks, which he immediately underſtood of the Spartans [h].

Anaxandrides ſucceeds his father Leo.

Anaxandrides

[d] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herodot. lib. vi. Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] lib. i. [f] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herod. lib. v. [g] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [h] Herod. lib. i.

The reigns of Cleomenes and Damaratus.

Anaxandrides was ſucceeded by his ſon Cleomenes, as Ariſto was by his ſon Damaratus. It was ſtrict regard to hereditary right which induced the Lacedæmonians to place Cleomenes on the throne, for he was known to be at certain times out of his ſenſes, and when he had them, he was cunning, ambitious, and deceitful out of meaſure; whereas his brother Dorieus was remarkable for his prudence, the gentleneſs of his temper, and his ſkill in the art of war; he was ſo much diſguſted, however, at his brother's being preferred before him, that he demanded leave to lead out a colony, whereby he obtained an honourable excuſe for quitting his country [i]. In the very beginning of his reign Cleomenes engaged in a war with the Argives, whom he beat, and having driven a conſiderable body of them into a wood, he cauſed the Helotes to ſet that wood on fire whereby numbers of them were deſtroyed; in all his actions he appears to have been a man of a fierce untractable temper, a great lover of war, in which he ſought only victory, without enquiring whether the means by which he ſought to obtain it were juſt or not; yet he had ſometimes flights of fancy which had the appearance of a great genius; for example, he was wont to ſay, that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, Heſiod of the Helotes, becauſe the former made war his ſubject, and the latter treated of huſbandry [k]. He was early ſuſpected of having views not much for the advantage or honour of the ſtate; for at his return from the war with the Argives, he was accuſed of having let ſlip manifeſt opportunities of taking Argos itſelf; but the anſwers he gave, when the matter came to be heard before the ephori, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was acquitted. He was a great friend to Cliſthenes the Athenian and his party, at whoſe requeſt he drove the Piſiſtratidæ out of Athens; afterwards he joined with Iſagoras, whom the Athenias had baniſhed, and endeavoured all he could to veſt in him the ſovereignty of that city, whereby he created great miſchiefs to the Greeks. The Corinthians, who, as we have elſewhere ſeen, were the faſt friends and ſteady allies of the Lacedæmonians, diſguſted at the haughty behaviour of Cleomenes, and at his waſting the territory of Eleuſina, without regard either to the laws of God or men, deſerted them; Damaratus his collegue alſo, who was a very worthy and excellent perſon, oppoſed him; and while he was gone into Ægina, where he pretended to ſeize

[i] Herod. lib. v. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

ſeize the principal perſons in the iſland, under colour that they were in the Perſian intereſt; Damaratus accuſed him to the ephori and the ſenate of being an enemy to peace, a diſturber of Greece, and one who would provoke all the neighbouring ſtates to look with an evil eye on Sparta[1]. Theſe diſcourſes had at firſt their effect; but when Cleomenes returned, he found means not only to get himſelf acquitted, but to get his collegue depoſed, which he wrought after the following manner: He ſuggeſted, that Damaratus's birth was liable to great ſuſpicions, alledging the expreſſion of his father before-mentioned; the Spartans ſent to the oracle at Delphi, in order to have this intricate queſtion decided; Cleomenes foreſaw this, and therefore took care to corrupt the oracle, whereby he carried his point; for, on the return of the deputies with the reſponſe, Damaratus was depoſed, and Leotychides his couſin, the eighth in deſcent from Theopompus, was raiſed to the regal dignity. Such was the moderation of the depoſed king, that, inſtead of quitting his country, he ſtill endeavoured to render it all the ſervice he could, being content to execute inferior magiſtracies. But the intemperance of his ſucceſſor vanquiſhed at length his patience; for Leotychides being one day informed, that Damaratus was ſitting as inſpector in the place of public exerciſes, ſent a ſervant to inſult him, by aſking him this queſtion, How he liked his preſent office after executing that of king. To which Damaratus fiercely anſwered, That himſelf knew the weight of both, which he who ſent him did not; but that this queſtion ſhould either prove the cauſe of great miſery, or of great felicity to Sparta. Then covering his head he retired to his own houſe, where having firſt ſacrificed to Jupiter, he then ſent for his mother, and earneſtly entreated her to tell him the truth as to his birth, whether, as he was reputed, he was the ſon of king Ariſto, or whether, as his enemies ſuggeſted, Agetus was his father. She having in the moſt ſolemn terms aſſured him of his legitimacy, he pretended to take a journey to Delphi, but indeed reſolved to quit Sparta for ever, and to retire where he might be abſolutely ſafe; with this view he went firſt to Elis, from thence to Zacynthus, and at length into Perſia, where he was received by king Darius with the utmoſt civility, had large revenues aſſigned him, and was in every reſpect

[1] Herod. lib. v. Pauſan. Lacon.

reſpect uſed as a prince [m]. In his exile he behaved in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, and without ſhewing any rancour againſt his country; as an inſtance of the former, it is recorded of him, that when the Perſian monarch would have puniſhed a nobleman, who had revolted, and afterwards at Damaratus's perſuaſion ſubmitted himſelf to the king, the Spartan generouſly interpoſed, addreſſing the Perſian king in theſe words; It is diſhonourable, O king, not to have had it in thy power to puniſh him when he was a rebel, and as diſhonourable to exert a power of puniſhing now he is become thy friend [n]. With reſpect to the latter, when he found that the Perſian was determined to make war on Greece, we are told, he ſent the firſt advice thereof cut in tables, which he afterwards covered with wax. He was the only king of Sparta who was victor in the olympic games. In a word, he was a perſon of ſuch merit, that none of the Perſians envied the honours and revenues which he acquired in their country, where his poſterity flouriſhed many ages after [o].

Leotychides ſucceeds Damaratus.

Leotychides, as he was raiſed to the kingdom by the craft of Cleomenes, ſo he was entirely governed by him in all that he did; he went with him to Ægina, from whence they brought away ſome of the principal inhabitants priſoners, and left them with the Athenians their mortal enemies; for which he afterwards ſuffered, though he acted merely by the advice and under the influence of Cleomenes. As for that prince, he continued to act as inconſiſtently as formerly, that is, ſometimes with extraordinary virtue, and at other times without the leaſt regard to juſtice. When Ariſtagoras the Mileſian tyrant came to Sparta with an intent to perſuade Cleomenes to make war upon the Perſian king, he heard his propoſals both as to the method of the war, and the private advantages which might accrue to himſelf; but he adviſed his country againſt the former, and abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the latter, wherein he acted with great penetration as well as integrity, for the ſame prince prevailing with the Athenians thereby induced that war, which had well-nigh brought on the total deſtruction of Greece. He likewiſe reſiſted all the ſollicitations of Mæander the tyrant of Samos, who alſo would have tempted him with money; and not only

[m] Herod. lib. xvii. Pauſan. Lacon. [n] Plut. Apophth. Lacon.
[o] Herodot. lib. vii. Pauſan. Lacon.

only ſo, but complained of him to the ephori, telling them, that if they did not baniſh this man out of their territories, he would teach the Lacedæmonians to be knaves. When by degrees his contrivances againſt Damaratus came to light, and the Spartans began to ſhew ſome inclination to examine ſtrictly into that matter, he thought it beſt to fly firſt into Theſſaly, and then into Arcadia, where he immediately excited new troubles, drawing about him a multitude of Arcadians, and endeavouring by a ſolemn oath to bind them to his ſervice. The Spartans, knowing well his enterprizing genius, and being afraid leſt he ſhould excite the Arcadians to invade them, recalled him, and reſtored him to his dignity; but a ſhort time after he returned, he fell mad, running people in the face with his ſceptre as he met them in the ſtreets; upon which they were conſtrained to confine him, and to put on him fetters of wood [P]. In this condition he was attended by a Helot who was his keeper, from whom, partly by fair means, partly by threats, he obtained a ſword, wherewith beginning at the calf of the leg, he ripped himſelf up, and having at length cut out his bowels, fell down dead. Many of the Spartans imputed this extraordinary fact to his corrupting the oracle of Delphi, and thereby procuring the depoſition of Damaratus; the Athenians attributed it to his ſacrilege at Eleuſina; the Argives were as poſitive that it befel him for burning their ſacred grove (F). As for thoſe who

[P] Pauſan. Lacon, Herod. lib. vi.

(F) There is no part of Cleomenes's character more unjuſtifiable than that which regards the Argives, againſt whom he made a war, without obſerving any laws of honour or juſtice. The accounts we have of his exploits againſt this nation are ſo diſſonant, and the circumſtances contained in them ſo incompatible, that it is far from being eaſy to judge, whether the facts mentioned fell out in one and the ſame war, or in ſeveral; and if the latter be the truth, in what parts of his reign they happened. Without troubling our readers with a nice enquiry into theſe particulars, we will give them in few words a detail of the principal matters laid to the charge of Cleomenes. He is ſaid to have been promiſed by an oracle, that he ſhould take Argos; in confidence of which he marched with his army directly towards the city (23); but

(23) Herod. Hiſt. lib. vi. Pauſan. Argol.

who were for aſcribing his end to natural cauſes, they alledged, that drinking immoderately with the Scythian embaſſadors, his drunkenneſs iſſued in madneſs [q]. He left behind

[q] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

but between him and it lay a conſiderable army of the Argives, who prepared to defend themſelves in the beſt manner they might, though under great diſcouragements from certain reſponſes which they had received, which gave them to apprehend, that they ſhould be overcome by fraud. In order to guard againſt this in the moſt probable manner they could deviſe, they determined to govern their motions by the enemies ſignals, which they eſteemed a certain preſervative againſt being ſurprized (24). But this precaution ſerved only to ruin them; for Cleomenes, having intelligence thereof, gave order to his forces to attack the Argives, when the ſignal was made for them to go to dinner. This being exactly followed, the army of Argos was entirely defeated; for they, beholding the Spartan ſignal for dinner, went immediately to refreſh themſelves, but before they were well ſettled at their meal, the Spartans fell upon them, and ſlaughtered them almoſt without reſiſtance. Their only refuge in this diſtreſs was a thick wood in their rear, into which they retired with all the expedition poſſible. Cleomenes inſtantly deviſed a new ſtratagem for deſtroying them there. He cauſed ſome who were well acquainted with the Argives to call them by name, and promiſe them quarter; yet as faſt as they came out he ordered them to be ſlain. Thus he cut off fifty, thoſe in the grove, becauſe of the thickneſs of the trees, perceiving nothing of what paſſed without. At length an Argive, getting upon an high tree, diſcovered from thence what was doing. The Lacedæmonians then called in vain, no more of the Argives venturing out, which put Cleomenes on a more cruel expedition; he cauſed his Helotes to ſurround the grove with bruſh-wood and other combuſtible matter; and then, ſetting it on fire, burned all the helpleſs wretches. He then enquired to whom the grove was dedicated? To Argos, replied a prieſt. Alas! cried Cleomenes, This oracle has deceived me, this is all the Argos I ſhall take. He afterwards ſacrificed by force on the altar of Diana, and cauſed the prieſt who would have hindred him to be chaſtiſed. The ſacrifices, as ſome ſay, proving unlucky, he deſiſted, and was accuſed at his return for not taking Argos, but on hearing his defence acquitted (25). The general opinion is, that he actually attacked the city with his colleague Damaratus, but was conſtrained to retire by the following means. There was in that city a lady named Teliſſilla, who, being

(24) Herodot ubi ſupra. (25) Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.

hind him a daughter named Gorgo, one of the most celebrated women of her time. The inhabitants of Ægina upon his death applied themselves to the Spartans, complaining loudly against Leotychides, for that he in conjunction with Cleomenes had been concerned in carrying off the principal men of their island, and putting them into the hands of the Athenians. The Spartans, who, as a nation, piqued themselves much upon their justice, disclaimed the whole of this proceeding, and offered the inhabitants of Ægina to deliver up Leotychides into their hands; but the deputies of that island wisely declined carrying the king of Sparta away; they contented themselves therefore with desiring he might go with them to Athens, there to use his utmost endeavours to rectify the mischief he had done them, by procuring their hostages to be delivered up, which accordingly he did; but his and their applications being fruitless, they suffered him to return again to Sparta, where he still retained the regal dignity, though he never reigned in the hearts of the people, who, as it is their custom, regretted their absent prince, and were angry with the work of their own hands; the consequences of all this we shall hereafter have occasion to explain; let us in the mean time pass to the story of his collegue [r].

Leonidas succeeds Cleomenes.

Leonidas the son of Anaxandrides, half-brother to Cleomenes, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his daughter Gorgo; he was a prince of great moderation, and of a valour superior to most men of his age; some of the Spartans, however, who disliked his family, could not help

[r] Pausan. & Herodot. ubi supra.

ing of a very weak constitution, was directed by the oracle to addict herself to the muses. In consequence of this response, she studied poetry with such success, that though on the approach of the Lacedæmonians there were none but women in the city, she inspired them with such resolution, that they shut the gates, took arms, and forced Damaratus, who was already in the suburbs, to retire; as also Cleomenes himself and his army. In memory of this extraordinary event an anniversary solemnity grew into use at Argos, in which women went about in mens cloaths, and men put on womens habits (26). It is agreed by all the antient writers, that Cleomenes laughed at and despised oracles; the reason is clear, because he had corrupted them (27).

(26) Herodot. ubi supra. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. viii. 33. Plut. de virtut. Mulier. (27) Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon.

help ſpeaking diſreſpectfully to him; one of them particularly told him to his face, That, except being a king, he was no better than they; to which Leonidas, ſmiling, anſwered, If I had not been better than you, I had not been a king. When Miltiades the Athenian fought the famous battle of Marathon, the Spartans had promiſed an army, but had ſent none; they arrived a little after the battle, went to the ſpot where it was fought, where having conſidered attentively the prodigious difficulties the Athenians had overcome, and after highly commending them, they returned home again to Sparta [s]. When, as the wiſeſt of the Greeks had foreſeen, this battle at Marathon only excited the Perſian to attempt again the conqueſt of Greece; the Spartans, with a reſolution worthy of the diſciples of Lycurgus, determined to oppoſe them; Damaratus their king was conſtrained to accompany Xerxes in this expedition, though in reſpect to his country he had ſent early notice thereof to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, and the daughter of his greateſt enemy. When it was apparent, that Xerxes would enter Greece in perſon with a prodigious army, a general aſſembly was held at the iſthmus, the reſolutions of which were theſe: That the ſtates of Greece ſhould unanimouſly join in defending its liberty againſt the Perſians; that for the preſent all their quarrels amongſt themſelves ſhould be ſuſpended; that the tenth of the ſpoil ſhould be dedicated to Apollo; and that of thoſe who deſerted the common cauſe a decimation ſhould be made, that is, a tenth part ſhould be put to death without mercy [t]. Warm and generous reſolutions, if the ſame ſpirit had accompanied them in the execution; but, alas, when words were to be changed into deeds, of all the confederates the Spartans and Athenians only ſeemed ready to do any thing. The Theſſalians were the firſt who were to feel the weight of Xerxes and his myriads; they therefore ſent to the Greeks to beſeech them to quicken their preparations, or not to blame them if they ſubmitted to an enemy they could not reſiſt. Upon this ten thouſand men were ſent by ſea to Theſſaly under the command of Evenetus a Spartan and Themiſtocles the Athenian; but when they came thither, they were convinced, that this meaſure would prove ineffectual; for in a plain country, as Theſſaly is, there could be no hopes of oppoſing ſuch multitudes of men with a few, eſpecially when it was known, that many of the Theſſalian princes

[s] Plut. in Apoph. [t] Herodot. lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

princes could not be depended on, and that many of the paſſages into Theſſaly were in the power of Alexander king of Macedon; the army therefore returned without doing any thing. At the next general council, however, it was reſolved to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ; in purſuance of which reſolution ſix thouſand foot were appointed for that ſervice, and the command of them given to Leonidas [u]. Of theſe three hundred only were Spartans, according to the direction of the king; and when ſome principal perſons demanded of him whether he had not a ſecret deſign in his head, he anſwered frankly, I pretend to defend the ſtreights of Thermopylæ, but in truth I go to die for my country; and when they ſtill wondered at the ſmall number of men he took with him, he, turning to thoſe to whom he had communicated his ſecret, ſaid, There are enow, conſidering the deſign we go upon. When he took his leave of his wife, ſhe aſked him if he had no thing particular to ſay to her (G); Marry ſome brave man, ſaid he, and

[u] Pauſan. in Lacon. Herod. Hiſt. lib. vii.

(G) The character of Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. Plutarch, who was ſo fond of the Lacedæmonians, that beſides his inſtitutes he wrote a book of their wiſe ſayings, wrote alſo a particular treatiſe of the women, which was indeed extraordinary; and the reaſon of it was, becauſe the Spardan dames were of a very maſculine diſpoſition, and ſpoke and acted with a freedom denied to their ſex every where elſe. Gorgo, who is to be the ſubject of this note, makes a very conſiderable figure in that treatiſe; but before we proceed to acquaint the reader with what Plutarch ſays of this lady, it will on many accounts be fit to give him a remarkable ſtory recorded of her by Herodotus That noble hiſtorian tells us, that when Ariſtagoras, tyrant of Miletus, attempted to engage Cleomenes in a deſign not only of freeing Ionia, but even of ſubverting the Perſian empire; he brought with him a chart of the known world laid down on braſs: after having ſhewn Cleomenes on this the ſituation of Ionia, and expatiated with great warmth on the glory of an enterprize undertaken for the relief of the Ionians, pointing to his plate, he proceeded thus: "Next theſe the "Lydians inhabit a fertil country abounding in ſilver: And on the "confines of Lydia, theſe Phrygians are placed to the eaſtward, more "rich in cattle, and living in greater affluence, than any other peo-"ple I know. Adjoining to theſe are the Cappadocians, by us cal-"led Syrians, and beyond them the Cilicians, whoſe country ex-"tends to that ſea in which the iſland of Cyprus is ſituate, and

"pays

bring him brave children [x]. When Xerxes came with his mighty army, he sent a spy to bring him advice of the posture

[x] Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon.

" pays an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king. Next " to the Cilicians are these Armenians, who possess great num- " bers of cattle; and after them the Matianians, beyond whose " territories lies this province of Cissia, in which Susa is built " upon the river Choaspes. In this place the great king resides, " and his vast treasures are here deposited. If you take this city, " you may boldly contend with Jupiter in wealth. You will " not find your account in fighting battles to gain a country of " small extent, narrow limits, and indifferent soil, from the " Messenians who are your equals in war, or from the Arca- " dians and Argians: For none of these nations have either " gold or silver, the desire of which induces so many men to " hazard their lives. But when an opportunity is offered to " conquer all Asia with facility, can you wish for any thing " more"? To this discourse of Aristagoras Cleomenes answered, " Milesian friend, I defer to let you know my resolution till " three days are passed". When that time was come, and they were both met at the appointed place, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras in how many days one might travel from the coast of Ionia to the place where the king was. But though Aristagoras was in other things a man of art, and much superior in ability to Cleomenes, yet he made a slip in this. For, designing to draw the Spartans into Asia, he ought to have abated something of the account: Whereas he told him plainly 'twas a journey of three months: Which Cleomenes, no sooner heard, than interrupting him from proceeding in his discourse concerning the way, he said, " Milesian guest, depart out of Sparta be- " fore the setting of the sun: For you have proposed nothing " to the advantage of the Spartans in advising us to take a " march into Asia, not to be performed in less than three months " after our landing". When he had spoken these words he withdrew; and Aristagoras, taking an olive branch in his hand, after the manner of a suppliant, went after Cleomenes, beseeching him to hear; and at the same time desired him to send away his little daughter Gorgo, who was then with him, being the only child he had, and about eight or nine years of age. But Cleomenes bid him say what he would, and not refrain for the sake of a child. So Aristagoras began with the promise of ten talents, in case Cleomenes would do as he desired; and receiving a denial, proceeded gradually in his offers, till he came to the sum of fifty talents; and then the girl cried, " Father this " stranger will corrupt you unless you go away presently". Cleomenes

poſture in which Leonidas and his troops were; this ſpy reported, that they found them exerciſing themſelves in their uſual games, and that they were putting garlands on their heads, as if they were about to celebrate ſome feſtival; the Perſian thereupon aſked Damaratus the meaning of it, Theſe men, Sir, ſaid he, have devoted themſelves to death for the ſervice of their country; at which Xerxes laughed, conceiving that he mightily over-rated the courage of his countrymen, whom himſelf doubted not to fright away with the very appearance of his army; but the event proved the contrary, though there were ſome among the confederates who were not a little terrified at the thoughts of an engagement. Theſe repreſented to Leonidas, that a diſcharge of the Perſian arrows would take away the light of the ſun; Very well, replied he, then we ſhall fight in the ſhade. When they approached, the ſame perſons came to him again; The Perſians, Sir, ſaid they, draw near; What of that ſaid he, Shall not we then be near them? When Xerxes ſaw that he was miſtaken, and that Leonidas really intended to fight, he wrote him a letter, wherein he told him, that the great ſuperiority

Cleomenes, pleaſed with the admonition of the child, retired to another apartment: And Ariſtagoras was conſtrained to depart immediately from Sparta without obtaining leave to inform him farther concerning the way to the place of the king's reſidence (28). When the ſame young lady ſaw Ariſtagoras ſuffer his man to put on his ſhoes, ſhe cried out in amazement, Father! Father! ſee this ſtranger, has he no hands? At another time when a ſoft and delicate ſtranger was about to have paid his compliments to her, ſhe put him away with her hand, adding, Stand by, poor creature; thou haſt not as much of a man in thee as a woman (29). As the laſt and moſt noble commendation recorded of her, let us remark, that Damaratus, though ſhe was the daughter of his deadly enemy, truſted her rather than any of the Greeks with the intelligence he ſent concerning the motion of the Barbarians; or, if we take this as Herodotus does, it may be placed in a ſtronger light; for he ſays, that a ſlave from Damaratus brought a waxen tablet to Sparta with nothing written on it, and when the Spartans knew not what to make of this, Gorgo immediately bid them ſcrape off the wax, whereupon they found Damaratus's letter cut on the wood underneath (30).

(28) Herodot. lib. vi. (29) Plut. in Apophtheg. Mulier. Lacon. (30) Herodot. lib. vi.

of his army might excuſe his not oppoſing him, and that, if he would embrace his intereſt, he ſhould be lord of all Greece. To which Leonidas with great moderation anſwered, If you know wherein the happineſs of life conſiſted, you would not covet what belongs to others; for my part, I had rather die for the liberty of Greece, than command over it. Xerxes then ordered the Medes, who led the van in his army, to fall upon the Greeks, which they did with very great reſolution, but were notwithſtanding repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter; he then commanded a choice corps of Perſians to diſlodge them, but it was in vain; the Greeks were not only ſuperior in valour, but they better underſtood the art of war; they had alſo great advantage from the ſituation of the place, ſo that, after numbers were ſlain, the Perſians were conſtrained to retreat[y]. Xerxes now began to be in pain for his whole army, and with reaſon; for the dead bodies having ſtreightened the paſſages ſtill more, it ſeemed doubtful whether the weight of numbers would force the paſs or no. At length one Ephialtes a Trachinian offered to ſhew them a path round the mountain, whereby they might fall upon the Grecians in the rear; Xerxes thereupon detached Hydarnes with a great body of choſen troops, with directions to follow Ephialtes; they paſſed the river Aſopus in the night, and, having forced the Phocian guard, advanced apace towards Leonidas and his troops; that great commander, who is ſaid to have been informed that the ſenate had received an oracle, purporting, that either one of their kings, or the city itſelf muſt fall, as ſoon as he was informed of what happened, gave leave to all the confederates to withdraw, that they might reſerve themſelves, as he phraſed it, for better times, excepting only the Theſpians and the Thebans, who with his Spartans made in all not above fourteen hundred men; with theſe he propoſed not to wait the attack of the Perſians, but to go and find them out, yet looking on his Spartans, and obſerving ſome ſtripplings who had ſcarce attained the age of men, his heart relented; calling them therefore to him one by one, he pretended to ſend by each of them a billet to the ephori; he would have afterwards done the ſame thing in favour of ſome perſons of extraordinary merit; but

[y] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pauſan. Lacon. Plut. Apoph. Lacon. Juſtin. lib. ii.

but they, penetrating his deſign, refuſed to obey him, one of them anſwering, Sir, I came to ſerve you as a ſoldier, not as a courier. Another, Let us fight, Sir, and then I'll carry your account of the battle. Having made the proper diſpoſitions he paſſed the ſtreights and fell upon the enemy; he and all his Spartans were ſlain together with the Theſpians, but the Thebans holding up their targets cried out for quarter, which was given only to a few, and they were ſtigmatized. This victory, if we muſt call it ſo, coſt the Perſians twenty thouſand men. The body of Leonidas being found, Xerxes ordered it to be nailed to a croſs, an action which reflected diſhonour upon himſelf, and could do no hurt to a dead body; as to the fame of Leonidas, it was out of the reach of Xerxes, and hath remained ſtill freſh three thouſand years after his deceaſe (H). The Perſian af-

ter

(H) The action at Thermopylæ makes ſo great a figure in hiſtory, and ſo juſtly, at the ſame time that it ſo nearly concerns the Lacedæmonian hiſtory, that it would be unpardonable in us not to give ſuch particulars thereof as may ſerve to ſet it in the cleareſt light, and do honour to that nation of whoſe affairs we are treating. In the firſt place let us remark, that Leonidas acted all along with great equality of mind, a philoſophic courage, and the true ſpirit of a patriot. He went in the common cauſe of Greece to give a check to the Perſians at their firſt entrance, that thereby the numerous army of Xerxes might receive a taſte of the oppoſition it was to meet with, and the king, if he were not headſtrong and irreprehenſible, have an opportunity given him of retiring in time before multitudes of his men were cut off, and the ſtrength of Aſia waſted to no purpoſe. In fighting at Thermopylæ Leonidas made uſe at firſt of all the advantages of ground, afforded him by his own ſituation and that of the enemy. He drew up his troops in the narroweſt part of the paſſage, and when he retired from the field of battle he diſpoſed his battalions in ſuch a manner that they readily wheeled about and received the enemy, who attempted to harraſs them, in ſuch a manner that there were more ſlain in the retreat than in the fight; if Ephialtes had not led the Barbarians round the mountains, Leonidas would have carried his firſt point, that is, he would have conſtrained Xerxes to retire (31). But when the augur Megiſtias, upon inſpecting the ſacrifices, declared, that all the Grecians were threatned with death; and when this declaration was backed by intelligence that the enemy was actually paſſing

(31) Polyæn. Strateg. lib. i. c. 32. lib. vii. c. 15.

after this conſulted Damaratus again, adjuring him by the kindneſs he had ſhewn him to give his ſentiments ſincerely

paſſing the mountains. Leonidas put in practice his ſecond reſolution, which was the devoting of his Spartans and himſelf to death for the ſafety of Greece in general, and of Sparta in particular (32). This reſolution was founded upon two reaſons; the firſt, that the ſtreights of Thermopylæ ought not abſolutely to be abandoned, but ſold to the enemy as dear as might be; the ſecond reſted upon this oracle which the Lacedæmonians had received.

Thy plains, O Sparta, Perſian rage ſhall feel,
Thy ſons ſhall ſlaughter'd fall by foreign ſteel,
Unleſs a king of the Herculean race,
In war, to ſave the reſt, ſhall death embrace.

This prompted Leonidas to receive that death, which he knew muſt ſome time or other happen him, when it might avert evil from his country; it was to prevent an unneceſſary carnage, that Leonidas diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his allies, and retained with him only fourteen hundred men, viz. three hundred Spartans, ſeven hundred Theſpians, and four hundred Thebans; he then advanced without the narrow paſſage, becauſe he no longer thought of defending his own party, but how he might moſt injure the enemy; and in that deſperate attack he fell. Xerxes loſt two brothers in this engagement, and an incredible number of troops. On the field of battle there were three monuments raiſed, one to perpetuate the memory of ſuch of the troops as were ſlain before the confederates were diſmiſſed, with this inſcription:

Four thouſand here, from various nations brought,
For Greece againſt the Medes three millions fought.

The ſecond was for the Lacedæmonians only, with this diſtich upon it:

Go, friend, and to our brother Spartans tell,
With what applauſe we in their ſervice fell.

The third was for the augur Megiſtias, who, though preſſed by Leonidas to retire, refuſed, contenting himſelf with ſending away his only ſon:

Divine Megiſtias lies beneath this ſtone,
Who met without concern ill fortune's frown;
Nor would to ſave his life conſent to fly,
When the brave Spartans had reſolv'd to die.

(32) Juſtin. lib. ii. c. 11.

It

ſincerely as to the method in which it was proper to carry on the war. The Spartan thereupon propoſed to him ſeizing the iſle of Cythera, which lay over againſt Laconia, and from whence he might have made the Spartans ſo uneaſy as would infallibly hinder their ſending aſſiſtance to the Athenians, or impeding him in his deſign of penetrating into Greece; but Achœmenes the king's brother being quite of a different opinion, fearing that if the fleet parted from the land-army both might be ruined, Xerxes preferred his counſel, and thereby failed in his deſign [z]. The Grecian fleet in the mean time lay at Artemiſium under the command of Eurybiades a Spartan, a man of great perſonal courage, but timorous as a commander, and unexperienced in ſea affairs. The Perſians, hoping to ſurprize and ſurround them, detached two hundred ſhips with orders to ſail round Eubœa, and fall on the rear of the Grecian navy; but this being betrayed to the Greeks, they weighed anchor in the night, and ſtood directly to ſea to meet theſe two hundred ſail, ſo that inſtead of ſurprizing others, they were themſelves ſurprized; thirty of them ſunk, and the reſt forced to betake themſelves to flight, wherein they were no leſs unfortunate; for a ſtorm ariſing, moſt of them were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt. The Grecian fleet ſome-time after ſailed to the coaſt of Attica, and at the deſire of the Athenians anchored near Salamis. Eurybiades had ſtill the command, though of three hundred and fifty-eight ſhips, of

[z] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Themiſt.

It is alledged, that Eurytus and Ariſtodemus, two of the three hundred Spartans being ill of ſore eyes, retired to Alpeni with the permiſſion of Leonidas, and were there in the time of the laſt battle, on the news of which Eurytus cauſed his armour to be put on, and ordered his ſervant to conduct him directly to the field, where running, blind as he was, into the midſt of the enemy, he was ſuddenly covered with wounds, and fell down dead; but Ariſtodemus returned to Sparta, where he met with a very indifferent reception, being treated as a man who had not courage enough to die with his companions; to aggravate their ill uſage, they ſirnamed him the Fugitive; he redeemed his credit, however, at the battle of Platæa, where, having devoted himſelf to death, he performed ſuch actions as are ſcarce credible (33).

(33) Herodot. lib. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. & in vit. Ariſtid.

of which the fleet consisted, a hundred and eighty belonged to the Athenians. As to the battle which happened there not long after, we have already given a full account of it in our Athenian history, and therefore shall not trouble the reader with needless repetitions here [a]. The first step that was taken afterwards, was, to prepare a great fleet to prosecute the victory, the command of which was given to Leotychides king of Sparta; but it soon after appeared, that the Persians had not totally abandoned their design, Mardonius remaining in Greece at the head of a considerable army, with which he threatened in the spring to revisit Attica; the Greeks therefore found themselves under a necessity of raising a land-army also.

Mardonius attempts the conquest of Greece.

PAUSANIAS the son of Cleombrotus took upon him the character of tutor or protector to Plistarchus the son of Leonidas, and in right thereof was the first magistrate in Sparta, the other king, as we have said, being absent, having the command of the confederate fleet. In this situation of things, the dilatoriness of popular councils eminently appeared, for when the army ought to have been in the field, the Athenian embassadors found the Lacedæmonians celebrating the Hyacinthia; in vain these ministers represented, that the common cause was neglected, and that the Athenians had reason to expect better things, since they had hazarded all for the service of Greece; the ephori and senate, confiding mightily in the strong wall which by this time was erected cross the isthmus, thought but little of raising troops, till Chileus a Tegeatæan, who had a great reputation amongst them, shewed them how foolish and dishonourable this conduct of theirs was, since it was plain, if the Athenians were ruined through their delay, that the Persians, being masters at sea, might land what forces they would in Laconia, and bring the war home to their doors, the wall cross the isthmus being in such a case useless [b]. Roused by this representation, they sent five thousand Spartans, and, which was an unusual thing with them, gave arms to seven thousand of their Helotes, Pausanias commanding in chief. This, however, did not hinder Mardonius from taking Athens, or from seeking the Greek army and offering battle. Pausanias had the command in chief of the whole Grecian forces, which were not less than one hundred thousand men. The Persians were certainly double their number, nay, according to Diodorus's account

[a] See before, Vol. vi. p. 356. [b] Herodot. lib. viii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. in Lacon.

count, Mardonius's army conſiſted of five hundred thouſand men. When they came into the neighbourhood of Platæa, an engagement happened between a great body of Perſian horſe, commanded by Maſiſtius, and a corps of Greeks, wherein, after a great effuſion of blood, the Perſians were routed and their commander killed [c]. A general battle being delayed, the Greek army ſuffered much by deſertion, as on the other hand did the Perſians for want of proviſions. Pauſanias at length thought fit to decamp, that he might procure his army freſh and more advantageous quarters, in which, however, he was oppoſed by Amompharetus an old Spartan commander, who inſiſted, that it was derogatory to the Spartan honour to retire in ſight of an enemy. Pauſanias, like a wiſe man and a great captain, anſwered, That marching this way or that was not diſhonourable, when it proceeded from a right motive; but when he found all his entreaties were in vain, and that Amompharetus would not be perſuaded, he gave the ſignal, and immediately the Lacedæmonian and Tegeatæan foot began to move. Amompharetus, who was hitherto of opinion that Pauſanias would not deſert him, when he ſaw him actually on his march, ordered his ſtandards to be taken up and moved ſlowly after him. Pauſanias kept the high ground, the Athenians, who very exactly obeyed his orders, marched in the plain; the reſt of the confederates withdrew to the temple of Juno, where they were out of reach of the Perſian cavalry. At the temple of Ceres, which was on the brow of the hill, Pauſanias halted with all his forces to give Amompharetus and his battalion time to come up; but they had hardly rejoined the army before the van-guard of the Perſian horſe attacked them with great vigour [d]. Mardonius looked upon this decampment of the Greek troops in the ſame light that Amompharetus did, that is, as a plain flight, and therefore was eager not to fight them, but to fall upon the runaways; this eagerneſs, as far as we can judge at this diſtance of time, ſeems to have been the chief cauſe of his misfortune: for his Perſians marching haſtily and without order, the reſt of the corps of which his numerous army was compoſed did the like, which gave the Greeks great advantage. The troops under Pauſanias did not

[c] Herod. lib. ix. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. ubi ſupra.
[d] Herodot. lib. ix. Plut. in. vit. Themiſt. & Ariſt. Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. Juſtin. lib. ii. c. 14. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan.

not much exceed 50,000 men, and on this account it was that he sent to hasten the Athenians in their march. The Athenians who on this occasion acted with the utmost generosity, endeavoured, as well as they were able, to fulfil his orders; but were unluckily stopped short by the Bœotians and other Greeks in the service of the Persian, who on this occasion behaved with amazing courage and intrepidity. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæans were forced to engage Mardonius's army without assistance. It is universally acknowledged, that the Persians behaved very well on this occasion; but, being neither so well armed nor so well disciplined as the Greeks, their valour was of no use but to bring them to slaughter; for, as Herodotus rightly observes, it was all the same, whether one or ten Persians broke into the Grecian ranks, since the next line was ready to receive them without confusion or disorder, so that they were presently slain without effecting any thing, because they charged tumultuously; their commanders having no capacity to direct them, nor they to obey. Their number and their courage, however, kept the battle doubtful as long as Mardonius lived, who, mounted on a white horse, and fighting at the head of a thousand men, gave signal demonstrations of a courage deserving a better fate; but when he was slain, the Persians began to break and to give way, which dispirited all the barbarous nations, who now followed the example of their flight, though they had not drawn their swords. The Athenians also defeated the Greeks who sided with and fought for the Persians, so that Artabazus, who was next in command to Mardonius, and against whose advice these measures were taken, judging all to be lost, retired with forty thousand, and, marched with all the expedition he was able back to Thrace; the rest of the Persian army withdrew as speedily as they could into their camp, where they strengthened the works formerly thrown up, and resolved to defend to the utmost of their power these posts against the victorious Greeks. Pausanias, coming up with his Lacedæmonians, attacked the camp without hesitation, but at the same time with little success; for the Persians, fighting now not for victory or glory, but for their lives, made a most obstinate resistance; besides, they had the same advantage over the Lacedæmonians here, which the Lacedæmonians had over them in the field; for, as we have heretofore observed, the Spartans were unaccustomed to such attacks, avoiding, in obedience to the laws of Lycurgus, all sieges

as

as much as in them lay; yet this ſtate of things laſted but for a ſmall time; for when the Athenians came up, who of all the Greeks beſt underſtood the art of defending or attacking fortifications, they quickly opened a paſſage to the Lacedæmonians, and when that was once done, a mercileſs ſlaughter enſued, ſince of three hundred thouſand men, whom Mardonius brought into the field, ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped [e]; of the Greeks, however, it is uncertain how many there fell; if we believe Herodotus, there died of the Spartans ninety-one; of the Tegeatæans ſixteen; and of the Athenians fifty-two [f]. Plutarch owns one thouſand three hundred and ſixty to have fallen [g]; but Diodorus Siculus is poſitive, that there were very few leſs than ten thouſand [h]. When this bloody engagement was over, the reſt of the allies came up to be witneſſes rather than aſſiſtants in gaining the victory, by which behaviour they drew on themſelves contempt and ſcorn. Lampon of Ægina propoſed to Pauſanias, that the body of Mardonius ſhould be carefully ſearched for, that the indignity offered to his uncle Leonidas by the command of Xerxes might be revenged thereon. To which Pauſanias anſwered, "Friend "of Ægina, I very kindly accept of your good intention, "and the reſpect you expreſs for me and my family; but "I cannot help telling you, that your zeal hath drawn "you to make a very wrong judgment of this matter; "for whereas you have highly magnified my actions, the "courage of my countrymen, and the action we have this "day atchieved, you throw all this down again by impor-"tuning me to inſult the dead, and perſuading me that I "ſhall heighten my glory, if I do that which is fitter for "Barbarians to do, nay, which we have not ſpared to re-"proach even in them; I cannot therefore aſſent to theſe "notions of the men of Ægina, nor to thoſe of any other "nation, who delight in ſuch actions, being content to "be commended by the Spartans, for neither doing, nor "ſpeaking an unbecoming thing. As for Leonidas, whoſe "death you would have revenged, I am of opinion, that "the innumerable multitude we have ſlain have ſufficient-"ly repaired the loſs of him and thoſe that fell with him "at Thermopylæ. Come no more therefore to me with "ſuch diſcourſes; offer me no more ſuch counſels, but "look upon it as a very great favour that you have eſcaped "even now unpuniſhed." When this great captain beheld the

[e] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [f] ubi ſupra. [g] ubi ſupra. [h] ubi ſupra.

the magnificent tent and rich furniture belonging to Mardonius, with the mighty magazines of luxury belonging thereto, he gave orders to the cooks and bakers to prepare him such a supper as they were wont to do for that general; which when they had done, he ordered some of his own servants to dress a Spartan meal; which being also done, he sent for the principal officers among the Greeks; thus pointing to both the suppers, he said with a smile, See, gentlemen, the folly of this king of the Medes, who, living in this sumptuous manner at home, would needs come so far to spoil us who fare sohardly. Part of the prodigious spoils that were taken in the Persian camp, the Helotes, who were entrusted to collect them, purloined; part were dedicated to the gods, a tenth of all sorts was given to Pausanias, and the rest distributed among the Greeks. Having thus put an end to the war, Pausanias thought next of punishing such as had betrayed the common cause of Greece; with this view he marched immediately to Thebes, the citizens of which at first attempted to make a defence, but on mature deliberation they capitulated, and delivered up the chiefs of the Median faction which were in their hands; they vainly fancied, that they might redeem themselves with money, but in this they were greatly mistaken; for Pausanias, disdaining their proposal, hurried them away to Corinth, and caused them there to be put to death [i].

The Greeks victorious at Mycale.

THE same day that the battle of Platæa was fought, Leotychides king of Sparta, with Xanthippus the Athenian, gained a glorious victory at Mycale, where the last remains of the Persian fleet and of the Persian armies, which had been drawn together for the destruction of Greece, were utterly defeated; the commanders of the Persian fleet greatly discouraged their men by the pusillanimity of their conduct; for notwithstanding they had a great number of ships, they ran them all on shore, and sought to shelter themselves under the protection of an army of sixty thousand men, which under the command of Tigranes had been left to defend Ionia. The Greeks seeing this determined to attack them on shore, and Leotychides, standing in towards the coasts, ordered a herald to make proclamation, when he drew near enough to be heard, in the Greek tongue, in these words: "Men of Ionia, such among you as my "voice reaches hearken with attention to what I say, "the

[i] Herodot. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, ubi supra.

" the rather becauſe the Perſians cannot underſtand me;
" when the battle begins, every one of you ought in the
" firſt place to remember liberty, and in the next, that
" the word in our army is Hebe; let ſuch as hear me in-
" form thoſe who hear me not." This proclamation had a double effect, for it inclined many of the Ionians to favour the Greeks, and it ſo frighted the Perſians, that they knew not whom to truſt (I). The Perſians, before the

(I) Herodotus is no mighty admirer of Leotychides king of Sparta, for he expreſly gives the preference to the Athenians, after them to the Corinthians, the Trœzenians, and the Sicyonians (34); yet the truth ſeems to be, that Leotychides behaved with great prudence upon this occaſion, as we have ſaid above in the text; and there is one inſtance of his abilities as a general, which has been little taken notice of, and which it is our duty therefore particularly to mention here: He it was who contrived that miracle, as ſome called it, of the victory won at Platæa, not in conſequence of any intelligence, for that was impoſſible, but believing it the beſt way to incline the Ionians to favour the Greeks; he induſtriouſly ſpread the pretended news, and at the ſame time openly invited the Ionians to throw off the yoke, and aſſert their freedom; whence, as is evident from the account in the text, this victory in a great meaſure proceeded (35). This conduct of his is very reconcileable to one of his ſayings recorded by Plutarch: A Spartan in good circumſtances aſked one day this prince, How he might beſt preſerve his happineſs? Leotychides anſwered, By not truſting all to fortune (36). It is certain, that Leotychides was not a very adventurous admiral, but abſolutely refuſed to accompany Xanthippus when he found the bridges removed which Xerxes had thrown croſs the Helleſpont; but this may be eaſily accounted for, without derogating at all from the courage and military capacity of the king of Sparta; the Athenians, by nature and by the conſtitution of their ſtate, were inclined to maritime affairs, and enabled to obtain the empire of the ſea, of which as yet Sparta had little ambition, though ſhe poſſeſſed it; for, as Herodotus plainly ſays, the command was given her by the allies, who refuſed to follow any other than a Spartan admiral (37). Leotychides therefore did all in his power to ſerve the common cauſe, while the united fleet continued together

(34) Herodot. Hiſt. lib. ix. (35) Polyæn. Strategem. lib. i. c. 33. lib. viii. c. 45. Frontin. Strategem. lib. i. c 2. (36) Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon. (37) Herodot. lib. vii.

the battle began, disarmed the Samians, having some intelligence that they had been intriguing with the Greeks; but confiding greatly in the Milesians, they entrusted them with the custody of the passages through the mountains behind them; these dispositions made, they prepared to defend their fortifications the best they could; yet neither their conduct nor their valour availed much, for the Greeks landing, the Athenians marched strait forward along the shore, the Lacedæmonians took a compass by the hills. The former after an obstinate resistance forced the Persian camp, about the same time that the latter attacked them in the rear; the Samians, in the midst of the battle catching up whatever came to hand, fell upon the Persians in their very camp, and the Milesians, who were to have guarded the passes, as soon as the Persians fled, fell upon them, and either killed them, or made them prisoners [k]. A very odd circumstance, which according to the superstition of those times passed for miraculous, contributed much to the gaining of this victory; it was this; about the time the battle began a rumour was spread throughout the army, that the Barbarians were beaten at Platæa, though, as we have observed, that engagement happened in the morning of that day in the evening of which this happened at Mycale; but of this strange business, which some modern writers have treated very obscurely, the reader hath received a satisfactory account in the note I [l].

Pausanias intrigues with Artabazus. Year after the Flood, 2508. Year before Christ, 491.

PAUSANIAS was afterwards sent to take the command of the fleet, with strict orders to free the Grecian cities from the Persian garrisons; on this design he sailed with a great fleet to Cyprus, thence to Byzantium, which according to his instructions he set at liberty, and this seems to have been the last of his exploits; for immediately upon this he fell into a scandalous treaty with the Persians, affecting by the assistance of the great king to make himself sovereign of Greece; that at this time he first entered into these practices

[k] Herodot.

[l] Wanley's History of Man. Beauchamp's Essays, c. 1. sect. vi.

gether in the Hellespont; but when slight descents were proposed, and the pillaging of the enemy's coasts and ships, he whose particular squadron was of no strength, did not think fit to remain long at sea, because in all probability he conceived, that nothing could be further done worthy of the Spartan name and glory.

tices appears from hence, he ſent ſuch Perſians of great quality as he took in Byzantium to Gongylus of Eretria, telling the Grecian chiefs that he reſerved them for puniſhment, whereas he had privately given directions that they ſhould be ſent back in ſafety to Xerxes[m]. As ſoon as he had conceived theſe ſtrange notions in his head, he fell into the manners of the Perſians, affected all their luxury, and derided the plain cuſtoms of his country, of which he had formerly been ſo fond. Another action happened at Byzantium extreamly prejudicial to his character, and which ſome ſay diſturbed him to his death; he fell violently in love with a young lady named Cleonice, whom her parents, fearing to deny him, forced to take part of his bed; but ſhe in great modeſty deſiring that the lights might be put out, when ſhe came into his chamber, unfortunately ſtumbled on an extinguiſhed lamp, whereupon he, awakening, and fearing that ſome aſſaſſin had broke into his room, catched up his ſword and mortally wounded her. His affliction for this accident put him almoſt beſide himſelf [n]; the allies in the mean time took great umbrage at his conduct, and privately ſent to accuſe him at Sparta; in the interim they deprived him of his command, and even beſieged him in Byzantium [o]; eſcaping, however, from thence, he fled to Heraclea, where he endeavoured, according to the methods then in uſe, to pacify the ghoſt of Cleonice. In this place he met with certain perſons who had, or pretended to have, the power of raiſing the ſpirits of perſons deceaſed, and who at his entreaty brought up that of his miſtreſs, who to all his queſtions gave him this ſhort anſwer: When you come to Sparta, you will find an end to all your misfortunes [p]. Accordingly when he came home, the ephori cauſed him to be ſeized; but having no ſufficient evidence, and not caring in all probability to proceed with rigour againſt ſo eminent a perſon on bare ſuſpicions, he was for a time enlarged. Theſe warnings did not deter him from carrying on the projects he had formed. Artabazus was the perſon he negotiated with, and between them they fixed this rule; that whoever brought any of Pauſanias's epiſtles ſhould immediately be put to death, that there might be no poſſibility of producing witneſſes againſt him [q]. But

[m] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. [n] Plut. in vit. Cymonis. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Pauſan. [o] Plut. in vit. Cimonis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. ii. c. 15.

growing impatient, and finding that Themiſtocles, notwithſtanding the injuries done him by the Athenians, would not enter into his meaſures, Pauſanias wrote in peremptory terms to Artabazus, and confided his letters to Argilius his particular favourite, and as ſome ſay, catamite. This man, conſidering with himſelf that none of Pauſanias's meſſengers were come back again, determined to open his letters, and finding by their contents that he was to have met with no better treatment than his predeceſſors, he carried them directly to the ephori, who diſcovered much from them, but yet not enough to convict Pauſanias; but Argilius ſoon helped this out, for retiring to Tænarus, and pretending there to pay his devotions to Neptune, he ſet up a double tent; in one part of which he concealed certain Spartans, and in the other he entertained Pauſanias, who came to expoſtulate with him for not carrying his letters; by theſe expoſtulations, thoſe who overheard them became direct witneſſes againſt him, ſo that, at his return to Sparta, the ephori determined to impriſon him, of which having ſome intelligence, he retired to the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, and there took ſanctuary, which gave occaſion to one of the moſt extraordinary proceedings any where recorded in hiſtory; for the Lacedæmonians, not caring to invade the ſanctuary, were at a loſs what to do, till the mother of Pauſanias taking a tile in her hand came to the temple, and laid it down at the door, after which, without ſpeaking a word, ſhe retired to her own houſe; the Spartans, having conſidered her conduct, following her example blocked up the gate, and, thus preventing his going out, reduced him to the neceſſity of ſtarving in the temple. When they were ſure he was dead, they opened the gate again, and taking out his body delivered it to his relations[r]. About this time Leotychides, being ſent with a great army to chaſtiſe the Theſſalians, who had ſhewn themſelves no friends to Greece in general, and expreſſed a particular enmity towards Sparta, inſtead of doing his duty, after he had obtained a victory and reduced the enemy into very bad circumſtances, began to receive bribes, and informations being thereupon given in againſt him, he was ſurprized in his tent with money in both hands. Returning to Sparta, and finding that his citizens were in no humour to diſpenſe with

[r] Plut. in Parallel. x. in vit. Themiſt. in Apophth. Mulier. Lacon. Thucyd. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. Polyæn. Strategem. lib. viii. 51. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. ubi ſupra.

with his infidelity, he to avoid their fury fled to Tegea, and died there in exile, having ſurvived his ſon Zeuxidamus, in whom he placed all his hopes [s].

PLISTARCHUS the ſon of Leonidas, to whom Pauſanias was tutor did not live long; he was ſucceeded by Pliſtoanax the ſon of Pauſanias, the next legal heir of the royal family, as Leotychides was by his grandſon Archidamus; as for Pliſtoanax, he was a prince of a very mild and peaceable diſpoſition, one who gave no umbrage to his fellow-citizens, and who, in their quarrels with the Athenians, acted according to their directions, and did not endeavour to embroil them, that he might make himſelf the more neceſſary to them [t]. Archidamus was of a like diſpoſition, and it may be truly ſaid, that under the reigns of theſe princes the Spartans felt no miſchiefs but what they brought upon themſelves, and had no good luck but what was derived to them from their kings and their family; for in the nonage of Pliſtoanax Nicomedes the ſon of Cleombrotus acted as his tutor. At the end of the LXXVIIth olympiad a moſt dreadful earthquake happened at Sparta: Diodorus ſays, that twenty thouſand perſons loſt their lives, and Plutarch affirms, that only five houſes in the city eſcaped ruin; in the midſt of this general confuſion, Archidamus gave ſuch an inſtance of his wiſdom and firmneſs, as muſt render him everlaſtingly admired; conſidering with himſelf that his citizens were of far greater value than even their moſt valuable effects, and yet ſeeing that to ſave theſe they were ready to riſque themſelves, he cauſed an alarm to be ſounded, as if an enemy had been juſt at hand, wherupon in haſte they armed themſelves and repaired into the field, which wrought them double ſafety; for the Helotes, now conceiving that they had a fit time to be revenged of their cruel maſters, unanimouſly took up arms, and marched boldly to Sparta, expecting they ſhould find none to withſtand them; but they were greatly miſtaken, for Archidamus, with his citizens compleatly armed, made ſuch a ſtand, that they were conſtrained to retire. However, knowing they could now expect no favour from their lords, whom they had ſo ill treated in the time of their diſtreſs, they determined with themſelves to perſiſt in their revolt, and to truſt for a pacification to their ſwords, rather than to their entreaties [u]. Many reaſons contributed

The reigns of Pliſtarchus, Pliſtoanax, and of Archidamus.

[s] Herod lib. vi. Pauſan. Lacon. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Meſſen. Juſtin. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Cimon.

to ſtrengthen the Helotes in this determination; the Spartans were already embroiled with the Athenians, who were inclined to diſpute with them the ſovereignty of Greece; the Meſſenians began to ſhew evident marks of their reſentment of the indignities and oppreſſions which were thrown upon them; the reſt of the Peloponneſian ſtates were not a little diſſatisfied, ſo that never were the Lacedæmonians leſs able to act vigorouſly againſt their rebellious ſubjects than at preſent. The firſt ſtep they took, after throwing off the yoke, was ſeizing a port in Meſſenia, from whence they made continual inroads into Laconia, burning and pillaging all the villages they came to; the Spartans in this diſtreſs applied themſelves to Athens for aſſiſtance, which after ſome oppoſition was granted them, and ſent under the command of Cimon the ſon of Miltiades; they likewiſe ſollicited their other allies, who, ſeeing the readineſs of the Athenians, and conſidering the great ſervices which all Greece had received from Sparta, likewiſe ſent their quotas, which enabled Archidamus to take the field, notwithſtanding the Meſſenians had joined with the Helotes and fortified Ithome [x]. It is not very clear, whether there happened any general battle or not; but however it was, the Helotes and Meſſenians thought it better to retire to Ithome, than to abide the Spartan army in the field, whereby the latter, much againſt their wills, were conſtrained to make the ſiege of this city; for, as we have more than once obſerved, this was a part of the military ſcience, in which the Lacedæmonians were but indifferently ſkilled; it was chiefly on this account that they beſought the aid of the Athenians, and yet, when their troops came before the city, and behaved themſelves more actively than the Spartans themſelves, they grew jealous of them, and being fearful leſt the ſtrangers in their army might be corrupted, and, being countenanced by the Athenians, go over to the enemy; they diſmiſſed the latter, telling them they had no farther occaſion for their ſervice, which exceedingly incenſed the people of Athens, and made them more ready to think of any method to reduce the Spartan greatneſs, than hitherto they had been [y]. While things were in this ſituation, the Phocians made war upon the Dorians who inhabited mount Parnaſſus, and took from them ſeveral cities, and amongſt the reſt their capital. Theſe Dorians being originally Lacedæmonians, the Spartans diſpatched

[x] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. [y] Plut. in vit. Cimon. Thucyd. lib. i.

diſpatched an army under the command of Nicomedes; he quickly reduced the Phocians to reaſon, and ſet all things right; but returning with his army, the Athenians, joining the Argives and Theſſalians, ſhut up the paſſages into Peloponneſus: Nicomedes upon this retired towards Tanagra in Bœotia, whither the Athenians followed him, and forced him to an engagement, wherein, the Theſſalians deſerting them, they had much the worſt [z]; the next year the Lacedæmonians aſſiſted the Thebans againſt the Athenians, but were therein ſo unfortunate as to be totally routed at Tanagra with great loſs. The Meſſenian war was ſtill carried on, and was not like to be terminated even in the tenth year, Ithome being naturally a ſtrong place, and the oracle at Delphi having threatened the Spartans, if they injured the ſuppliants of Jupiter Ithome, wherefore they were forced to turn their ſiege into a blockade, and at laſt hearkened to terms of accommodation, whereby it was agreed, that the Meſſenians ſhould depart Peloponneſus, never to return, on pain of becoming ſlaves if they did [a]; theſe poor people were thereupon received with their wives and children by the Athenians, rather out of ſpleen to Sparta, than any great deſire to render ſervice to the diſtreſſed. They granted them Naupactus for their reſidence, from whence they afterwards brought them to inhabit part of their own country, of which in the courſe of the Peloponneſian war they diſpoſſeſſed the Lacedæmonians [b]. The next war the Lacedæmonians undertook was that ſtiled the ſacred, by ſome the Phocian war; the end of it was to put the temple at Delphi into the hands of the inhabitants of the country, whereas it had before belonged to the Phocians, which the Spartans effected, and for which the Delphians by a decree conferred on the Lacedæmonians a right of firſt conſulting the oracle, which decree they engraved on the forehead of a brazen wolf conſecrated in the temple; the Athenians ſoon after reſtored the temple to the Phocians, and from them obtained the ſame privilege which the Delphians had granted to the Spartans, and this decree they cauſed to be engraven on the right ſide of the wolf; the Lacedæmonians having induced the Bœotians to revolt from the Athenians, and Tolmides, who attempted to reduce them,

[z] Diod. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [a] Pauſan. Meſſen.
[b] Thucyd. lib. iv. [c] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

being ſlain, and Eubœa at the ſame time revolting, they held this a fit ſeaſon for giving a mortal blow to Athens; for which cauſe Pliſtoanax was ordered to invade the Athenian territories with a great army, with him; being but young, Cleondrides was ſent to direct him, but he proved an unlucky guardian; for, being a lover of money, he accepted a bribe from Pericles, and perſuaded the king to return home without effecting any thing, for which the Spartans puniſhed him with death, and drove their king into baniſhment; not long after, a peace was made between this nation and the Athenians, which though it laſted for ſome time, yet was it far from extinguiſhing that hatred which for ſome time had burnt in the boſoms of both [d]. At firſt the Athenians had the ſtronger party among the Greeks, becauſe the Lacedæmonians had behaved with haughtineſs while they held the ſovereignty; but the Athenians gaining power, and making as bad uſe of it, or worſe, almoſt all Greece, except the ſtates immediately under her juriſdiction, and even ſome of them alſo, hated her, and applied themſelves to the Spartans: In the fourteenth year of the truce, which was to have laſted thirty, a great aſſembly of deputies from the ſtates of Peloponneſus and other parts of Greece was held at Lacedæmon, where they unanimouſly accuſed the Athenians of tyranny, oppreſſion, injuſtice, plundering them of vaſt ſums of money, and in fine of a multitude of other crimes, beſeeching the Lacedæmonians to ſtir in the common cauſe of Greece, and not ſuffer the Athenians to effect what the Perſian king with all his power was not able to perform. Some embaſſadors of Athens, who were by chance in the city, defended the cauſe of their country ſtoutly. The Spartans, however, having heard both parties, were greatly inclined immediately to declare war againſt the Athenians [e]. But Archidamus, like a wiſe and good prince, interpoſed, and adviſed them to weigh well the ſtep they were about to take; he ſhewed them, that, comparing their own ſtate with that of Athens, not only the aid of the Greeks, but of the Barbarians alſo, was neceſſary. He demonſtrated, that the invaſion of Attica would ſignify little, that if they went ſlowly into this buſineſs, the Athenians might probably return to a proper temper, and

[d] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Thucyd. lib. 1. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Plut. in vit. Periclis. Juſtin. lib. iii. c. 7.

and make satisfaction to their allies, that at least they would preserve their own reputation, and would enable themselves to carry on the war with effect. But Sthenelaides, one of the ephori declared himself of a different sentiment; he alledged, that it was a great happiness for Sparta, that other states had taken umbrage at her rival, that if she was not quickly pulled down, their united strength would be too little, and that if they took not this opportunity, they might never have it in their power at all. At his motion therefore war was decreed immediately, after which deputies were sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, whence they received a response suited to their wishes: Embassadors were likewise sent to all the allies to desire them to prepare their quotas, and also to Athens to offer peace upon certain conditions, which at the motion of Pericles were rejected [f].

The commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

The first action of the Peloponnesian war was the attempt made upon Platæa by the Thebans; immediately after this both parties took the field, all the Peloponnesians, except the Argives and Achæans, sided with Sparta; without Peloponnesus the Megareans, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians; the Corinthians, Megareans, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciots, and Leucadians furnished ships, the Bœotians, Phocians, and Locrians sent cavalry, the rest of the states furnished their respective quotas in foot. Archidamus, at the head of a mighty army, marched to the frontiers of Attica, from whence he dispatched a messenger to Athens, being very desirous even to the last of avoiding if possible this war; but the messenger was sent back unheard, and the enemies of Archidamus beginning to insinuate, that, out of friendship to the Athenians, he betrayed the common cause, he marched into Attica, and penetrated within a few miles of Athens itself, destroying the country, and wasting all things in a terrible manner, after which he returned through Bœotia into Peloponnesus [g]; in the mean time the Athenian fleet infested the coast of Laconia, and the troops on board it landing besieged Methone, to the relief of which Brasidas the Spartan hasted with a hundred men, and breaking with much ado through the enemy, got safe into the town, where he made so vigorous a resistance, that the Athenians

[f] Thucyd. lib. i. [g] Diodor. Thucyd. Plut. in vit. Periclis.

Athenians were forced to retire; the same year the inhabitants of Ægina, being expelled by the Athenians, fled into Peloponnesus, and had the district of Thyrea assigned them by the Spartans. In the spring of the second year Archidamus entered Attica again, but after remaining there forty days, hearing that Pericles with a great many wasted Peloponnesus, he returned to assist his countrymen, the rather because the plague raged violently in Attica [h]. In the third year Archidamus besieged Platæa, which making an obstinate defence, he was constrained to turn his siege into a blockade. In the fourth year he entered Attica the third time, and wasted all the ripe corn, whereby the Athenians were greatly distressed; the same year the Mitylenians revolted from the Athenians, and in the winter of that year Platæa was reduced to such streights, that part of its garrison forced their way through the Peloponnesian guards, and escaped to Athens; the rest were in the beginning of the next year forced to yield, and were all put to death, the city being razed to the ground, notwithstanding the generous zeal she had expressed in the cause of Greece, in the memorable battle fought on her territories [i]; this year also Archidamus died in a good old age and after a very long reign; he was one of the best kings that Sparta ever had, and this will in some measure appear from the following saying of his; being asked who were governors at Sparta, he answered, The laws and the magistrates according to those laws; he left behind him two sons Agis and Agesilaus, the eldest of which succeeded him [k].

The reign of Agis. Year after the Flood, 2331. BeforeChrist 668.

In the spring after his father's death Agis invaded Attica, and while he was employed there the Athenians seized Pylus, whither he was forced to hasten, but to little purpose, a hundred and twenty of the nobility of Sparta being taken and sent prisoners to Athens; not long after, the Athenians seized the island of Cythera, and filled it with a colony of Messenians, who proved the bitterest enemies, as indeed they might well, to the Lacedæmonians [l]. Thyrea was also taken, and the poor inhabitants of Ægina who had setttled there were massacred. To remove

[h] Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor. lib. xii. Justin. lib. iv. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Cimon. Plut. in vit Periclis. [i] Thucyd. lib. iii. Plut. ubi supra. [k] Plut. Apophth. Lacon. [l] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diod. Sicul. lib. xii.

move the war to a greater distance, the Lacedæmonians sent Brasidas their famous general into Thrace, where he effectually answered their expectations, and humbled the pride of the Athenians. When he was about to march with the army, proclamation was made by the command of the ephori, that such of the Helotes as were willing to enlist themselves as volunteers should be manumitted; which proposition being joyfully accepted by two thousand of them, they were accordingly set at liberty, but their liberty consisted only in being shewn a short road into another world; for they having pointed out to their jealous masters, who amongst them were most warlike, they were immediately dispatched privately, and seven hundred of the stoutest of the remaining Helotes were, together with a thousand mercenary Peloponnesians, sent with Brasidas [m]. Thucydides the historian commanded the Athenian forces at that time in Thrace, and performed there whatever could be expected from a wise man and an experienced commander; but the fortune of Brasidas, the valour of his forces, and the pronenes of the people of the country to side with him against the Athenians, gave such high advantages to the Lacedæmonians and their allies, that Amphipolis and several other cities were taken. The use made of this at Sparta was to set new negotiations on foot, partly because the war was very burthensome, and partly because Brasidas was greatly envied. With much ado a truce was concluded for a year, at the end of which Brasidas fell upon Cleon, who commanded the Athenian forces in the neighbourhood of Amphipolis, and gained a great victory, Cleon himself with six hundred Athenians being slain, with the loss only of seven Spartans; and yet this victory was too dear, Brasidas being mortally wounded. He was certainly one of the bravest, and one of the modestest men of his age, admired of all men for his great exploits, while at the same time he behaved with as much humility as the meanest citizen at Sparta; he exactly made good the letter he sent the ephori, when he first arrived in Thrace, and which was conceived in these words; What is for the honour of the state I will perform, or die [n]. Plutarch has preserved a saying of his, which both its good sense, and its being his, render worthy of being transcribed here. Looking one day among some dried figs, he catched a mouse, which immediately turned and bit his fingers, whereupon

[m] Thucyd. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. [n] Thucyd. ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. Apophth. Lacon.

whereupon he let it go; You ſee, ſaid he to ſome who ſtood near him, That creatures that have but little ſtrength can get rid of invaders, if they dare exert the little they have [o]. The great miſchiefs which this captain had wrought the Athenians, and the mighty loſs which the Spartans conceived they had ſuſtained by his death, determined both ſtates to put an end to the war; Pliſtoanax laboured all he could to promote this diſpoſition, perſuading himſelf, that in a time of peace he ſhould be better able to deal with his mutinous ſubjects, than while a war was carrying on, the various events of which put it in their power to find daily new matter of reproach againſt him. We have ſeen on what account he was baniſhed, and we are aſſured, that he lived in exile nineteen years; his return was wrought by a reſponſe from Delphi, concerning which the Spartans affected afterwards to have many doubts, whether it came really from the god, or from ſome of Pliſtoanax's agents [p]. The king, however, getting the ephori for the time preſent to join with him, procured a peace to be concluded after the war had raged ten years. The peace was hardly made before new intrigues were ſet on foot in Peloponneſus; the Corinthians, and in general the allies of Sparta, were greatly offended with the peace, becauſe it did not exactly anſwer their private purpoſes; beſides they were apprehenſive leſt Sparta and Athens ſhould enter into a cloſe union, whereby the dominion of Peloponneſus might be left to the former, and the ſovereignty of the iſlands with the Grecian colonies in Aſia transferred to the latter. To defeat this ſcheme, if any ſuch there was or ſhould be, ſeveral of the Peloponneſian ſtates leagued themſelves with Argos, a very powerful republic, which had never any great friendſhip for Sparta, and which at this time ſeemed to threaten her; this league made the Lacedæmonians very uneaſy, and the more, when they found that the Argives, and thoſe who were allied with them, were nogotiating at Athens. Thither therefore the Lacedæmonians ſent their embaſſadors, who in all probability would have carried their point, if they had depended upon Nicias their old and conſtant friend; but ſuffering themſelves to be deceived by the artifices of Alcibiades, who, acting on his uncle Pericles's maxims, ſought to revive the war, they themſelves were

[o] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. [p] Thucyd. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Nic.

were drawn to give the Athenians great ſuſpicion [q]. The next year the new ephori grew likewiſe fond of war, and though Nicias ſtrongly laboured to compoſe all differences, yet all he could obtain was no more than the ſwearing to the peace anew, which he well enough underſtood would not content his citizens [r]. In the ſummer when the XCth olympiad was celebrated, the Lacedæmonians received an high affront. The Eleans refuſed to let them ſacrifice, or in any manner partake of the ſacred rites, placing a ſtrong guard on the temple in order to prevent it; the reaſon aſſigned for this was, that the Lacedæmonians, while former olympics were held, had ſeized the caſtle of Phoricus, for which they were fined two hundred drachmæ, which fine they not having paid, they inſiſted on excluding them. The Lacedæmonians would have excuſed themſelves by their embaſſadors, but their excuſes were not accepted, and ſo they were forced to ſacrifice at home, which highly incenſed them [s] (K). A quarrel happened in the winter between

[q] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Nic. [s] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Eleis.

(K) Of the Olympic games we have elſewhere ſpoken ſomewhat, but not enough to make either this or many other paſſages, which will hereafter follow, perfectly clear; and therefore we will take this opportunity of ſupplying theſe deficiencies here (38). The olympiads were not, as ſome imagine, celebrated every fifth year, nor were they, ſtrictly ſpeaking, celebrated every fourth year. They were held in the ſecond month of the fifth year, or, if it be poſſible to expreſs it clearer, after the completion of four full years (39). They began on the eleventh day of the lunar month, and laſted till the fifteenth, when the moon was full; there are various accounts of the inſtitutions of theſe games, but the moſt ſatisfactory is that given by Strabo, who in his deſcription of Elis ſays, that an Ætolian colony, together with ſome of Hercules's poſterity, after having ſubdued many of the Piſæan towns, and amongſt them Olympia, there inſtituted theſe ſolemnities (40). The care and management of theſe games belonged originally to the Piſæans, but afterwards to the Eleans, by whom the Piſæans were deſtroyed and their very name extinguiſhed; for the moſt part this nation enjoyed a profound tranquillity, the Greeks, out of a religious reſpect to their ſuperintendency of theſe games,

(38) Univerſal Hiſtory Vol. v. p. 434. (39) Johan. Tzetz. Chiliad. 1. Hiſt. 21. (40) Geogr. lib. viii.

between the Heracleans of Trachinia and the Theſſalians, wherein Penares a Lacedæmonian general was ſlain; however, the Corinthians were with-held from joining with the Argives, which gave ſome hopes that the power of that republic might be weakened [t]. The next year the Argives attempted to ſurprize Epidaurus, in hopes of ſecuring themſelves on that ſide againſt the Corinthians, and alſo open an eaſy paſſage to their allies the Athenians; in the winter the Lacedæmonians put a garriſon of three hundred men into Epidaurus. The next ſummer Sparta reſolved to exert herſelf, and to cruſh at once the Argives and their allies. With this view the ephori and ſenate ſent to exhort all their confederates to be in readineſs to take the field early, as they themſelves would be; they accordingly appeared, and king Agis at the head of the Spartans, Arcadians, Bœotians,

[t] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

games, not ſuffering the ſound of war to be heard amongſt them; which will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider, that during the celebration of theſe games there was a general truce, that all the inhabitants of Greece might be at liberty to aſſiſt at them; and in conſequence of a breach of this truce the Eleans proceeded in the manner above deſcribed againſt the Spartans (41). The ſecurity, which for the generality theſe people enjoyed, made them addict themſelves more to huſbandry than any other people of Greece, becauſe they were under no ſort of reſtraint nor apprehenſion in their fields, but were conſidered as ſervants of the Olympian Jupiter. At firſt they appointed one judge only: At the fifteenth olympiad they aſſigned two, and by degrees theſe ſwelled to no leſs than twelve, one being choſen out of each of the Elean tribes (42). When the Arcadians become too powerful for the Eleans, the number decreaſed again; yet even in the reign of the Roman emperor Adrian there were no fewer of them than ten. All the perſons who fought to contend in theſe games were obliged to appear ten months before at Elis, where from that time till the games were over they were obliged to reſide, and to prepare themſelves after a certain ſettled method for their exerciſes. At the ſolemnity the Hellanodicæ, that is, the Elean judges, ſat naked, having the victoral crown before them, which, when the games were over, they preſented to him whoſe due they conceived it to be (43).

(41) Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. (42) Pauſan. in Eliac. (43) Cælius Rhodiginus Antiq. Lect. lib. xxii. c. 17. Alex. ab Alexand. Genial. Dier. lib. v. c. 8.

ans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Phliaſians and Megareans, entered the territory of Argos with ſuch an army as had not been ſeen ſince the beginning of the Peloponneſian war. The Argives were very ill prepared, the ſuccours they expected from Athens not being arrived; however, they reſolved to fight, though with inferior forces; but at the very inſtant the engagement ſhould have begun, two of the Argive captains cried out to king Agis, that their citizens were willing to do whatever was juſt, and to make peace with the Lacedæmonians; which made ſuch an impreſſion on the king, who was a prince of a mild and benevolent diſpoſition, that he immediately conſented to a truce of four months; which exceedingly povoked the allies of Sparta, who could not bear after all their preparations to ſee nothing effected. On the return therefore of Agis to Sparta, his citizens condemned him to pay a great fine, and would have raſed his houſe, if he had not promiſed them to redeem his honour by ſome great exploit when he ſhould be next employed, with which, however, they were hardly to be pacified; but what ſeems more extraordinary is, that the Argives were ſo unreaſonable as to puniſh their captains for having preſerved them from ruin, nay they carried their rage ſo far, that they had certainly knocked them in the head with ſtones, if they had not retired into ſanctuary [u]. The true reaſon why the Argives were ſo warm was, becauſe the Athenians had ſent them a ſupply of one thouſand foot and three hundred horſe under the command of Alcibiades, at whoſe inſtigation they ſolemnly renounced the truce made with Agis. When the Spartans were informed of this, they prepared to take the field; but they would not intruſt their king with the command of the army, without aſſigning him ten counſellors or field-deputies, without whoſe approbation he was to attempt nothing. At Mantinæa the armies fronted each other, being the greateſt that the Greeks had ever brought into the field againſt each other; but the Argives and their allies were more numerous than the Spartans; ſome therefore adviſed king Agis not to fight, to which he anſwered cooly, If we would rule many, we muſt fight many [x]. He diſpoſed his troops in excellent order, and gave directions ſuitable to the occaſion; but the generals under him did not behave ſo well, ſo that, while the right wing which was under his command carried all before it, the

[u] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. [x] Plut. Apoththegm. Lacon.

the left was routed, which when Agis beheld, he notwithſtanding continued his purſuit; and when the enemy was entirely broken in their left and centre, he turned ſhort, and charged their right in flank and rear, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance defeated them alſo, and gained a complete victory. King Pliſtoanax with a body of reſerve which had been left at Sparta, hearing of the great aſſiſtance which the Argives had received, marched to the reinforcement of Agis and his countrymen; but arrived not till the victory was gained, ſo that, his preſence being no longer neceſſary, he returned preſently after with his troops to Lacedæmon. The Argives and their allies loſt eleven hundred men in this battle, in which there fell three hundred Spartans; as for the allies of Sparta, as they did little, ſo they ſuffered little [y]. After this things continued in Greece in great confuſion, the faction in Argos who were for oligarchy ſiding with Sparta, thoſe who affected democracy with the Athenians; great ſtirs there were, and little peace; the Athenians at laſt ventured to break the league by attacking the iſle of Melos, of which, however, the Spartans would take no notice, only they cauſed proclamation to be made, that, ſince the Athenians preyed upon their ſubjects without regard to laws, their ſubjects might if they pleaſed prey upon the Athenians. The miſeries which her ambition had brought upon her were ſo evident in this ſtate, that ſhe began now to act with more wiſdom and mildneſs than hitherto ſhe had done; the Helotes were treated with lenity, a thouſand of them were actually ſet at liberty for the ſervice they had performed under Braſidas; their allies were uſed with mildneſs and reſpect, and the conſequences of theſe meaſures were, that matters began to take another aſpect; the Athenians, graſping too many things and acting haughtily, were deſpiſed, while Sparta gained the command and the hearts of moſt of the Peloponneſians [z]. In the laſt year of the XCIId olympiad Pliſtoanax died; the laſt act of his life which was memorable was reſettling the affairs of the Parrhaſians, who were torn with inteſtine wars; during the time of his exile his ſon Pauſanias had the regal title, his uncle Cleomenes acting as his tutor; but when Pliſtoanax was recalled, he again aſſumed the regal dignity, in which the ſame Pauſanias ſucceeded him at his death [a].

Agis

[y] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad.
[z] Pauſan. Lacon. Thucyd. ubi ſupra.
[a] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

Agis king of Sparta was ſent with an army againſt the Eleans, to revenge the diſhonour done the republic, by forbidding them to be preſent at the Olympian games. This war was of ſome continuance; the firſt year the king penetrated as far almoſt as the mount Olympus, but an earthquake happening while he was in the field, his forces would needs return home. The next year Agis invaded Elis again and did a great deal of miſchief; whereupon Xenias an Elean put himſelf at the head of a party and declared for the Lacedæmonians, ſeeking in truth to eſtabliſh an oligarchy; but Thraſydrus, who was at the head of the other faction, prevailed, and drove him out of the city; the third year Agis entered Elis again, and after remaining there ſome time, he left a part of his army under the command of Lyſiſtratus a Spartan, with orders to ſupport Xenias and his friends. Thraſydrus, ſeeing plainly that his country would be ruined, came to a compoſition with Xenias, and by this means treated with the Spartans, whereupon a peace enſued [b]. The Peloponneſian war now broke out again: The Athenians had ſent a great army into Sicily, the conſequence of which being conſidered, the Lacedæmonians ſent Gylippus to aſſiſt the Syracuſans with a ſmall force, but with promiſe of farther ſupply, which was likewiſe performed [c]. About the ſame time Alcibiades repaired to Sparta, being expelled his own country by a prevailing faction; he fell immediately into the Spartan manner of living, which equally endeared him to the men and to the women; to the former he promiſed, that he would put them in a ſhort train of ending the war, and to the latter he pretended, that there were no women comparable to thoſe of Sparta. Agis was at firſt ſo charmed with him, that he took him home to his houſe; but he made him a very ill return for that favour by debauching his wife. As to the promiſes he had made the ſenate, he performed them tolerably well; for when he went with Agis to invade Attica, he adviſed him to fortify the caſtle of Decelea, which had never been thought of before, and which proved ſuch a thorn to the Athenians, as diſtreſſed them more than all that happened to them beſides; for now the Spartans did not come, as formerly, once a year into their neighbourhood, but were there continually, ſo that either they could not

Agis enters the territories of Elis. Year after the Flood, 2276. Year before Chriſt, 723.

[b] Pauſan. in Eleis. [c] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Nic. Juſtin. l. iv.

not plough or ſow at all, or, if they did, their enemies bore away the crop [d]. The Spartans were ſo well pleaſed at this counſel of Alcibiades, that they cried him up as a captain far ſuperior to any of their own chiefs, which brought on him the envy of the nobility, which with the jealouſy of Agis made him glad to quit Laconia, to ſeek among the Barbarians a place of ſafety. Timæa the wife of Agis brought forth about this time a ſon, who was called Leotychides, concerning whom Agis ſaid publickly, that Alcibiades was his father; Timæa increaſed the ſuſpicion as to her ſon's birth by her own fooliſh behaviour, for ſhe was ever telling her maids, that the boy's name ought to be Alcibiades inſtead of Leotychides; and thus, while the child's birth was canvaſſed at home, Alcibiades confirmed all the ſuſpicions abroad, by ſaying openly, that he did not debauch Timæa out of luſt, but from the ambition he had of having ſome of his poſterity reign over the Spartans [e]; but his folly defeated his wickedneſs, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and deprived the unhappy Leotychides of his ſucceſſion. Gylippus all this while managed their affairs in Sicily with great reputation; at firſt he was little ſet by, even among the Syracuſans whom he came to aſſiſt, becauſe of the plainneſs of his garb and of his ſpeech; but when by degrees they came to know him better, when they ſaw that the ſoldiers confided in him, and that great ſuccours were ſent him from Peloponneſus, they treated him with greater reſpect, and at laſt run into the other extreme, and would have put all things into his hands; but he was far from making an ill uſe of his power, he knew he was ſent to relieve the Sicilians, and not to oppreſs them; he was, however, covetous, and we ſhall ſee hereafter how that vice not only tarniſhed all his good qualities, but deſtroyed his fortune and ruined his reputation [f]. The defeat of the Athenians in Sicily filled the Spartans with great hopes; they neglected not therefore any means, that could be thought of, either to depreſs their rival's affairs, or to raiſe their own; Aſtyochus was ſent to command the foreign troops which were raiſed with Perſian money: King Agis managed the war in the heart of Attica,

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. [e] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. in vit. Alcibiad. & Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Alcibiad. Juſtin. lib. v. c. 2. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Nic. Juſtin. iv. 4.

tica, where he had all the ſummer a good army, beſides the garriſon in Decelea [g]. Lyſander was now employed in maritime affairs; and as he proved the great hero of Sparta, and the finiſher of the Peloponneſian war, it is fit, that we ſhould in this place give the reader his character. Plutarch ſays, that though it is not certain that he was of either of the royal families, yet it was generally agreed, that he was of the Herculean race. His education was truly Spartan, that is, he paſſed his younger years under all the reſtrictions of the Lycurgic inſtitutes, which rendered him bold, hardy, patient, and capable of great things; he was naturally ambitious, and an extenſive genius, was affable, in his behaviour modeſt, vigilant, and indefatigable; but with theſe great qualities he had ſome mean ones; he could to ſerve his own purpoſes be very ſupple and complaiſant, which was highly repugnant to the Spartan cuſtoms; he was not much affected with the love of Greece, but converſed freely with all ſorts of people, and ſought above all things to raiſe his own credit and authority; the worſt of all was, that he was abſolutely diſhoneſt, and, which is not a little ſtrange, ſought not to conceal it, it being a common ſaying of his, That children were cheated with play-things, and men with oaths; for which reaſon he never denied his when it made for his intereſt, or ſtuck at breaking it when to keep it would ſerve his purpoſes no longer. He found the Athenians greatly ſuperior at ſea when he entered upon command, and yet in a very few years he left them without any power at all [h]. The firſt thing of importance that he did was reſtoring the ſtate of affairs at Epheſus; he found that city very convenient, he therefore engaged the principal men in it to ſide with Sparta, and above all things to attach themſelves to him; he ſhewed them how conveniently they were ſeated for trade, he brought his ſhips to be refitted in their port, and when once he had gained the confidence of the Epheſians, he took equal care to promote their intereſts, and to make theirs ſubſervient to his. Aſtyochus having managed fooliſhly, and given Alcibiades an opportunity of inſtilling into Tiſſaphernes notions prejudicial to the Lacedæmonians, Lyſander, who ſaw clearly that without the Barbarian gold Sparta could not carry on the war, determined with himſelf to counterplot both Tiſſaphernes and Alcibiades, by applying

[g] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [h] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Juſtin. lib. v. c. 6, Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand. Thucyd. lib. vi.

ing himſelf to Cyrus, who then reſided at Sardis; thither therefore he went, and fully opened to the young prince the treachery of his father's lieutenant; Cyrus readily heard him, and by degrees the Spartan won ſo much upon him, that he made him a promiſe in few words to grant him whatever he ſhould requeſt; Lyſander modeſtly required, that a ſmall addition might be made to the ſoldiers pay, which diſintereſtedneſs ſo much charmed Cyrus, that he gave him ten thouſand pieces of ſilver, which he made uſe of to ſupport his ſoldiers and refit his fleet. Agis, in the mean time being informed of great ſtirs in Athens, attempted to ſurprize it, but without effect; for the citizens on his approach, united among themſelves, and ſallied with ſuch unexpected fury, that they killed a conſiderable number of his men [i]. They afterwards offered to make peace, but the Spartans, conſidering the unſettledneſs of their government, refuſed ſo much as to hear their propoſitions; ſome ſhort time after Hegeſandrides a Spartan reduced Eubæa, and, if he had proſecuted his ſucceſs with ardor, might have taken Athens itſelf; but this opportunity being neglected, Alcibiades in a very ſhort ſpace ſo reſtored their affairs, by defeating and killing Mindarus, who had ſucceeded Aſtyochus, that the Spartans in their turn were forced to ſue to the Athenians, who with great haughtineſs rejected the propoſitions they offered, though highly reaſonable in themſelves. When Alcibiades ſailed again into the Helleſpont, after he had been at Athens, Lyſander, finding himſelf too weak to engage ſo numerous a fleet under ſo fortunate a general, kept in the port of Epheſus, where he carefully refitted his ſhips, and kept his ſoldiers and his mariners to their exerciſe. At length it ſo happened, that Alcibiades had occaſion to go from Samos to Phocea, whereupon he committed the care of his fleet to Antiochus a favourite of his, who, proud of his command, quickly forgot the inſtructions which had been given him, and ſailing out of port with two gallies only, went with them to the mouth of the haven of Epheſus, where he inſulted Lyſander; this inconſiderate action produced in the end a general engagement, wherein the Athenians were defeated, though with no very conſiderable loſs, and yet this accident deſtroyed all their affairs; for upon the firſt news of it they diſmiſſed Alcibiades, and with him their good fortune. Lyſander, while he lay at Epheſus, projected a ſcheme

[i] Diodor. lib. xiii. Thucyd. lib. vi.

ſcheme for making himſelf in a manner ſovereign of Greece; he picked up enterprizing men of various cities, and, engaging them to ſettle at Epheſus, adviſed them to live in ſtrict friendſhip among themſelves, and to ſtudy political affairs, for that he would ſuddenly find employment for them [k]. All this, and indeed the whole tenor of his behaviour, made him extremely grateful to the Epheſians and the reſt of the cities in that part of the world, ſo that when Callicratidas was ſent him for a ſucceſſor, all the Aſiatic Greeks were extremely uneaſy; this uneaſineſs increaſed at the preſence of the new admiral, who was the very reverſe of Lyſander, a man of great parts and great courage, but withal of great virtue and unbiaſſed integrity [l]. Lyſander dealt with him very baſely, he ſent back what money remained in his hands to Cyrus, and ſaid to his ſucceſſor at parting with a ſneer, Let us ſee now, Callicratidas, how you can ſupport the charges of this army. The noble Spartan found it indeed very difficult, the people were quite drained, treaſure there was none, ſo that he was forced to go to the court of Cyrus, where being two or three times refuſed admittance, being ſometimes told that the king was buſy, at other times that he was drinking, he at laſt ſaid, I muſt not be ſo eager for money, as to do any thing unbecoming Sparta: Whereupon he ſet ſail for Epheſus. Cyrus, conſidering better of the matter, ſent him afterwards money to pay his forces, and ſome preſents for himſelf: the firſt he took, but the latter he ſent back again with this memorable meſſage, That there needed no private friendſhip between Cyrus and him, becauſe if the king kept up the terms of his league with the Lacedæmonians, he ſhould think himſelf included therein [m]. He defeated Conon the Athenian admiral, and beſieged him in Mitylene; he likewiſe beat a ſmall fleet that was ſent to his aſſiſtance; but hearing afterwards that the enemy's grand fleet was at Arginuſæ, over-againſt Lesbos where he was ſtationed, he reſolved to engage, tho' when he ſacrificed in the morning, the prieſt who conſulted the entrails told him, that the fleet ſhould in the end proſper, but that the admiral would certainly be ſlain: To which he anſwered without any concern, Very well then, let us fight, Sparta will not loſe much in loſing me; but ſhe would loſe her honour, if I retired in the ſight of the enemy; when I fall, let Cleander be your admiral. He was accordingly

[k] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [l] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. [m] Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. in vit. Lyſand.

cordingly ſlain, and by that means the Spartan affairs were put into much diſorder [n]. After this miſhap both Cyrus and the allies of Lacedæmon demanded that Lyſander ſhould be ſent admiral again, a requeſt directly oppoſite to the laws of Sparta; however, to gratify their requeſt, they gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, but lodged the power with Lyſander, who immediately ſailed to the Helleſpont, where, after receiving great ſupplies from Cyrus, he drew together his fleet; but finding the Athenians much ſuperior to him in numbers, he very wiſely avoided an engagement, and afterwards giving them the ſlip, appeared ſuddenly in the neighbourhood of Greece, and made deſcents on the iſlands of Ægina and Salamis; he ſailed over to the coaſt of Attica to ſhew Agis, who was come thither with a land army, what a noble navy was under his power [o]. Yet having intelligence that the Athenian fleet was approaching, he ſtood away for the Helleſpont, where he beſieged and took Lampſacus. Conon with the grand fleet of Athens bearing down upon him thither, he retired to the river Agos; there the Athenians inſulted him for many days together, which Lyſander bore with wonderful patience, keeping his ſoldiers and mariners continually on duty, till on a ſudden, when the Athenians had debarqued their forces, he unawares attacked them both by land and ſea. Conon the admiral ſaw clearly that all things were loſt, ſo he, with eight gallies and a very inconſiderable body of men, fled away to Cyprus; the reſt fell entirely into the hands of Lyſander, who in a ſingle hour put an end to the Peloponneſian war, and to the maritime power of Athens [q].

The Athenians entirely defeated by Lyſander. Year after the Flood, 2593. Before Chriſt, 406.

THIS mighty victory having put all things into the power of Lyſander, he acted rather as a univerſal monarch, than as a general from Sparta; he immediately viſited all the neighbouring cities, and changed, whether they would or not, their government, placing in each of them a Spartan as chief magiſtrate, and with him ten of his friends from Epheſus, where, as we have before obſerved, he erected a kind of political univerſity. Theſe men as they came in by force, ſo they kept no meaſures with thoſe over whom they

[n] Thucyd. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. [o] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. [p] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Xenoph. Hell. lib. ii. [q] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſd. Juſtin. lib. v. c. 6.

they ruled, they treated them with the utmoſt haughtineſs and ſeverity, ſo that from the very beginning the Lacedæmonian government was rendered ungrateful, and the people univerſally diſpoſed to ſhake it off as ſoon as they could [r]. As he was no hoarder of money, he collected all the maſs of wealth which his victories had brought into his hands, and deſtined it to be ſent to Sparta, whither he had before diſpatched a meſſenger with news of his victory, and with an aſſurance, that he would be ſhortly with a fleet of two hundred ſail before the city of Athens; in confidence of this the Spartans ſent both their kings, Agis and Pauſanias, with a very great army into Attica, on the coaſts of which in due time Lyſander arrived. As to what happened remarkable in the ſiege of Athens, we have already inſiſted thereon in its proper place. Here it is enough that we inſert the Spartan decree contained in the articles granted to the dejected inhabitants of that once famous place, which decree is preſerved by Plutarch, and runs thus: Know, this is the decree of the Lacedæmonians. Pull ye down the Pyræum and the long walls, quit all the towns you are now poſſeſſed of, and keep within your own territories. We grant you peace upon theſe conditions, provided you yield alſo to what ſhall be further thought reaſonable, and receive again your exiles. As for the number of ſhips you may keep, obſerve the orders we ſhall hereafter give on that head. Lyſander deprived them of all their veſſels except twelve, and having their fortifications delivered into his hands, he entered Athens in triumph on the anniverſary of the great victory at Salamis; he cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed to the ſound of muſic, which likewiſe played while the Athenian ſhips were burning, himſelf and his commanders having garlands on their heads; he alſo altered the government, eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants, and left a Spartan garriſon in the citadel commanded by one of his own creatures [s]. The next thing he did was to ſend the immenſe treaſure he had collected to Sparta under the care of Gylippus, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Sicily, and who found a way to diſtinguiſh himſelf no leſs eminently

[r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra, Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [s] Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Xenophon. Hellan. lib. ii. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand.

nently on this occaſion, though leſs honourably; for he, little regarding the ſeals upon the money bags, ript them open at the bottom, and, having taken out what money he thought proper, ſewed them up again. When he arrived at Lacedæmon he delivered the money as he had been directed, and deſired that particular notice might be taken of the fairneſs of the ſeals; but unluckily for him, Lyſander had put in each bag a ticket, expreſſing the ſum of money contained therein; upon comparing theſe notes with the ſums contained a deficiency was diſcovered, but ſtill the ephori and ſenate were at a loſs where to fix it; at laſt the ſervant of Gylippus impeached him; and, his crime with all its circumſtances being detected, he was forced to leave his native country, and to go into exile with the ſcandalous imputation of being a cheat and a thief [t] (L). The coming of

[t] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

(L) Gylippus the Spartan had this vice of covetouſneſs hereditary in his family; his father Cleondrides having, as we have before ſhewn, ſuffered death for accepting a bribe from Pericles, when he entered Attica with an army (42). Authors are pretty much divided as to the character of this man. Plutarch every where repreſents him as a perſon of courage, integrity, and humanity, till this laſt act (43); but Diodorus the Sicilian gives him quite another character; he introduces him making two long ſpeeches at Syracuſe to influence the Sicilians to ſhew the Athenians no mercy; this is directly contrary to what other hiſtorians have written, and on what authority he reports thoſe orations we know not (44). It is true, the favour he was in with Lyſander ſeems to throw a ſhade on his character; for we do not find that this ambitious general either loved or truſted men of ſtrict honour, and from the beginning Gylippus was one of his creatures; it was he who preferred him to the command in Sicily, and in the preſent caſe, as a ſignal mark of his confidence, ſent him with the treaſure he had collected in the war, to Sparta; ſo that to ſpeak the truth, this was not only a public theft, but an act of private ingratitude, and therefore we need not wonder, that his patron, who in other reſpects was ready enough to protect his friends even in ill things, abandoned him. How Gylippus came to truſt his ſervant we are not

(42) Vol. 6. p. 456. (43) In vit. Niciæ & in vit. Lyſand.
(44) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii.

of this huge maſs of wealth created great diſputes at Sparta; many celebrated Lyſander's praiſes and rejoiced exceedingly at this good fortune, as they called it; others, who were better acquainted with the nature of things and with their conſtitution, were of quite another opinion; they looked upon the receipt of this treaſure as an open violation of the laws of Lycurgus, and they expreſſed their apprehenſions loudly, that in proceſs of time they might by a change in their manners pay infinitely more for this money than it was worth; at laſt a compromiſe was propoſed and agreed to, whereby it was enacted, That the ſtate might make uſe of gold and ſilver, but that private men ſhould poſſeſs neither on pain of capital puniſhments, which reſolution of theirs, as Plutarch obſerves, was ſhallow, ſuperficial, and ineffectual, becauſe declaring money to be uſeful to the ſtate evidently juſtified the inclination of private men to be poſſeſſed of it, while at the ſame time the law made the gratification of that inclination penal [u]. Lyſander in the mean time returning to the Helleſpont, returned alſo to his old practices there, changing governments, new modelling cities, liberally, and even profuſely, rewarding his friends, and at the ſame time purſuing to death and utter deſtruction ſuch as he ſuſpected to be his enemies. While he remained in Greece he

[u] Plut. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

not acquainted; but the manner in which that ſervant of his betrayed him, Plutarch tells us pleaſantly enough. "The magiſtrates, ſays he, finding the money in the bags leſs than "what was expreſſed in the notes contained in them, were "ſurprized, but did not in the leaſt ſuſpect him who had the "care of the money, till Gylippus's ſervant betrayed the ſe-"cret; and told them by way of riddle, That he had ob-"ſerved a great many owls to rooſt in the Ceramicus. The "ephori ſoon found out that by owls pieces of money were "to be underſtood, becauſe moſt of the coin then bore the "impreſſion of an owl in reſpect to the Athenians; and that the "Ceramicus, a place in Athens ſo called becauſe of a tile-kiln "that had been there, ſignified likewiſe the roof of an houſe "by reaſon of the tiles called Ceramoi; thus the myſtery came "to be underſtood, and Gylippus, having ſtained his former "reputation with this mean action, was aſhamed to appear any "more at Lacedæmon (45)".

(45) In vit. Lyſander.

he had done ſome very extraordinary things, which ſufficiently betrayed the height of an imperious diſpoſition; he ſet up his own ſtatue, and the ſtatues of ſuch of his commanders who were in his good graces, in braſs; he dedicated two ſtars in honour of the deities Caſtor and Pollux, in order to keep up an opinion, which his ſycophants had taken care to propagate, that theſe ſtars were ſeen in the rigging of his ſhip at the battle of Ægos [x]. But if he acted thus in Greece, he ſet leſs bounds to his ambition in Aſia, where he made not only the Greek cities dependent on him, but ſtruck terror into the Perſian governors, and particularly maltreated Pharnabazus. This Perſian grandee was a man of profound capacity, and a maſter in Lyſander's ſcience of diſſimulation: He ſaw, that little was to be expected from any repreſentations he could make to this haughty general, ſurrounded by a number of powerful perſons made ſo merely by his favour; he caſt about therefore to find out ſurer protectors, though at a greater diſtance, and with this view diſpatched ſome of his emiſſaries to Sparta. There they began to open, without apprehenſion of danger, the iniquity of Lyſander's conduct, they ſet his ambitious deſigns in their proper light, they charged him with an intention to render himſelf a general for life and independent of his conſtituents; and they alledged ſuch probable reaſons for what they ſaid, that the ephori and ſenate immediately diſpatched a Scytale to recal this terror of Aſia. They began likewiſe to inſpect narrowly the conduct of his friends in Greece, put ſome of them to death, and amongſt the reſt Thorax one of his principal commanders, in whoſe houſe, in controvention of the late law, they found a large quantity of ſilver. The ſurprize of Lyſander, was inexpreſſible, when the meſſenger of the ſtate preſented the Scytale which recalled him (M): He

[x] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(M) In this note we intend to explain the Scytale of the Lacedæmonians; but firſt, let us hear what Plutarch ſays of them: "The nature and uſe, ſays he, of theſe was, when the "magiſtrates gave their commiſſion to any admiral or general, "they took two round pieces of wood, both exactly equal "in breadth and thickneſs; one they kept themſelves, the "other was delivered to their officer, ſo that, when they had "any thing of moment which they would ſecretly convey

"to

He had no previous intelligence of it, nor could he immediately gueſs by whom it was obtained, but on recollection he determined in himſelf, that it muſt have been by the procurement of Pharnabazus; this diſcovery made him more ſollicitous, eſpecially when he heard what had happened at home; he therefore reſolved according to his ſtated maxim, to eke out the lion's with the fox's ſkin[y]; in conſequence of this he demanded a conference, to which Pharnabazus readily yielded. At this meeting Lyſander made uſe of all his art to ſoften the Perſian, and to engage

[y] Plut. in Apophtheg.

" to him, they cut a long narrow ſcrowl of parchment, and " rowling it about their own ſtaff, one fold cloſe upon ano- " ther, they wrote their buſineſs on it; when they had wrote " what they had to ſay, they took off the parchment and " ſent it to the general, he applied it to his own ſtaff, which " being juſt like that of the magiſtrates, the fold fell in with " each other, exactly as they did at the writing; and the " characters, which, before it was wrapped up, were confuſedly " diſjoined and altogether unintelligible, appeared then very " plainly (46)". There are many things omitted in this account which we ſhall endeavour to ſupply from other authors. Tzetzes calls them wands, which the ephori delivered to the general or admiral when he ſet out to take upon him the command; he ſays, they were very ſhort and very ſlender, the parchment being alſo narrow, which they made uſe of to fold round them (47). It is very probable, that our author conjectured this from the uſual ſhortneſs of the Spartan epiſtles; for Demetrius Triclinius tells us expreſly, that the Scytale was between three and four cubits long; he does indeed ſuggeſt that there was but one of them which was ſplit in two, and one half being given to the general, the other half remained at home (48); but Aulus Gellius (49) and the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes ſay expreſly, there were two (50); Thucydides ſays, the Scytale was round, ſmooth, and long (51); the ſcholiaſt on Pindar, that it was made of a black wood (52). It ſhould ſeem, that, beſides the ſtate-Scytale, private men made uſe of a contrivance of the like nature to prevent deceits in contracts, but then theſe were exactly like our tallies.

(46) Plut. in vit. Lyſand. (47) Joan. Tzetzes. var. Hiſt. Chil. ix. c. 258. (48) Ad. Pindar. Olymp. Od. vi. (49) Noct. Attic. lib. xvii. cap. 9. (50) Ad Aves Ariſtoph. (51) Bell. Pelop. lib. i. (52) Olymp. vi.

engage him by a letter under his hand to deny what might have been ſuggeſted in his name to the ephori and ſenate, to which with ſome difficulty Pharnabazus agreed; he wrote this letter in Lyſander's preſence and in terms ſuitable to his wiſh; but he had before prepared a letter of quite a different nature, and ſubſtituted it while he pretended to fold the other, ſo that here the deceiver was deceived, and Lyſander with all his ſkill outwitted [z]. Receiving this letter, he ſet out immediately for Sparta, but when he was informed of its contents he was mightily diſturbed, and fearing leſt he ſhould be called to an account, pretended that he had ſeen a viſion, wherein Jupiter Ammon had commanded him to come immediately and conſult his oracle. The ephori and ſenate ſhewed a good deal of reluctance in granting his requeſt, but, as ſoon as he was gone, the kings of Sparta began to contrive the deſtruction of his friends, that he might no longer have ſuch an intereſt in Aſia as at this time he had. The Athenians at this time taking arms againſt their tyrants, Lyſander hearing thereof returned ſuddenly to Sparta, where he vehemently preſſed the government to ſupport thoſe he had eſtabliſhed at Athens, and that they would make uſe of him as commander in chief in that expedition. This greatly alarmed the kings, wherefore they determined to make uſe of all their intereſt to prevent it. Pauſanias therefore procured the command of the army to be veſted in him, and marched, as it was generally underſtood, to ſupport the tyrants againſt the people of Athens; but in truth his deſign was to reconcile the Athenians, and to compromiſe their differences with Sparta, that Lyſander might not have the honour of conquering this city twice, which he alſo effected, and which Lyſander highly reſented. Not long after he had an opportunity of venting his ſpleen and of reconciling himſelf to the people; for the Athenians, according to the ficklenеſs of their temper, flying out again, the Spartans were highly incenſed againſt Pauſanias, and cried up Lyſander for a man of integrity and true public ſpirit [a]. While things were in this ſituation king Agis died; he was taken ill at Heræa in Arcadia, and being conveyed to Sparta died there; in his laſt moments he owned Leotychides, moved thereto by his tears and earneſt entreaties; and at the ſame time that he did this, he beſought the Lacedæmonians who were preſent to bear

[z] Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [a] Plut. ubi ſupra.

bear witneſs of the ſincerity of his declaration, and that he from his heart retracted what at any time he might have raſhly ſaid of his ſuſpecting the legitimacy of Leotychides; but this late recognition of his ſon was, as we ſhall preſently ſhew, altogether ineffectual, Leotychides loſing not only his pretenſions to the crown, but his paternal eſtate [b].

Agis left behind him a younger brother whoſe name was Ageſilaus, and who became not only an honour to Sparta, but to Greece itſelf. This Ageſilaus ſet up for the crown againſt Leotychides, and, as he was a man of extraordinary virtues and great capacity, he on his firſt declaration had many friends, and on Lyſander's eſpouſing his intereſt acquired many more: for both theſe it is proper that we ſhould account. Ageſilaus was born a younger brother, and though the laws of Lacedæmon, which began now to be greatly relaxed, did not compel the heirs apparent to the crown to endure the harſh diſcipline of the Lycurgic education; yet the younger children of kings were no leſs ſeverely bred than the meaneſt Lacedæmonian, which proved a great happineſs to the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, who for the glory of a long and happy reign was chiefly indebted to the foundation laid by this manner of education; his temper was compounded of thoſe qualities which very rarely meet, that is, of ſuch as render men ambitious and aſpiring and of ſuch as make them amiable and beloved. He was brave, active, and of a high ſpirit; but with all this wonderfully good-natured, gentle, tractable, and fond of his country perhaps beyond compariſon; for he preferred her intereſt not only to his own, to his peace, and to his ſafety, but to his honour and his reputation; he thought all things fit which ſhe commanded, and placed his utmoſt happineſs in his capacity of ſerving her, not only on ſuch occaſions as were attended with luſtre and eclat, but in thoſe which had neither profit nor honour to recommend them [c]. Such were the means whereby Ageſilaus gained to himſelf friends; as for the regard which Lyſander had for him, it ſprung thus: When Ageſilaus was a youth Lyſander was his lover, and this friendſhip of his continued when Ageſilaus was grown up, and mightily facilitated his mounting the throne. There was but one thing which gave this prince and his friends any trouble, and it

Ageſilaus ſucceeds Agis, and ſets aſide Leotychides.

was

[b] Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Pauſan. Lacon. [c] Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ageſil.

was this; one Diopithes, a man reputed to have great ſkill in oracles, produced one to the following effect:

Tho' great thy empire, Sparta, yet refrain
From a lame reign, which come, thou ſhalt ſuſtain
Ills unendur'd before; and feel the rage
Of war, no force can quell, or ſkill aſſuage (N).

THIS

(N) It was the cuſtom of the Greeks, as we have ſhewn in this and in the Athenian hiſtory, never to undertake any act of importance without conſulting an oracle, of which there were many in Greece; but that of Delphi was the moſt remarkable. Many learned men ſeem to be of opinion, that the reſponſes from thence were frequently ſupernatural, and ſometimes plain and direct, juſtified alſo by the event. However that matter be, yet certain it is, that even in the moſt early times they were frequently corrupted, of which we have given many inſtances, and in the proſecution of our hiſtory ſhall have occaſion to give many more. If public oracles were liable to ſuch inconveniencies, in ſpight of all the care that could be taken of them, it is eaſy to conceive, that the collections of oracles in private hands were much more liable to alterations and interpolations. To ſay the truth, where-ever a ſuperſtitious humour of believing ſuch ſort of things prevails, experience ſhews us, that there will be always knaves equally capable and willing to impoſe on fools. Theſe keepers of oracles were ſtiled divine or ſacred perſons by the Greeks, and from the inſtance before us we ſee what mighty things they were able to effect. Plutarch ſpeaks very reſpectfully of Diopithes, who produced the oracle which gave occaſion to this note; and to do juſtice, we muſt acknowledge, that the oracle was fulfilled in two ſenſes; yet with us, this is no indubitable argument that it was genuine, ſince it is almoſt impoſſible to contrive an oracle in relation to a momentous event, which ſome time or other will not be accompliſhed. It is very remarkable, that Diopithes, who by his profeſſion was an interpreter of theſe ſort of pieces, departed from the letter of the oracle in his ſolution, and that Lyſander ſhould have addreſs enough to conquer the prophet in his own profeſſion (53); for, as Xenophon juſtly obſerves, the oracle ſpeaks not of a lame king, but a lame reign, as appears from the words thereof twice cited by Plutarch (54). By the way, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in all our verſions of Plutarch into Engliſh, theſe oracles are conſtantly rendered wrong, the word heir

(53) Plutarch, in vit. Lyſand. & in vit. Ageſil. (54) Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii.

THIS was thought to point at Ageſilaus, who had one leg ſhorter than the other, but Lyſander outdid the interpreter even in his own ſcience; The oracle, ſaid he, cannot poſſibly point at a lameneſs in the king's leg, that is a thing which the gods cannot hate, becauſe they cauſed it; the lameneſs muſt be in the title; beware therefore, O Lacedæmonians, of placing an illegitimate king on the throne, nay even one whoſe birth is ſuſpected, for that is moſt likely to be the lame reign hinted at by the oracle [d]. Lyſander's explication, backed by his authority, had the deſired

[d] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 4. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ageſil. & Lyſand.

heir being ſubſtituted inſtead of kingdom (55), which is of mighty conſequence; firſt, becauſe it miſrepreſents the ſenſe of the oracle; and ſecondly, becauſe it leaves no room for Lyſander's interpretation, though Plutarch himſelf acknowledges it was well received, and Xenophon aſcribes Ageſilaus's carrying his cauſe to the ſeeming rectitude of this explanation. After all, if there was any thing ſupernatural in this oracle, it was never rightly underſtood, till very lately M. le Fevre declared its true meaning to be, that Sparta ſhould take care to preſerve both her kings, or, if we may be for once allowed to make uſe of technical terms, to guard againſt changing her duarchy into a monarchy; and in this ſenſe the oracle is moſt ſignally accompliſhed, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſhew (56). In the mean time let us obſerve, that Plutarch approved Diopithes's interpretation; he conceived, that Leotychides was moſt outrageouſly injured, and that the great evils which befel Sparta during the reign of Ageſilaus were the puniſhments threatened by the oracle, in caſe ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be governed by a lame king. Xenophon on the contrary affirms, that Ageſilaus deſtroyed Leotychides's claim by three invincible arguments; the firſt was the repeated declarations of his ſuppoſed father Agis; ſecondly his mother, who ought to know beſt, averred the ſame thing; laſtly, that Neptune having by an earthquake forced Agis out of bed from his wife, he thereupon abſtained from her ten months, after the expiration of which term Leotychides was born (57). To cloſe this account; let us obſerve, that there is no reaſon in the world to doubt the impartiality of Plutarch, and that the hiſtory of Xenophon is an open panegyric on Ageſilaus, whoſe friend and confident he was.

(55) See the lives of Lyſander and Ageſilaus in Plutarch's lives both of the old and new tranſlation. (56) Faber. in Juſtin. lib. vi. (57) Ubi ſupra.

desired effect; the senate and people excluded Leotychides alike from the kingdom and from the private estate of his father; half of this estate of Agis Agesilaus bestowed on that prince's relations by the mother's side, who, though they were persons of great merit, were till this time in very low circumstances, which gained the new king the hearts of the people. Instead of opposing either the ephori or the senate, he treated them with the utmost civility, and not only so, but with the greatest confidence and affection; those who were of the opposite party at the time of his election he was very studious to oblige; he preferred them, whenever their merit gave them a reasonable pretence thereto; he relieved them when under misfortunes; in fine, he acted so prudently and so benignly, that at last the ephori, seeing no ill qualities to be offended with, took umbrage at his good ones, and laid a mulct on him for a very extraordinary crime, viz. Monopolizing the affections of the people; which, however, was consonant enough to the constitution of Sparta [e]. Before Agesilaus was well settled on the throne, his country found itself exceedingly distressed; the Persian king, to whom in the course of the war they owed such mighty obligations, declared himself at once their open enemy, and began to make mighty preparations for dispossessing them of their maritime empire. To have a just notion of this business we must ascend a little higher: Lysander while he continued in Asia had paid all his court to Cyrus the younger brother of Artaxerxes, who on the death of his father ascended the Persian throne; in consequence of this friendship between Lysander and Cyrus, Clearchus the Lacedæmonian general received orders from the ephori and senate to assist that prince, to the utmost of his power, in the rebellion he had raised against his brother. It was in these troops that Xenophon had a command, and it was at the head of them, after Clearchus and the other captains were taken off, that he made that retreat called the Retreat of the ten thousand; this behaviour of the Lacedæmonians drew upon them the hate of the king, who ever after spoke of them in terms of disrespect, and sought as much as in him lay to destroy their power [f]. It is very probable, that some of the wisest of the Persian

[e] Xenophon. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. [f] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. i, ii, iii. Diodor. lib. xii, xiii. Plut. in vit. Agesil Artaxerx. Justin. lib. v. c. 11.

Perſian ſtateſmen managed this diſpoſition of the king for effecting what they rightly conceived to be the intereſt of his empire; this is rendered probable from the method that was immediately taken, viz. of ſending relief to Athens, and money into to Bæotia; at the ſame he determinded to reduce all the Greek cities abſolutely to his obedience, which was wounding Sparta in the tendereſt part, ſhe having over and over declared herſelf the protectreſs of the Grecian liberties; on this account it was that they ſent Thimbro with an army conſiſting of a thouſand Laconian foot, four thouſand Peloponneſian infantry, and three hundred horſe from Athens; this man managed the war but indifferently, ſuffering his troops, ſince he could make no impreſſion on the enemy, to plunder the allies of Lacedæmon. The ephori therefore ſent Dercyllidas to ſucceed him; this man was a great engineer, and likewiſe a great politician; he found his force too ſmall to prevail againſt Pharnabazus and Tiſſaphernes, the king's lieutenants; he reſolved to remedy this evil by making them deſtroy one another, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he prevailed upon the latter to remain inactive while he attacked the former, over whom he gained great advantages. When at the command of their maſters theſe governors of provinces became friends, the Spartan was left to deal with them both, which he did without any loſs, though his army did not exceed ſeven thouſand men, and the Perſians had twenty thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe in the field, beſides great garriſons. Pharnabazus was indeed for fighting, but Tiſſaphernes, who was a better officer and who knew well what theſe Greek troops were capable of, was of quite a different opinion; wherefore having entered into negotiations with Dercyllidas, he at length concluded with him a treaty of accommodation on theſe terms; That the Greek cities ſhould remain free; that his army ſhould retire out of his province; that the Lacedæmonian governors ſhould remove out of the cities; and that this treaty ſhould ſubſiſt, till it was either ratified or diſavowed by the king of Perſia and the ſtate of Sparta. The Perſian king, however, within a ſhort time after began to fit out three hundred ſail of ſhips of war, which greatly alarmed the Greek cities and occaſioned an application to Sparta; where, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, Ageſilaus offered himſelf by the advice of Lyſander, and was declared general of Greece [g]. But,

[g] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Polyæn. Strateg. lib. vi.

before any reſolution was taken, the king ſacrificing for his country according to cuſtom, the augur, from the bowels of three ſeveral victims, declared, there was ſome very great conſpiracy on foot againſt him and all the magiſtrates of Sparta; a little of this conſpiracy was diſcovered to the bottom by the information of one of the perſons concerned, whereupon the ſenate took ſuch quick meaſures, though with ſome little injury to the laws, that all the conſpirators were ſuddenly taken out of the way [h] (O). Things were

[h] Plut. in vit. Ageſil.

(O) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as endeavour to collect the Greek hiſtory from the lives of Plutarch, that they find it impracticable to diſtinguiſh any method in his productions, whereby they may be able to reduce the facts by him related to the juſt order of time in which they happened. In the preſent caſe, he relates this ſtory of a conſpiracy, as if it had happened in the latter part of his reign (58). Whereas it is certain from Xenophon, who could not be miſtaken in point of fact, that it fell out in the firſt year of his reign: the ſame author has alſo recorded the ſeveral circumſtances attending it, and as ſome of them are extraordinary, the reader will doubtleſs be pleaſed to find them here. On the diſcovery of the plot it appeared, that one Cinado was at the head of the conſpiracy; this Cinado was a young man, very conſpicuous for his valour, though not for his family; the informer likewiſe declared, that this Cinado had once reckoned up forty Spartans, including the kings, the ſenate, and ephori; and that on his demanding what he meant by that calculation, Cinado replied, Theſe are they who are againſt us, the reſt in town and country are of our party. The ephori then demanded of what number the conſpirators conſiſted; the informer replied, they were not many; but that they reckoned upon the aſſiſtance of all the Helotes, the new-made citizens, and the lower ſort of people, who, as often as they ſpoke of the Spartans, intimated as much as if they would be glad to eat them alive. They then demanded if the conſpirators had arms; the informer replied they had, and that Cinado had told him, that in the firſt commotion, workmens tools, or thoſe that belonged to huſbandry, would ſerve their aſſociates well enough, ſince it was not to be ſuppoſed, that they ſhould find their enemies very well armed; being queſtioned to the time, he replied, that he could not tell exactly, but that Cinado had ordered him to hold himſelf ready whenever he ſhould be.

(58) Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand.

were in this ſituation, when Lyſander burning with an impatient deſire of returning again into Aſia, which had been the ſcene of his triumphs, procured ſuch an army to be decreed Ageſilaus, and thereby, as he conceived to himſelf, as would, if no croſs accidents had intervened, have left in all probability no room for Alexander's conqueſts, as Plutarch hath very rightly remarked. Beſides the forces already in Aſia under the command of Dercyllidas, the Spartans voted two thouſand manumitted Helotes and ſix thouſand Peloponneſian foot; but the king after all would not accept the command, till he had a council of thirty aſſigned him, of whom Lyſander was in all reſpects the chief. While the army was drawing together about Geraſtus, Ageſilaus went with ſome friends to Aulis, where the thoughts of his expedition in all probability ſuggeſted to his mind a dream, wherein he was admoniſhed to imitate Agamemnon in ſacrificing, inaſmuch as he was become his ſucceſſor, and was on the point of going general in chief of the Greek forces againſt the Barbarians, an office which had

 never

be called upon; whence he conjectured, the point of execution was not far off. On the conſideration of theſe things, the ephori were ſo much alarmed on taking this examination, that they were equally afraid to aſſiſt at the ſeſſions of the ſenate, or to aſſemble the people; at length they bethought themſelves of a method of extricating themſelves from the danger: They ſent for Cinado, and told him, that they diſcovered at a town a ſmall diſtance from Sparta contrivances carried on againſt the ſtate, in which a lady of a ſingular beauty and admirable accompliſhments was deeply concerned; they therefore directed him to take a ſmall party of youth, ſuch as he could beſt truſt, and to bring the lady and ſuch others as they gave him a liſt of priſoners to Sparta; the better to colour this buſineſs, they aſſigned him three waggons for his priſoners, and a troop of horſe to eſcort him if he ſhould have occaſion; this troop of horſe, as ſoon as they were at a convenient diſtance from the city, ſurprized him and his companions, and one of them having diſcovered the names of all concerned in the plot, a trooper was ſent back with this information; whereupon the conſpirators were all apprehended, and Cinado upon examination having confeſſed that he had no other cauſe for being diſcontented, than that he diſdained to ſee in a city where he lived any man greater than himſelf, he and his companions were without farther proceſs put to death (59).

(59) Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iii. Polyæn. Strategem. lib. ii. c. 14.

never been borne but by Agamemnon and himſelf; Ageſilaus, in compliance with this viſion, reſolved to ſacrifice; but, reflecting on the barbarity which Agamemnon had been guilty of, he ſubſtituted a hind inſtead of a virgin, and having cauſed it to be crowned with garlands, he directed his own augur to ſolemnize the ſacrifice. The Bæotians hearing of this, and being extremely provoked, that in their territories he ſhould employ one of his attendants inſtead of the ſacrificer appointed by them, ſent deputies to forbid him to ſacrifice in a manner contrary to their laws; which deputies having delivered to him their meſſage in the temple of Aulis, and perceiving that he did not give much heed thereto, they went directly to the altar, and threw the ſacrifice off it on the ground. This may ſeem a circumſtance too trivial for a hiſtory of this nature; but the reader will find hereafter, that it proved the occaſion of a war, which ſubverted the Spartan empire over Greece, and had well nigh deſtroyed her ſtate. At this time Ageſilaus was ſo much diſcompoſed, that he immediately hoiſted ſail and bore away for Aſia, without ſtaying for any other rites, or offering any other ſacrifice[i]. On his arrival he found things in a ſituation he neither expected nor could foreſee; at Sparta he was a king, but here Lyſander was treated as if he had been ſomewhat more; all reſpect, all application was paid to him, and he received it rather with the haughtineſs of a deity, than with that complaiſance which is natural to man; the reſt of the commanders firſt ſtomached it, they grew uneaſy at finding themſelves degraded from being counſellors to Ageſilaus into officers, or rather miniſters, of one of their collegues; they therefore complained to the king, who immediately applied a very quick remedy, which was this; he denied every ſuit that Lyſander made to him, and countenanced all who did not apply to him; which in part had, and in part had not, the deſign he intended; for as ſoon as the Greeks ſettled in Aſia perceived it, they no longer moved their ſuits by Lyſander, but continued notwithſtanding to pay him as much reſpect as before; this nettled the king, though he was not naturally envious, whereupon he appointed this great man overſeer of his proviſions, and to inſult the Ionians, ſaid openly, Let them now go and pay court to my butcher. Lyſander quickly took an opportunity of coming to an eclairciſment; for

[i] Xenophon. lib. iii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit Ageſilai. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſdem. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 2.

for the firſt time they were alone he addreſſed the king thus: In truth, Ageſilaus, you know very well how to leſſen your friends. Yes, anſwered the king, when they affect to be greater than I; nor can it be thought unjuſt that they ſhould have power with me, who moſt concern themſelves in promoting my power. Sir, replied Lyſander very modeſtly, You are pleaſed to exerciſe a greater liberty in ſpeaking than I ever did in acting; but I beſeech you, Sir, for the ſake of thoſe ſtrangers, who have their eyes upon us, to aſſign me that poſt, wherein I may be leaſt ſuſpected by you, and have it moſt in my power to render you ſervice [k]. The king thereupon appointed him embaſſador to the allies of Sparta near the Helleſpont, which office he executed with great diligence and integrity; he perſuaded one Mithridates a Perſian, who was at variance with Pharnabazus, to revolt with a great body of troops and to join Ageſilaus; however, finding the king irreconcileable, he determined with himſelf to return to Greece, highly diſſatisfied with his treatment, and not only ſo, but with the government of his country, which he reſolved to overturn if it was in his power; in order to effect theſe purpoſes, he ſet on foot ſuch ſchemes as are ſcarce to be parallelled in ſtory, but inaſmuch as they were never carried into act, through the cowardice of one of his aſſociates, when they were on the very point of execution, we conceive that entering into a detail of them here would too much interrupt the current of our hiſtory; wherefore we have digeſted what is moſt material in them into a note [l] (P). After his departure, Ageſilaus

[k] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. & Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Lyſand. [l] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(P) During the whole continuance of the Spartan ſtate, there never aroſe therein a greater man, whether we regard his abilities or his fortunes, than Lyſander; how he came to turn thoſe vaſt abilities from the ſervice to the diſſervice of his country, we have explained in the text; the manner in which he conducted his conſpiracy, and with what mighty art he brought it to the very point of execution, will beſt appear from the following account of Plutarch, taken, as he profeſſes, from Ephorus, an author of great eſteem with Strabo and Polybius. "Things had been a great "while ripe for changes, and people were ready to break into re-"bellion; he reſolved therefore not to miſs the opportunity, but "ſet it on foot as ſoon as poſſible. His ſtratagem was this: ſome

"of

carried on the war with great success and reputation; Tissaphernes, the implacable enemy of the Greeks, by the intrigues of his enemies, was brought into disgrace with his master,

" of the Heraclidæ, who came into Peloponnesus and mixed with
" the Dorians, were now grown very numerous and powerful in
" Sparta. Of these two families only could claim any right to
" succession in the kingdom, those were the Eurytiontidæ and the
" Agiadæ; the rest, notwithstanding their high extraction, had
" no greater share in the government than what was common to
" the meanest citizen. For they only who could plead most me-
" rit had the best titles to the common reward of virtue. Lysan-
" der was one of these, and, when he had gained so great a re-
" putation by his actions, had many friends and much power,
" he was uneasy to see that city, which owed its increase chiefly
" to him, ruled by others no better descended than himself: so he
" contrived to alter the settlement which confined the govern-
" ment to two families only, and give all the Heraclidæ an equal
" right to it; nay, some say not to the Heraclidæ only, but to
" all the Spartans; and make it a reward, not so much of Her-
" cules's posterity, as of those who bravely imitated that valour
" which gave him a place among the gods. He had great hopes,
" that when the kingdom was thus to be disposed of, no Spartan
" could appear with those advantages that he could: Upon which
" prospect, first he endeavoured to insinuate the reasonableness of
" this change into private people, and learned by heart a fine ora-
" tion which Cleon of Halicarnassus had made for him upon that
" subject. But when he came to reflect on the difficulties of this
" undertaking, which was not to be effected by ordinary means,
" he had recourse to extraordinary. For as in tragedies, when
" any thing of great importance is to be effected, the assistance of
" some god is made use of, so he, to promote his designs with the
" colour of authority, had recourse to oracles, presuming he
" should prevail upon more citizens by the terror of those, than
" he could persuade by Cleon's eloquence. Ephorus says, that
" after he had in vain endeavoured to corrupt the Pythian oracle,
" and as unsuccessfully sent Pericles to corrupt Dodona, he went
" himself to Ammon, and proffered the priests prodigious sums of
" gold, who with great indignation rejected his bribes, and sent
" people to accuse him at Sparta, where he met with such favour-
" able judges, that he was easily cleared from their impeach-
" ments; upon which the Libyans took their leave of the Spar-
" tans in this manner; When you come to live among us in Afri-
" ca, you'll find us more impartial judges. Now there was an
" antient prophecy, which foretold, that the Lacedæmonians
" should some time or other inhabit Africa. Lysander's design
" in this matter was very subtle and intricate, and managed by
" very

maſter, and ſoon after beheaded; Tithrauſtes ſucceeded him; he, as ſoon as he entered on his office, ſent deputies

 to

" very great politicians; ſo in order to clear the whole intrigue, " we muſt trace it, as we do mathematical demonſtrations, up " to its firſt principles; I ſhall the.efore at large explain it as " it is related by Ephorus, a great hiſtorian as well as philoſo- " pher.

" There was a woman in Pontus, who being with child pre- " tended Apollo was the father. Many, with a great deal of rea- " ſon, ſuſpected it, others were ſo credulous as to believe it. " Wherefore when ſhe came to be delivered of a ſon, ſeveral of " the greateſt quality in the country took peculiar care of its edu- " cation, and for ſome reaſon or other gave it the name of Sile- " nus. Lyſander taking hold of this concurrence, made it the " ground of his whole ſtratagem, and choſe ſuch confidents to aſ- " ſiſt him in it, whoſe character might bring the ſtory into repu- " tation without the leaſt ſuſpicion of forgery. To make the beſt " advantage of this ſtory, they ſpread abroad another ſtory, That " there were very antient oracles cloſely concealed in the cuſtody " of the prieſt at Delphi, and it was upon record that they were " not to be profaned by vulgar hands, neither was it lawful for " any man to read them, till in ſome future age one ſhould ariſe, " who could manifeſtly prove himſelf the ſon of Apollo, and chal- " lenge to himſelf the interpretation of theſe myſteries. When " the credit of this report was well eſtabliſhed among the people, " Silenus was to come and demand the prerogative of his birth. " The prieſts, who were confederates in this plot, were ſtrictly " to examine into every circumſtance and particular of his nativi- " ty, and afterwards, being fully convinced that he was the true " ſon of Apollo, were to deliver up their charge to him, and then " the ſon of the god was to unfold in public all thoſe oracles, " eſpecially that, for the ſake of which the whole plot had been " contrived, relating to the government of Sparta, wherein it was " to be declared, That it would be more for the honour and in- " tereſt of Sparta to break the preſent ſucceſſion, and for the fu- " ture chuſe their kings out of the moſt deſerving men in the " commonwealth. But when Silenus was grown up, and every " thing ready for action, the whole buſineſs miſcarried by the " cowardice of one that was an agent in it, whoſe heart failed " him juſt at the time of execution (60) ". Nothing of theſe intrigues was diſcovered during the life-time of Lyſander; but af- ter his demiſe, Ageſilaus being directed to ſearch his papers on ac- count of ſome diſputes with the Argives, he found among them the

(60) Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Vid. etiam. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Corn. Nepos, vit. Lyſand.

to treat with Agesilaus, to whom he proposed, that the Greek cities in Asia should pay the king a certain tribute only, and in all other respects enjoy their liberty, offering him at the same time large sums of money if he would condescend to make a peace, which Agesilaus refused, alledging, that he had not power so to do; however, he removed out of his province, and carried the war into that of Pharnabazus. Tithraustes, who was a man of great parts, when he found the king of Sparta could not be corrupted in Asia, dispatched Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents into Greece, to see if any of the captains or statesmen there were less honest than Agesilaus; this agent of his found several such sort of people as he looked for in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos; to them he imparted such sums as he thought proper, and thereby excited a war in the heart of Greece, which no longer left the Spartans at liberty to think of extending their empire beyond it [m]. The Thebans, who of all others came most heartily into this business, saw plainly, that the Lacedæmonians of their own accord would not break with any of the states of Greece; they did not care to act offensively themselves, because the chiefs of the Persian faction were afraid of becoming accountable to the people for the success of the war; they persuaded therefore the Locrians to make an incursion into a small district which lay in dispute between the Phocians and themselves; upon this, as they rightly judged, the Phocians without more ado invaded Locris: the Locrians applied to

[m] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Agesil, & in Apophthegm. Lacon.

the oration made by Cleon before-mentioned, which at first he designed to publish in otder to convince the Spartans, who still revered the memory of Lysander, that they had quite mistaken the temper of the man; but Lacratidas, one of the king's friends, gave a noble testimony of his wisdom, by advising Agesilaus to let it alone; he said, it would be dishonourable to disturb the ashes of Lysander, and that with respect to the oration, it would be better to bury it with him, than to trust it abroad in the world; where, considering the force with which it was penned, it might raise a spirit not easy to be laid. Agesilaus on the other hand shewed his wisdom in taking the advice of his friend, and passing by in silence this business which must have produced great mischiefs, had it ever become the subject of debate (61).

(61) Plutarch. in vit. Lysand. & Agesil.

to their allies the Thebans for aſſiſtance, which was readily granted them, and upon this the Phocians addreſſed themſelves to Sparta, ſetting forth that they had not been the aggreſſors, but they had been forced to take arms in defence of their own territories; the Spartans were on their ſide glad of an opportunity of breaking with the Thebans, againſt whom they had long had a grudge; and thus the Perſian talents diſturbed the tranquillity of Greece and put her in a new ferment. Lyſander, though a very old man, grew extremly uneaſy at lying idle, he had beſides a private hatred to the Thebans on account of the aſſiſtance they had given to Athens, at ſuch time as ſhe ſhook off the yoke of the thirty tyrants whom he had eſtabliſhed; he therefore gladly laid hold of this occaſion to perſuade the ephori and ſenate once more to intruſt him with an army. As ſoon as he prevailed in his requeſt, he began to diſpoſe all things for the war; an army was quickly raiſed, at the head of which he put himſelf; another was raiſing, which was to be commanded by king Pauſanias. Lyſander marched with the forces under his command directly into Phocis, deſiring Pauſanias to lead his army round by Cithæron, in order to invade Bœotia on that ſide; the eagerneſs of Lyſander prompted him to quick marches and vigorous meaſures, wherefore, finding Pauſanias loiter, he ſent an expreſs to him who was then encamped at Platæa, with letters, informing him of the time when himſelf expected to arrive at Haliartus, conjuring him to meet him there; theſe letters, Plutarch ſays, was intercepted by the enemy and ſent to Thebes, where the Thebans reſolved to intruſt their city with the Athenians, who were come to their aſſiſtance, and to march directly to Haliartus. Lyſander arrived in the neighbourhood of that city in the night, but when day began to dawn, and he had ſtill no news of Pauſanias, he reſolved at all events to attempt the ſurpriſal of the place; when he drew near the walls and perceived all things quiet, he conceived great hopes; but of a ſudden the gates being thrown open, the Thebans and Haliartans iſſued out in exact order, and charged the Lacedæmonians ſo briſkly, that Lyſander was killed on the ſpot, with a prieſt who ſtood by him, before the forces commanded by him could recover themſelves. Another body of Thebans charged them in the rear, whereby they were totally broken with

the loſs of no leſs than a thouſand men, the Thebans on their ſide loſt three hundred [n]. The news of this defeat being brought to Pauſanias, he immediately marched with all poſſible diligence to Haliartus, where he ſought by all means to gain the dead body of Lyſander; ſome of the antient Spartan commanders were for attacking the enemy and recovering it by force; but he, conſidering that they were already flushed with victory, that their troops were more numerous than his, and that Thraſybulus the Athenian had now joined them, refuſed to do it; but on the contrary concluded a treaty, whereby the body of Lyſander was delivered to him, on condition that he retired out of Bœotia, which he accordingly performed, and in his retreat buried the corps of the deceaſed general in the territories of the Panopæans. On his return to Sparta, ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment appeared againſt him, that he was afraid to ſtand his tryal, for which reaſon he retired to Tegæa, where he led a private life. As for Lyſander, his memory was greatly revered in Sparta on account of the mighty ſervices he had rendered his country, and becauſe, after all the opportunities he had had of enriching himſelf, he died miſerably poor, having always preſerved that generous contempt of money inherent to great minds. In his latter years, he is ſaid to have been extremely melancholy, and even peeviſh, which ſome have aſcribed to his natural temper; though that ſeems to be not a little unjuſt, if we conſider that he was now old, and had been extremely ill-treated by Ageſilaus, on whoſe friendſhip he had reckoned ſo much. After his death, ſome Spartans of rank, who were contracted to his daughters, refuſed to eſpouſe them, finding they had no money, for which the ephori fined them, and that very ſeverely, aſſigning this reaſon, that ſuch men muſt be of a flagitious nature, who had rather take a wife out of a wealthy family than a virtuous one [o]. Ageſilaus, having ſubjected the greateſt part of the coaſt, determined with himſelf to march into the heart of Perſia, and to revenge the cruelties perpetrated by Xerxes when he invaded Greece. In the midſt of his projects, and when he was upon the very point of carrying them into execution, a meſſenger from Sparta brought him a ſcytale,

[n] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Lyſand. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſdem. [o] Xenophon. Diodor. Plut. Corn. Nepos, ubi ſupra.

ſcytale, whereby he was commanded to return in order to fight his country's battles at home. Ageſilaus heſitated not a moment, he relinquiſhed all his victories and all his hopes, preferring obedience to the conſtitution of Sparta to the proſpect of ſubduing the whole Perſian empire, a conduct which might warrant a long panegyric, if its excellence did not deter us from attempting a theme, which may well be ſuppoſed inexhauſtible, ſince the action of Ageſilaus has hitherto appeared inimitable [p]. The year before the Spartans had declared him admiral as well as generaliſſimo of their forces, which charge he now beſtowed on his wife's brother Piſander, leaving four thouſand men to ſecure his conqueſts, and with the reſt of his army taking the ſame rout which Xerxes had done when he entered Greece. In his paſſage he never demanded any leave from the barbarous nations, but only ſent to enquire of them whether they would have him paſs as an enemy or as a friend; meeting with ſome oppoſition, he engaged the enemy, routed them, and continued his march [q].

Ageſipolis ſucceeds his father Pauſanias.

AFTER the flight of Pauſanias, who left behind him two ſons, Ageſipolis and Cleombrotus, the former of them was declared king, but being too young to govern by himſelf, his uncle Ariſtodemus, to whom the Spartans gave the command of a very great army, which they raiſed as well to revenge the death of Lyſander, as to quell in its infancy this dangerous league which was formed againſt them, held the office of protector. This army, when it took the field, conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men; the confederates immediately oppoſed it with another of twenty thouſand, of which thirteen thouſand were heavy armed troops: Near Corinth a battle enſued, wherein the Spartans were victorious with the loſs only of eight men, if we may believe Xenophon, that is, eight of the Spartans; for of their confederates, he acknowledges that a great number fell [r]. News was immediately diſpatched of this victory to Ageſilaus, who, far from being pleaſed therewith, cried out, O Greece, what a number of brave men are ſlain in thy private quarrels, when with a leſs

[p] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſd. Juſtin lib. vi. c. 2. [q] Xenophon Hellen. lib. iv. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos. in vit. Ageſil. [r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi. ſupra.

a leſs waſte of blood thou mighteſt have reduced all Perſia[s]! Though theſe were his private ſentiments, yet on his return he obeyed the directions ſent to him by the ephori, and immediately invaded Bœotia contrary to his judgment of things: On the very day he executed this order the ſun was eclipſed, and he received the news of the defeat of the Spartan fleet and the death of his wife's brother Piſander; being afraid this ill news might diſcourage his ſoldiers, he gave out, that the courier had brought him advice of a victory gained by his brother, on account of which he ſacrificed to the gods, and ſent portions of the ſacrifice to his friends, wearing a garland on his head and uſing other teſtimonies of joy, though he acknowledged that Piſander had fallen in the engagement[t]. Not long after an engagement happened in the neighbourhood of Chæonæa, the ſharpeſt which happened in his time, as Xenophon relates; and of this he muſt have been a very good judge, becauſe he was preſent. In this Ageſilaus was the victor where he fought, and the Thebans on the other hand prevailed againſt that wing whereon they charged; Ageſilaus was conſtrained to try his fortune anew againſt theſe: It is generally agreed, that on this occaſion he was guilty of a great overſight in attacking the Thebans in front, when if he had waited a little he might have charged them in flank and rear. Xenophon indeed gives another turn to this matter, for with him Ageſilaus was never wrong; yet it is certain, that the miſtake had like to have been fatal; the Thebans behaving with great reſolution, killing many and wounding more, among whom was Ageſilaus himſelf. At length they marched ſlowly from the field, leaving to the Lacedæmonians the honour of a victory, of which, however, they could collect no fruits[u]. Ageſilaus went to Delphi, where he conſecrated the tenth of his ſpoils, and in the mean time Gylus his lieutenant led the army into Locris, where they were ſo buſy in plundering, that the people ſuddenly roſe upon them, and making a good uſe of their diſorder, killed Gylus and many others. Corinth was the head quarters of the confederates, as Sicyon was of the Lacedæmonians and their allies. At Corinth

[s] Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejuſdem. [t] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. [u] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſdem.

Corinth there were great ſeditions; many of the citizens, conceiving that they were idly engaged in this war, which tended to bring them under the dominion of the Argives, reſolved, if poſſible, to free themſelves by bringing in a Lacedæmonian garriſon, which in ſome meaſure they effected. The other part in Corinth ſent for aid from Athens, which was readily accorded, and between both parties the city was in the utmoſt danger of being totally ruined [x]. The Spartans had poſſeſſion only of a fort, their enemies had the city; Ageſilaus to put an end to the diſpute invaded the territory of Argos with a great army, and having paſſed through it beſieged Corinth by land, while his brother Teleutias blocked it up by ſea; yet did not their enterprize ſucceed, Iphicrates the Athenian captain preſerving Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of his reſentment [y]. After his return from this expedition, the Achæans demanded aid of Sparta againſt the Acarnanians, and, according to their requeſt, Ageſilaus was ſent to help them with a great army; he ſo effectually quelled their enemies, that the next year they were glad to make peace [z]. This war over, Ageſipolis at the head of another army entered the country of the Argives, though much againſt his will; for as this people had deſired a truce, he conceived this ſeverity to be a kind of injuſtice, and therefore would not put himſelf at the head of the troops, till he had conſulted the Olympian Jupiter and the Delphian Apollo on this ſcruple of conſcience. Satisfied with the anſwers returned by theſe oracles, he undertook the war, but meeting, or fancying he met, in the courſe thereof many prodigies, he returned without effecting much. In the mean time Conon the Athenian threatened the Spartans with the loſs of their ſovereignty by ſea, wherefore to ſoften the Perſian king, it was reſolved at Sparta to ſend Antalcidas into Perſia to endeavour the withdrawing of the great king from the intereſt of their rivals, though in the mean time preparations were made for carrying on the war in Aſia, in caſe the propoſals he was enabled to offer were refuſed; this was a new method of proceeding unknown in former times to Sparta, and this embaſſador was a perſon who differed much from his fellow citizens, being extremely affable in his manner,

[x] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Iphicrat. Polyæn. lib. iii. c. 9. [y] Xenophon. Diodor. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos, & Polyæn. ubi ſupra. [z] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil.

manner, eloquent, and in short every way well accomplished to execute a commission at the Persian court [a] (Q). The

[a] Xenophon. Diodor. ubi supra.

(Q) Antalcidas the son of Leon was a man of great parts, though of no great probity. To gain the confidence of the Persians, he not only fell into their customs, but derided and despised those of his own country; nay, he carried this matter so far, if we may believe Plutarch, that he had the assurance in a wanton dance to mimick Leonidas and Callicratidas, two of the most worthy men in Sparta; this behaviour of his won so much on Artaxerxes, who otherwise had a violent antipathy to the Spartans, and used to call them the most impudent men living; that he sent him from the table where he was sitting a garland dipped in an ointment, which for the extraordinary richness of its composition was used only by the king (62). All which was very agreeable to his own maxim, That the sole means of influencing men is to speak what may delight, and to do what may profit them (63). But though he diverted himself at the expence of his country's customs, he could answer others very tartly who reflected on them; for being asked in a contemptuous manner about the bigness of Sparta and the extent of its dominions, he answered smartly, The walls of Sparta are her youth, and the points of their spears the limits of her territories. An Athenian once bragging in his presence, That his countrymen had often repulsed the Spartans from Cephisus; Very true, replied Antalcidas; but we had never any occasion to drive you from Eurotas. Being desirous to gain admission to the Samothracian mysteries, the priest asked him, Whether he had never done any great crime? If I have, said he, the gods know that already (64). This peace of his was very ill received in Greece by such as piqued themselves on the love of their country; nay, there were many at Sparta itself, who could not forbear expressing their resentment at the abandoning their allies to the mercy of the Barbarians; insomuch, that a person of condition said in the hearing of king Agesilaus, that Greece was now in a lamentable state, since the Spartans themselves began to turn Medes: Say rather, replied the king sharply, That the Medes begin to turn Spartans (65). How little soever Agesilaus approved this peace, he supported it with all his might, and constrained both the Thebans and Argives to accept it much against their wills. On the whole it must be acknowledged, that Antalcidas by his art secured the sovereignty to Sparta, and that she lost it by gratifying her own haughtiness, and her king

(62) Plutarch. in vit. Artaxerx. (63) Plut. in Apophthegm. Lacon. (64) Idem, ibid. (65) Plut. in vit. Agesil.

The Athenians, however, took ſuch meaſures as hindered his ſucceeding immediately. Thimbro, w ho commanded the Lacedæmonian troops in Aſia, for a time did good ſervice, but at laſt was defeated and ſlain ; Teleutias, however, gained ſome advantages at ſea, and having extremely frighted the city of Athens by an attempt on the Pyræum, inclined that city to a peace, to which indeed hardly any of the Grecian ſtates were now averſe. As for Sparta, notwithſtanding her late victories, ſhe found the expence of the war ſo heavy, that it forced her both to wiſh and to ſeek for peace ; the Athenians, terrified with their late loſſes, recollected the fatal iſſue of the Peloponneſian war, and deſired to be rid of this, leſt its end ſhould prove no better ; the Argives, finding that all their artifices would avail no longer, but that the war would find a place in their country as well as elſewhere, wiſhed a general pacification might take place for their own particular intereſt. The Perſian king had alſo his own profit in view, he ſtood in need of Greek mercenaries for carrying on his wars, and theſe were not to be had at a time when Greece ſtood in need of all her ſubjects : He therefore ſignified to Teribazus, who immediately communicated the diſpatches to the Greeks, the terms whereon the king deſired the peace ſhould be made ; they were theſe : That the cities in Aſia, with the iſlands of Clazomene and Cyprus, ſhould remain to him ; that all the other ſtates, ſmall and great, ſhould be left free, except only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which, having been time immemorial ſubject to the Athenians, ſhould remain ſo ; that ſuch as refuſed to embrace this peace, ſhould be compelled to accept it by force of arms. At firſt the Thebans abſolutely refuſed to comply, becauſe the government of Bœotia was taken from them ; but, Ageſilaus making great preparations to invade them, they in the end were forced to accede ; the Argives too quitted Corinth, to which the exiles returned, and every thing elſe was done which the Spartans deſired. Such was the peace which from its author was ſtiled the peace of Antalcidas, whereby the ſovereignty of Greece indeed was in a manner

king Ageſilaus's inveterate hatred againſt the Thebans (66). As to the fate of Antalcidas, we ſhall have occaſion to mention it in the text, and ſhall therefore put an end to this note here.

(66) Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv.

a manner guarantied to Sparta, but upon very diſhonourable terms; the Greek cities in Aſia being entirely abandoned to the Perſian, notwithſtanding all the promiſes that had been made them, and that Ageſilaus himſelf had fought in their quarrel [b]. This flow of ſucceſs made the Lacedæmonians loſe all temper, inſomuch, that, on the concluſion of the peace, they began to think of puniſhing with ſeverity ſuch as had injured them, or ſuch as they had ſuſpected during the war, as if the dominion of Greece had been a ſmall thing, if their new ſubjects did not feel the preſſure of their government [c]. The firſt who experienced the weight of their reſentment were the Mantineans, though they had heen their confederates and had done them great ſervices. The Spartans, to have a pretence for making war, very modeſtly directed them to quit their city, and to retire into the five villages which had ſerved their foreſathers, where they might be ſure to enjoy peace themſelves, and not give any umbrage to their neighbours; this being refuſed, Ageſipolis was ſent with an army againſt them, for Ageſilaus did not care to command againſt his old friends and acquaintance; Ageſipolis beſieged the city all the ſummer, but when winter drew on, the Lacedæmonians dammed up the current of the river, which thereupon roſe to ſuch a height in the city, as either to overflow, or throw down their houſes, and this compelled the Mantineans to ſubmit to the conditions preſcribed to them by Sparta, and to retire to their old villages from that noble city which they had ſo long enjoyed. The Phliaſians were the next, it was objected to them, that they had exiled ſome of their own citizens who were in the intereſt of Sparta; theſe therefore they were conſtrained to receive again, and to do whatever elſe the Spartans required of them [d]. The Olynthians were in the third place to be chaſtiſed, becauſe they were become powerful; to ſay the truth, there never was a commonwealth which imitated Sparta ſo nearly as did this of Olynthus; for under pretence of freeing the Macedonian cities from the tyranny of Amyntas, they conquered moſt of them and kept them to themſelves; the Acanthians and Apollonians

[b] Xenophon. lib. v. Diodor. lib. xiv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Artaxerx. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ageſil. [c] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Xenophon. Hellen. lib. v. Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 6. [d] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Pauſan. in Lacon.

Apollonians ſignified to the government of Sparta, that in a very ſhort ſpace they muſt be conſtrained either to take arms againſt Olynthus, or ſubmit to her and fight under her banners; Eudamidas was ſent to aſſiſt them with two thouſand men, he marched into Thrace, where he did great ſervice, expecting his brother Phœbidas, who was raiſing a great army and had orders to follow him; but he, paſſing through Thebes, in his march had it betrayed to him by Archias and Leontidas, whereupon he ſeized the citadel called Cadmæa and put a ſtrong garriſon into it; this was an open violation of the peace, and an act in its nature moſt flagrantly unjuſt; yet Ageſilaus protected its author, either from an over-weening paſſion for his own country, or out of an implacable averſion to the Thebans. On his motion therefore Sparta abetted Phœbidas, and transferred the government of Thebes to Archias and Leontidas who had put it into his hands; an act highly diſpleaſing to the Greeks, and made them very apprehenſive of the power of Sparta [e]. Teleutias was ſent to command in Thrace, with ſtrict orders to reduce the Olynthians at all events, which he ſet about ſo eagerly, that going in perſon to the aſſiſtance of ſome of his troops, who were repulſed by the Olynthians, he expoſed his whole army to a great loſs, and was himſelf ſlain upon the ſpot. Ageſipolis, as ſoon as the news reached Lacedæmon, was diſpatched to ſupply his place; he fought with great ſucceſs, reduced Torone, a ſtrong city in thoſe parts, and brought the Olynthians into great ſtreights; but in the midſt of his conqueſt a fever attacked him, and carried him off in a few days. He was a prince of great worth, but of a very mild temper, which gave Ageſilaus room to grow upon him, and to make him ſubſervient to his purpoſes, ſo that he made no great figure in the ſtate; yet he died not unregretted, the people ſorrowing for the loſs of one who always treated them with kindneſs, and Ageſilaus expreſſing great concern for a collegue, with whom he had lived long, and without any difference [f].

Ageſipolis having no children was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus, but he did not ſucceed him in the command

Cleombrotus ſucceeds Ageſipolis.

[e] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in vit. Pelop. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pelop. [f] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & Agid. Xenophon, ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Lacon.

mand of the army, which was intruſted with one Polybiades, who in a ſhort ſpace reduced the Olynthians to ſuch diſtreſs that they were compelled to make a treaty with the Spartans, whereby they undertook to have the ſame friends and enemies with them, and to follow them as aſſociates whitherſoever they ſhould lead them in their wars [g]. The Phliaſians having given ſome new offence, by not treating the exiles whom the Spartans had reſtored with the reſpect which it was thought they deſerved, Ageſilaus marched againſt them with a great army, at which, however, they were not ſo much terrified, but that they made a very vigorous reſiſtance, and defended their city for a very long time; at laſt war and famine brought them ſo low, that they were conſtrained to yield at diſcretion, whereupon commiſſioners were named, part Spartans, part of their own exiles, to determine which of the citizens ſhould have mercy, and which ſhould be put to death. Thus did Sparta govern with pride and cruelty thoſe whom ſhe had moſt unjuſtly brought under her dominion; for by the peace of Antalcidas ſhe had engaged, that all the cities ſhould be left to their freedom. Such Thebans, as could not endure to ſee their country in ſlavery, had privately fled to Athens; but, entertaining a correſpondence in their native country, they found means to be admitted ſecretly, and, having ſtabbed the chief men of the oppoſite party, aſſumed the adminiſtration to themſelves. The Spartans upon this ſent Cleombrotus their new king, at the head of a great army, to reſtore things to their former condition, in which, however, he had no great ſucceſs [h]. At his return he left a garriſon under the command of Sphodrias at Theſpe, as well to encourage the Thebans in the Spartan intereſt, as to awe the adjacent country and lay it under contribution; this Sphodrias, either of his own accord, or, as ſome ſay, prompted thereto by the artifice of the Thebans, attempted to ſeize the Pyræum, which drew the Athenians into the quarrel. Sparta might eaſily have ridded herſelf of this new enemy, if ſhe had acted juſtly, and puniſhed Sphodrias as he deſerved. But here again, king Ageſilaus, being prevailed on by his ſon, interpoſed and protected the criminal; this effectually induced the Athenians to engage in the league formed againſt Sparta: upon which Ageſilaus was forced

[g] Diodor. & Xenophon. ubi ſupra.. [h] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in vit. Pelopid. Corn. Nepos. in vit. ejuſd.

orced to undertake the command again, though he was now at that age when the law excuſed him; he invaded Bæotia, but with little ſucceſs, Chabrias the Athenian having taught the Thebans to fight in much better order than they had heretofore done. Towards the end of the campaign, Phæbidas, who had been the author of this war, was killed with three hundred horſe; the next year Cleombrotus marched againſt the Bœotians, but the Athenians and Thebans diſputing his paſſage, he was conſtrained to return. At ſea the Spartans were beaten by Timotheus the ſon of Conon, and in ſhort all things began to decline, notwithſtanding the utmoſt care of Ageſilaus, on whom Antalcidas revenged himſelf, for ſome ſmart things he had ſaid of him, when he negotiated the peace in Perſia; for the king returning home wounded by the Thebans, the ſtateſman cried out, You are properly rewarded, Ageſilaus, for teaching theſe Thebans to fight whether they would or no [i]. In the beginning of the hundred and firſt olympiad, Artaxerxes king of Perſia laboured exceedingly in making peace among the Greeks, becauſe, having the reduction of Egypt in his eye, he ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance; in little more than a year he accompliſhed it, if that can be ſaid to be accompliſhed which was of ſo ſhort continuance. The Thebans would never accept the peace, and the reſt of the cities had very little regard to it, ſuch ſeeds of diſcord being now ſown as could not be rooted out. The Lacedæmonians had every-where eſtabliſhed while they were in power an oligarchical government, which in conſequence of this peace being in many places overthrown, the people, as it was natural for them, began to tyrannize over their late maſters, and to treat them with as little juſtice now they were degraded, as they had uſed towards them when in power. The Perſian king ſtill wrought for the bringing about a ſettled tranquillity, which, in the beginning of the hundred and ſecond olympiad, ſeemed to be nearly effected; the Athenians concurring heartily with the Lacedæmonians, and ſhewing no ſort of countenance towards the Thebans, who ſtill refuſed to hear of peace, becauſe the Spartans inſiſted they ſhould ſet the cities of Bœotia at liberty. In this oppoſition they were chiefly encouraged by Epaminondas, who demanded, that before the Lacedæmonians gave laws to others, they ſhould ſhew

[i] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Xenophon, ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophthegm. Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Ageſil.

a proper regard to these maxims of equity themselves, by giving up Messenia to its antient proprietors and setting Laconia free [k]. This violently incensed Sparta, and at the same time did not a little offend Athens, who could not bear to see the Thebans act independently, who had heretofore either followed their banners, or those of Sparta. Cleombrotus with an army of twelve thousand men was sent into Bœotia; Epaminondas seized the passages through which he intended to have entered, and forced him to march round, which he did, and at length penetrated into Bœotia from the side next Phocis, and advancing towards Leuctra, encamped his army in the plains in that neighbourhood. The Thebans were greatly dispirited at the sight of his numerous army, and the rather, because many evil omens had happened at their marching from home; yet Epaminondas prevailed in a council of war, and carried the question to fight the enemy; in the interim, Jason, a powerful prince of Thessaly, arrived with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot, which he brought to assist the Thebans, though on his arrival he strove to make peace, and by his endeavours procured a truce to be actually concluded. As Cleombrotus was about to retire out of Bœotia, he met Archidamus son of Agesilaus, coming with a great reinforcement from Sparta; these princes, without any regard to the truce, resolved to march back to Leuctra in order to fall on the Bœotians, where they found Epaminondas and his troops ready to receive them; that great general, though he knew himself to be inferior to the enemy, resolved to have none to serve under him in the day of battle, who were not thoroughly inclined to conquer; he therefore made proclamation, that all who desired to depart might do so, which permission the Thespians and some others embraced; this done, he disposed his army in battalia, placing all his chosen troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other; the former he commanded in person, to the latter he gave directions, that when they found the enemies charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour, but as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front, which he did with such vigour, that

[k] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

that the Spartans began to give way, eſpecially after Cleombrotus was ſlain, whoſe dead body, however, they recovered; at length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the ſkill and conduct of the Theban general, who did mighty execution upon them, four thouſand being killed on the field of battle, whereas the Thebans did not loſe above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans loſt the empire of Greece, which they had held now near five hundred years [1].

Agesipolis ſucceeds Cleombrotus. Year after the Flood, 2628. Year before Chriſt, 371.

WHEN the ephori had the news of this dreadful and unexpected defeat, they were ſuperintending the Gymnic ſolemnities, and though they evidently ſaw what the conſequences would be of this mighty loſs, yet they did not interrupt or adjourn the feſtival, contenting themſelves with ſending advice to their relations of the names of thoſe who had fallen in the battle. It was at this time that the Spartan virtue ſhone with greateſt luſtre; the fathers, mothers, and thoſe who were neareſt of kin to ſuch as were killed, aſſembled the next morning, ſhook each other by the hand, applauding the courage of their children, while the relations of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle hid themſelves among the women; or, if they were obliged to go abroad, appeared in tattered cloaths, with their arms folded, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Common people cried out, that now the oracle was accompliſhed, which forbid them to admit of a lame king, ſince under the ſovereignty of Ageſilaus this direful misfortune had overtaken them. However, in regard to his great abilities and the little hopes they had of Ageſipolis the ſon of Cleombrotus, who was a perſon but of very mean parts, they appointed Ageſilaus dictator, or rather legiſlator, giving him a power over the laws, for this reaſon; ſuch as fled from battle were by them degraded from their honours, conſtrained to appear in garments patched with divers colours, to wear their beards half ſhaved, half unſhaved, and to ſuffer any to beat them who pleaſed without reſiſtance; to execute this at preſent was abſolutely inexpedient, power was therefore given to Ageſilaus to new-mold the conſtitution as he thought fit. But that great prince gave on this occaſion ſuch a proof of his wiſdom, as ſhewed he was worthy of the truſt repoſed in him; ſuch a proof as Plutarch confeſſes ſet him above

[1] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Pelopid. & in vit. Ageſil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epaminond. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 6. Pauſan. Lacon.

comparison, and which indeed can never be sufficiently admired. He came out of the temple very gravely into the public assembly, and by one short sentence restored the public peace, preserved such as were under apprehensions, and at the same time saved the Lycurgic institutes; this sentence runs thus; Let the laws sleep this day, but tomorrow let them resume their full vigour [m]. Then, old and lame as he was, he assembled an army which he led out into the territories of the Arcadians, and purposely avoiding an engagement, after ravaging the country and taking a town or two, he returned home, being content to shew his countrymen that the fortune of Sparta was not entirely lost. Some time after this a peace was concluded; the Mantinæans took this opportunity of rebuilding their city, which exceedingly vexed the Laeedæmonians, who at length not able to contain themselves, invaded them; but the Mantinæans, shutting themselves up in their new city, refused to hazard their safety by a pitched battle. The Arcadians about the same time built the great city of Megalopolis, to which from all their villages they repaired; this too offended the Lacedæmonians, who thereupon invaded Arcadia, and slew Lycomedes the Mantinæan, general of Arcadia, with two hundred men; this broke the spirit of the Arcadians, who thereupon sent to Athens for relief, but being denied there, they made their application to Thebes, from whence Epaminondas and Pelopidas were sent with a great army to their assistance; when they were come into Arcadia, and found themselves at the head of fifty thousand men, they knew not what to do, the enemy being retired; at last it was resolved to invade Laconia, a thing hitherto unattempted; which accordingly they did, and, under the auspice of Epaminondas, appeared before Sparta itself, which then had never heard of war in its neighbourhood; in this desperate situation of things, Agesilaus took the command upon himself, disposing the citizens with such skill, and opposing the enemy where-ever they attempted to enter, with such numbers, that Epaminondas, notwithstanding he greatly desired it, found it impossible to attack the place, but was constrained to retire, wasting the country as he marched off [n]. In the midst of these

[m] Xenophon. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi sup. Plutarch. in vit. Agesil. Corn. Nepos, in vit. ejusd. [n] Xenophon. ubi supra, & in orat. de laud. Agesil. Diodor. Sicul. ubi sup. Plut. in vit. Agesil. & Pelopid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Agesil. & Epaminond. Pausan. in Lacon. Polyæn. Strategem. lib. ii. c. 3.

theſe misfortunes a very dangerous conſpiracy broke out, two hundred of the rebels ſeizing the temple of Diana at Iſſorion. The Spartans would have immediately attacked them and put them to the ſword, but Ageſilaus, not knowing how far the contagion might reach, prevented them; and having only one ſervant near him, went in perſon to the place, to which when he drew near, he called out, Sirs, you miſtook my orders, I did not direct you to go all in one place, but that ſome of you ſhould go here, and ſome there. The conſpirators hearing this believed they were not diſcovered, and therefore ſeparating immediately went to the poſts which he aſſigned them; thus ſeparated they were eaſily ſeized, and being conducted to examination were afterwards put to death the ſame night, without any reſpect had to the ordinary forms of law. Epaminondas, when he quitted the territories of Sparta, left behind him ſuch a mark of his virtue and magnanimity, as is ſcarce to be parallelled in hiſtory; he rebuilt the city of Meſſene, and recalling the antient inhabitants of Meſſenia from the ſeveral countries where they had taken refuge, he reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their antient patrimony, after they had loſt it three hundred years. It is remarkable, that theſe Meſſenians, notwithſtanding their diſperſion, preſerved the old Doric dialect, which continued to be ſpoke amongſt them to the times of Pauſanias, the geographer and hiſtorian. When Epaminondas had accompliſhed this, he offered the Lacedæmonians peace, on condition that they quitted all pretenſions to Meſſenia and left Laconia free, which terms were rejected with ſcorn [o]. The preſent diſtreſs of Sparta obliged her to ſue for aſſiſtance to her rival Athens, which, whether from a principle of generoſity or vain glory is uncertain, was readily ſent them under the command of Iphicrates, who in this expedition was ſo unlucky as to loſe a great part of his reputation; the military prudence of Epaminondas putting it out of his power to effect any thing to the prejudice of the army under his command. The next year the war continued with as great warmth as ever, Epaminondas being ſent with a great army to join the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, who were in arms in Peloponneſus; the Lacedæmonians in the mean time applied themſelves aſſiduouſly to all the methods that could be de-

[o] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vi. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. & in vit. Pelop. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 7. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin. Pauſan. in Meſſen. & Lacon.

vised for restoring their affairs. They sollicited their allies, they manumitted such of the Helotes as were willing to take arms, they sought the assistance of the Athenians, and even of Dionysius the Sicilian, who ordered two thousand Gauls and Spaniards to hold themselves in readiness to be transported into Greece as soon as the season would permit. In the interim, the Lacedæmonian army, consisting of twenty thousand men, fortified the passes at the isthmus, and, having strongly retrenched themselves, determined to abide there, in order to hinder Epaminondas and his Thebans from entering Peloponnesus. But this hope was vain, for though the Theban army was far inferior in number, yet Epaminondas, having considered the extent of their works, and that they were apparently weakest where the Spartans were posted, determined at all events to attack them there, which he did with such vigour, that he forced their lines, and broke into Peloponnesus, where he wasted the country, reduced Sicyon and some other cities, and afterwards marched to Corinth, which he had also taken if it had not been for Chabrias the Athenian, who, being cordially in the interest of Sparta, defended the place so well, that Epaminondas was forced to retire. Here the Gauls and Spaniards, who were by this time come from Sicily, did great service, and in the end of the summer, being bountifully rewarded, returned home [p].

The Arcadians routed by Archidamus. Year after the flood, 2631. Before Christ 368.

THE Lacedæmonians, though they were still desirous of peace, continued to make as great preparations as possible for supporting the war. Agesilaus assisted them with his counsels; Cleomenes, who succeeded his brother Agesipolis after a year's reign, discharged the functions of first magistrate, Archidamus the son of Agesilaus having the chief command of their armies. In the first year of the hundred and third olympiad, this prince having drawn together a considerable body of Spartans, and their allies, and being assisted by Cissidas general in chief of Dionysius's forces, marched into Arcadia in order to revenge his country for the many inroads, which within a few years before they had suffered from the Arcadians. Having taken Caryæ and put those he took therein to the sword, he projected still greater conquests, till on a sudden all his attempts were checked by a declaration of Cissidas, that, his commission being expired, he could act offensively no longer; in consequence of which declaration he immediately withdrew. But in his retreat, finding

[p] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. vii. Diodor. ubi supra. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

finding himſelf in danger of being ſurrounded by the Meſſenians, he ſent to Archidamus to beſeech his aſſiſtance; the Spartan immediately marched with all his forces to the relief of his ally, and on his arrival fell with ſuch vigour on the Arcadians and their allies, that he utterly defeated them with the ſlaughter of no leſs than ten thouſand men, without ſo much as one Spartan heing ſlain; whereby the prediction of the prieſts at Dodona is ſaid to have been fulfilled, they having declared, when Archidamus marched, that this war would end without any mourning of the Lacedæmonians [q]. Some time after this Epaminondas broke in again, notwithſtanding all the care that could be taken, into Peloponneſus, yet without doing any great miſchief; the endeavours of the Perſian king having diſpoſed almoſt all Greece to think of peace, which with much ado was effected, after the Laconian or Bœotic war had laſted about five years, in which if Ageſilaus was to blame, for having through his hatred of the Thebans been a principal author thereof; yet the great ſervices he did his country therein, and his preſerving the city of Sparta from being taken by a numerous and victorious enemy, were ſuch reparations, that we may juſtly commend the Spartans for overlooking the failings of their prince, and making uſe of thoſe high qualities which were alone capable of preſerving them. We have been led to this obſervation from the nature of this hiſtory, which ſhews how ſoon the haughtineſs of any ſtate can raiſe up enemies enough to pull it down, and how far the wiſdom of a ſingle perſon may be capable of conſerving and reſtoring a dejected and defeated nation both to ſpirits and power [r]. In the ſecond year of the hundred and fourth olympiad, there broke out new commotions in Peloponneſus, the Tegetæans and Mantinæans making war on each other; the former requeſting the aid of the Thebans, the latter of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, gave occaſion thereby to a new and fatal controverſy; for Epaminondas, at the head of a great army marching to the aſſiſtance of his allies, had notice, that Ageſilaus, with the whole power of Sparta, was in full march to join the enemy; whereupon conceiving in himſelf that Sparta muſt be left naked, he directed his march thither with the utmoſt diligence. Xenophon himſelf acknowledges, that this meaſure was ſo well taken, and ſo briſkly

[q] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Pauſan. in Lacon. Athen. Diepnoſoph. lib. xii. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. [r] Xenophon. ubi ſupra, & in Orat. de Laud. Ageſil. Polyæn. Strat. lib. ii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Ageſil.

briſkly purſued, that nothing could have prevented his ſurprizing the place; but by accident a perſon gave notice of his march to Ageſilaus, who thereupon diſpatched a courier to Sparta to deſire the citizens to be on their guard; Archidamus no ſooner received his father's diſpatch, than he made all proper diſpoſitions for the defence of the place; the old men and boys he placed on the tops of houſes, that they might incommode the Thebans by throwing tiles and ſtones; ſuch as were capable of bearing arms he poſted in all the avenues of the city, ſo that when Epaminondas came, he had the mortification to ſee that his deſign was diſcovered, and it was impoſſible for him to think of entering without great effuſion of blood; notwithſtanding all this, he attacked the place, but was received ſo warmly that he was obliged to retire; yet Archidamus following him gave an opportunity to the Thebans to revenge the death of their countrymen, which they did by cutting off a great number of Spartans, who had thus needleſly expoſed themſelves by an unwary purſuit. Epaminondas, to make himſelf amends for this ſucceſsleſs attempt, marched directly to ſurprize Mantinæa, which he rightly conjectured would be left naked by Ageſilaus's march to the relief of Sparta. Yet here again an accident defeated all his wiſdom; ſix thouſand Athenian ſuccours were juſt landed in Peloponneſus, and entered Mantinæa the very day that he attacked it. Theſe being freſh and full of ſpirits, had the better of his horſe, and forced him to abandon his deſigns. Theſe miſcarriages ſunk deep into the boſom of this great general, who reflecting that his commiſſion was about to expire, and that, if he retired out of Peloponneſus without effecting any thing, he ſhould not only loſe his own glory, but that authority alſo to which he had raiſed his country; he determined, for the preſervation of both theſe, to riſque a battle at all events. When therefore he underſtood that Ageſilaus at the head of the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians with the reſt of the allies, being no leſs than twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, were arrived in the neighbourhood of Mantinæa, he led forth his army, and having drawn it up in battalia, marched off towards the hills of Tegea, as if he intended to encamp there; but on a ſudden altering the diſpoſition of his line to give it the form of a wedge, he marched ſuddenly back and fell upon the

[s] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil. Pauſan Lacon. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Epamin.

the allies, when they expected no ſuch matter; the confuſion was ſo great, that the Thebans would have acquired a very eaſy victory, if Epaminondas, charging the Lacedæmonians, had not expoſed his perſon too much; for they, knowing well that the whole power of Thebes was centered in this ſingle man, covered him with darts, many of which he pulled out of his fleſh, and returned upon thoſe who diſcharged them; at laſt one Anticiates a Spartan ſtruck him into the breaſt with a javelin with ſuch a force, that it broke and left the iron ſticking therein, whereupon he fell down, which occaſioned a new conteſt for his body, and in this with much ado his countrymen were victorious, though with the loſs of their beſt officers. All Greece looked with concern on the iſſue of this buſineſs, which was this; that the contending parties, fearing the continuance of ſo bloody a war, unanimouſly ſtruck up a general peace, excepting only the Lacedæmonians, who at the inſtance of Ageſilaus refuſed to become parties thereto, becauſe the Meſſenians were comprehended therein [t]; for which he is juſtly cenſured by Plutarch, who was likewiſe no leſs diſpleaſed at the laſt actions of his life, which were theſe. Finding that the Perſian was no longer inclined to Sparta, he conſented for the ſake of a large ſubſidy given to his country by Tachos king of Egypt to go in perſon to command the Greek mercenaries he had in his ſervice; there for a time he was of great uſe to the prince, at whoſe requeſt he went into Egypt; but at length, either to gratify his own reſentment, or becauſe he thought it more advantageous to his country, he deſerted him and ſided with his competitor; from whom having received a large ſum of money for his good ſervices, he embarked in order to return into Peloponneſus; but being by contrary winds forced on the African ſhore, he died after a ſhort illneſs, rather of age and fatigue than of any other diſtempers, when he had attained the eighty-fourth year of his life, and had reigned forty-one years, leaving behind him the character of a wiſe prince, a great captain, and a paſſionate lover of his country [u] (R).

ARCHI.

[t] Xenophon. Hellen. lib. viii. Diodor Sicul. lib. xv. Plut in vit. Ageſil. Juſtin. lib. vi. c. 7. Corn. Nepos in vit. Epamin.
[u] Xenophon. ubi ſupra. & in Orat. de laud. Ageſil. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Ageſil.

(R) If it may be juſtly eſteemed a happineſs to a great king to have his actions recorded by writers of eminent abilities, no prince

of

Archidamus succeeds Agesipolis. Year after the Flood, 2637. Before Christ 362.

ARCHIDAMUS succeeded to his father Agesilaus; he was become the darling of the people for the glorious victory of Greece ever was happier in this respect than Agesilaus: Xenophon, the best historian of his age and the companion of Agesilaus's labours, was likewise the compiler of them. His Grecian history contains a very particular narration of the king's exploits, and his oration in praise of Agesilaus is a panegyric worthy of the character of that prince and of its writer. Diodorus the Sicilian hath also a very copious account of the transactions of this king of Sparta; besides which and the transcripts that have been made from antient Greek writers by translators and epitomizers, we have his life written by Plutarch, and again by Cornelius Nepos. His expedition into Egypt, when he was eighty years old and upwards, is to be the subject of this note; this let us take from Plutarch, who hath given us the detail of this expedition with peculiar exactness. "As soon as he arrived in Egypt all the great "officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him "at his landing; his reputation being so great had raised the ex"pectation of the whole country which did flock in to see him; "but when they found, instead of the great prince whom they "looked for, a little old man of contemptible presence, without "all ceremony lying down upon the grass, his hair uncombed, "and his cloaths thread-bare, they fell into a laughter and scorn "of him, crying out, that the old proverb was now made good, "The mountain had brought forth a mouse. They were much "scandalized at his insensibility and rudeness (as they thought it), "who when the presents, usually offered to strangers of distinc"on, were made him of all manner of provisions, took only the "meal, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweet-meats, "the confections, and perfumes; and when they did urge him to "the acceptance of them, he said, They might carry them to "his slaves the Helotes. Theophrastus saith, that he was taken "with nothing he saw in Egypt so much as with the Papyrus, so "proper for garlands by reason of the smoothness and pliantness "of its rind; and when he left Egypt, he desired the king to "let him carry some of it home with him. When he joined "with Tachos, he found his expectation of being generalissimo "frustrated: Tachos reserved that place for himself, making "Agesilaus only captain of the band of mercenaries, and Cha"brias, the Athenian, admiral. This was the first occasion of "his discontent; but there followed others: He being daily "tried with the insolence and vanity of this Egyptian, was at "length forced to attend on him into Phœnicia, in a condition "much below his spirit and dignity, which, notwithstanding, he "was obliged to digest for a while, till he had an opportunity of

"shewing

victory he had obtained over the Arcadians, and which, becauſe no Spartan fell therein, they tranſmitted to poſterity

" ſhewing his reſentment. It was ſoon afforded him by Nectana-
" bis, Tachos's own nephew and a great captain under him,
" who took an occaſion to fall off from his uncle, and was pro-
" claimed king by the Egyptians. This man invited Ageſilaus to
" his party, and the like he did to Chabrias, offering great re-
" wards to both. Tachos had quickly intelligence of this, and
" had then recourſe to all the ſubmiſſive methods he could think
" of, in order to engage both Ageſilaus and Chabrias to his inte-
" reſt; the latter readily yielded to his entreaties, and endea-
" voured all he could to perſuade Ageſilaus, but he pretended
" to depend wholly on the orders which ſhould be ſent him from
" Sparta, whither both the Egyptian princes had diſpatched em-
" baſſadors. The Lacedæmonians left the whole matter to Age-
" ſilaus, directing him to what was moſt for the profit of the
" commonwealth; whereupon he immediately changed ſides and
" carried off all the mercenaries with him. He had not been long
" in the ſervice of Nectanabis before a certain Mendeſian ſet up
" his claim to the Egyptian kingdom, and brought a hundred
" thouſand men at his heels to ſupport it. He attempted to
" tamper with Ageſilaus, of which Nectanabis having notice be-
" gan to ſuſpect him, and his ſuſpicion encreaſed when Ageſilaus
" adviſed him to fight this multitude immediately; he took quite
" a different method, retiring into a ſtrong city, and ſhutting up
" himſelf and his troops therein, the Mendeſian advancing in-
" veſted the place immediately, and began to ſink a ditch, and
" throw up intrenchments all round the place. Nectanabis all
" on a ſudden talked of fighting, being afraid of being cooped
" up, and ſtarved out; but Ageſilaus oppoſed it, for which the
" Greeks blamed him, and the Egyptians called him traitor;
" but he bore all with patience being aſhamed of changing ſides
" a ſecond time. At laſt, when the enemy had almoſt perfected
" their works and only a narrow aperture was left, Ageſilaus
" went to Nectanabis and addreſſed him thus: Now, young
" man, you have an opportunity of ſaving yourſelf: your ene-
" mies have been all this time working for you; if you iſſue out
" with your forces, you will eaſily beat thoſe who guard the
" gap which is yet open; and as for the reſt, their own works
" will hinder them from ſurrounding us. Nectanabis, admiring
" his wiſdom, exactly followed his advice, by which means he
" routed his competitor, and leaving the conduct of the war for
" the future to Ageſilaus, he quickly ſubdued all his enemies,
" and ſettled him firmly on the throne. After this being eagerly de-
" ſirous of doing ſtill ſomething more for the ſervice of his coun-
" try, the king of Sparta embarked in order to return to Greece,

" carrying

terity by the name of the tearleſs battle. In his reign broke out the Phocian, or ſacred war, wherein he ſided with the Phocians at the perſuaſion, as ſome writers ſay, of his wife Dinicha. Others affirm, that not only his wife and himſelf were wrought on by the bribes of the Phocians, but even the ephori, the ſenate, and the whole republic of Sparta; but though he eſpouſed their quarrel, yet he was far from countenancing their cruelty, which on the contrary he openly condemned and oppoſed. When Philip king of Macedon began to intereſt himſelf much in the affairs of Greece, and to take highly upon him for the many victories he had gained, Archidamus is ſaid to have ſent him this meſſage; Sir, If you will be pleaſed to meaſure your ſhadow, you won't find it a whit longer than it was before. He was by no means pleaſed with the cuſtoms of his country, but on the contrary thought them burthenſome and rigorous, affecting to live freely and without reſtraint, ſuppoſing, that it did not at all affect a man's honeſty, if he eat a good dinner: For this reaſon he was glad of an opportunity to leave Sparta, and of reſiding in a foreign country, where he might live as he would, without offending the laws or giving ſcandal to his ſubjects; the Tarentines therefore requeſting aid of the Lacedæmonians for their ſupport againſt their neighbours, Archidamus very readily offered to command the forces that were decreed them, and paſſing on this occaſion over into Italy, he was there ſlain near the city of Mandonium after having reigned fifteen years; his ſtatue was erected at the temple of Jupiter Olympus, an honour which none of the Spartan kings had done them except himſelf; which Pauſanias ſuppoſes was conceded to him, becauſe he died fighting againſt the Barbarians, and did not receive thoſe

" carrying with him among other rich preſents a gratuity of two " hundred and thirty talents, as a free gift from Nectanabis to " the ſtate of Sparta. In this voyage he died, and for want of " honey, which the Spartans were wont to uſe in embalming, " his ſervants wrapped his body in wax, and brought it ſafe to " Sparta". Xenophon has taken much pains to vindicate even his deſerting Tachos, which Plutarch juſtly treats as an act of treachery, proceeding, as he tells us plainly, from the Spartan maxim, that all things are juſt that are profitable to one's country (67).

(67) Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil.

thoſe ſepulchral honours which had been given to all his predeceſſors [x].

Agis ſucceeds Archidamus. Year after the Flood, 2653. Before Chriſt, 346.

Agis the ſon of Archidamus ſucceeded his father; he was a prince of great virtue and magnanimity; he in his youth had been ſent embaſſador to Philip of Macedon, who ſeeing him alone, whereas all other cities ſent many deputies, ſaid with an air of contempt, What! from Sparta but one? Why, Sir, ſaid Agis, I was ſent but to one [y]. When afterwards one of the creatures of that prince told him, Philip will not ſuffer you to ſet your foot in any other part of Greece. It is a mercy, ſaid he, that we have a good deal of room at home [z]. During the reign of Alexander, tho' he hated the Macedonians, yet he did not think fit to expoſe his country to ruin by oppoſing them; but when after the battle of Iſſus abundance of mercenaries fled out of Perſia, he liſted them to the number of eight thouſand, and openly declared for Darius; from whom receiving money to pay his troops and a fleet, he ſailed over into Crete, part of which he ſubdued. After the battle of Arbela he ſtirred up all Greece to revolt, by ſhewing them, that, when Alexander had ſubdued Perſia, they muſt become a province of his empire, which would be no leſs grievous to them, than if they had been ſubdued by any of the former kings of Perſia; for, as he rightly obſerved, a Grecian king reigning in Perſia would be a Perſian to them; beſides, having been always free, he encouraged them to defend their freedom, while their capital enemy was yet afar off, and would be conſtrained to manage the war by his lieutenants. The Greeks, rouſed by theſe remonſtrances, raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, of which when Antipater had notice, he compoſed on any terms the diſturbances in Thrace, and marched ſtrait into Greece with forty thouſand men. Agis, however, did not retire or ſhun an engagement, ſo that a deciſive battle was quickly fought, wherein, after a glorious reſiſtance, the Spartans and their confederates were routed with the loſs of five thouſand three hundred men, Antipater loſing three thouſand five hundred alſo. Agis himſelf fell, but in a manner greatly to his honour; for being covered with wounds he was borne by his ſoldiers out of the battle, till ſeeing them on the point of being ſurrounded, he commanded

[x] Diod. Sicul. lib. xvi. Strabon. Geogr. lib. vi. Plut. Apophtheg. Lacon. Pauſan. Lacon. & Meſſen. Julian. Orat. ii. [y] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. [z] Idem ibid.

manded them to set him down, and preserve themselves for the future service of their country; remaining then alone with his sword in his hand, he fought it out upon his knees, killing several of the Macedonians, till at last he was shot through the body with a dart [a]. Such was the glorious death of this most virtuous king, who died in defence of liberty and his country after a reign of nine years. Yet when Alexander heard of this engagement, he was vain enough to say, While we are fighting Darius in Asia, there has been it seems a battle of mice in Arcadia [b]!

Eudámidas succeeds Agis. Year after the Flood, 2669. Before Christ, 330.

AGIS was succeeded by his son Eudamidas, a prince of great wisdom, moderation, and gentleness; he governed all his days in peace, and we have of consequence nothing of him on record, except certain instances of his good sense and great capacity for governing in those troublesome times wherein he lived. The death of Agis had so much provoked the Lacedæmonians, that they were for carrying on a war against Macedon at all events, which Eudamidas opposed; and when a certain Spartan addressed him thus, Why, Sir, when all your citizens are for a war, do you alone advise them to continue in peace? Because, answered the king, I would convince them of their mistake. Another magnifying the victories which had been obtained by their ancestors against the Persians, and encouraging them from thence to undertake a war against Macedon, You think, Sir, said Eudamidas, that it is the same thing to make war against a thousand sheep and against fifty wolves. Coming into the school of Xenocrates the philosopher, and observing that he was very old, he asked what was his profession, and some body answering that he was a wise man who sought after virtue, Alas! said he, Is he seeking it at these years? When then will he make use of it? When Alexander caused it to be proclaimed throughout Greece, that all the exiles should return in safety to their own cities, excepting those of Thebes; This is a hard case, O ye Thebans, said Eudamidas, but at the same time very honourable; for it is evident, that Alexander fears you only of all the Greeks [c]. All these kings had for their colleague Cleomenes the son of Cleombrotus, who reigned very

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Curt. lib. vi. Justin. lib. xii. Strab. lib. viii. Pausan. Attic. [b] Diodor. lib. xviii. [c] Plut. Apophthegm. Lacon. Pausan. Lacon.

very long, but without doing any thing that was remarkable.

Archidamus and Areus kings of Sparta.

ARCHIDAMUS ſucceeded his father Eudamidas, as Areus the ſon of Acrotatus did his grandfather Cleomenes, but not without ſome diſpute; his uncle Cleonymus ſetting up a title to the throne, though the people preferred the ſon of the elder brother to the younger. Cleonymus, however, retired to Pyrrhus, whom he brought with an army into his country to abett his cauſe, notwithſtanding that the ephori and ſenate would have granted him any reaſonable terms he could have aſked. The Spartans ſent Dercyllidas to meet him on the frontiers, and to expoſtulate with him on the injuſtice of his invaſion; but Pyrrhus by one of his courtiers bid him carry this meſſage to Sparta, that they ſhould receive their king Cleonymus, or he would make them know that they were no better than other men. Sir, anſwered Dercyllidas, If your maſter is a god, we do not fear him, becauſe we have done no wrong; and if he is a man we do not fear him, becauſe we are as good as he [d]. This expedition had well nigh accompliſhed the ruin of Sparta, occaſioning much more loſs thereto than either of the attempts of Epaminondas. It is our duty therefore to enter into a diſtinct detail thereof. Pyrrhus had with him twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twenty-four elephants. Areus was at this time in Crete, and the city was chiefly intruſted to the care of his ſon Acrotatus, whoſe amours had in a great meaſure occaſioned this war; for he had debauched Chelidonis the wife of Cleonymus his uncle, which was one great reaſon of his flying to Pyrrhus, whom he accompanied in this expedition. When they arrived in the neighbourhood of Sparta, which was very unexpected, the citizens flattering themſelves that their embaſſadors would have obtained peace, certain intelligence was brought to the king, that the city was ſo meanly provided, and the people ſo much amazed, that without queſtion it would fall almoſt without trouble into his hands. When this news came it was almoſt evening, yet Cleonymus preſſed hard for their marching thither that night; but the king, fearing that the darkneſs would afford an opportunity to the ſoldiers of poſſeſſing themſelves of all the riches of Sparta, refuſed to attack it till day-light;

[d] Plut. Apophthegm.

day-light; a thing so little expected even by the Spartans themselves, that in Cleonymus's house the Helotes were busy in providing a supper, not doubting, but Pyrrhus would take up his lodgings there. But when it was known, that his soldiers had pitched their camp near the walls, the senate assembled to consider if any thing could be done for their preservation; and the first resolution they came to was, to send the women immediately over into Crete, which resolution some way taking wind, the Spartan ladies assembled together, and having deputed Archidamia to carry their sentiments to the senate, she entered the room with a sword in her hand, addressing the assembly in these words: Do not, my lords, entertain so mean an opinion of the Spartan women, as to fancy that they will ever out-live Sparta; instead of considering whither we are to fly, consider what we are to do, and be assured we will undertake any thing for the service of our country [e]. Upon this it was resolved to sink a trench directly opposite to the enemies camp, and to defend the extremities thereof by burying waggons to their axle-trees, crossing each other, in order thereby to prevent the passages of the elephants. When this work was begun, the women came out many of them in their shifts to assist the men in years who were employed in digging; for they would not allow any of the young men to fatigue themselves, lest they should be unable to sustain the enemies charge in the morning. The dimensions of the trench once settled, which, some tell us, were these, viz. the breadth six cubits, the depth four, and the length eight hundred feet; the women took a third part of it and engaged to finish it by morning [f]. When day began to break, and the troops of Pyrrhus were in motion, the Lacedæmonian ladies armed their men for the fight, representing to them, as they were buckling their armour and putting their spears into their hands, how glorious an opportunity they had of conquering the enemies of their country in the sight of their mothers, wives, and daughters, or of falling in its cause. As for Chelidonis, she retired to her own house with a halter about her neck, to shew, that if things went amiss, she would rather end her own life, than live again with her husband. Pyrrhus saw with amazement the labour his troops were to undergo; however, he led them in person to the assault, where they fought with the utmost fury against the Spartans, who, considering for what they fought, made a most desperate

[e] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh. [f] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 4.

deſperate reſiſtance; in the mean time Ptolemy the ſon of Pyrrhus drew off two thouſand Gauls and other choice men from the attack, and, marching to one of the extremities of the ditch, employed them in dragging out the waggons, which at laſt with much ado they effected, and began to draw them off towards a neighbouring river. Acrotatus was the firſt who perceived this deſperate miſchief, which he immediately ſought to remedy; for ruſhing through the city with three hundred men, he paſſed round by the ſides of the hills and charged Ptolemy's troops in the rear, who thinking of nothing leſs and being in no poſture of defence, he forced numbers of them into the ditch, and drove the waggons they had removed over the reſt to the great joy of the Spartans; where Pyrrhus charged in perſon, the attack was ſuſtained with greateſt vigour, and one Phyllius a Spartan gave ſuch a demonſtration of invincible courage as is ſcarce any where to be recorded; he fought in the front of his countrymen's ranks, till he found himſelf ſo exhauſted through the many wounds he had received, that he was no longer able to ſtand; when he called to the commanding officer, and having reſigned to him his poſt, retired as far back as he could, that his body might be out of the reach of the enemy when he fell. The battle, as it began with the day, ſo it ended therewith, and Pyrrhus being extremely fatigued retired to his tent, where he ſlept very ſoundly till towards morning, when he had the following dream: He thought he ſaw himſelf throwing lightning on Sparta which ſet it all on fire, with the joy of which he awaked; he immediately ran to his council of officers, and communicated to them his viſion; but Lyſimachus his favourite did not underſtand the viſion in the ſame light with the king; Thou knoweſt, Pyrrhus, ſaid he, that with us places ſtricken with lightening are accounted ſacred; I am therefore of opinion, that the gods have hereby ſignified to thee, that Sparta is as ſacred and inviolable as a place ſtricken with lightening; Well, replied Pyrrhus, I am ready to own, my friend, that nothing can be more uncertain than our conjectures concerning theſe things; yet this remains certain ſtill, that we ought to do our duty; and therefore, without thinking more of my dream, let us prepare for the attack [g]. The aſſault was no leſs vigorous than the day before, nor did the Lacedæmonians defend themſelves with leſs vigour, the women remaining all day at the trench

[g] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh.

ſupplying the ſoldiers with arms, ammunition, meat, drink, and whatever elſe they wanted, binding up their wounds, and carrying them off in caſe they were diſabled; at laſt, however, Pyrrhus prevailed in the very attempt his ſon had miſcarried in the day before, and of a ſudden appeared within the waggons, charging at the head of a great number of horſe with mighty reſolution. In vain the Lacedæmonians crowded from all ſides to impede his paſſage; they were trodden down by his horſe, and Pyrrhus was on the very point of entering the city when an arrow ſtruck his ſteed to the heart; the beaſt, flouncing in the agonies of death, threw him off, and his ſoldiers in the firſt confuſion, not knowing whether he as well as his horſe was not ſlain, gave back; upon which the Spartans preſſed on them ſo eagerly, and diſtributed their darts with ſuch ſucceſs, that when Pyrrhus was remounted he thought it beſt to retire, ſuppoſing that the third day would put an end to this conteſt, when after the heat of the action the Spartans had leiſure to feel their wounds; nor would he in all probability have been miſtaken, if he had dealt the next day with none but thoſe whom he engaged before. The good fortune of Sparta prevented this; for one of Antigonus's captains, having intelligence of their diſtreſs and of the noble ſtand they had made, adventured with a body of troops under his command to throw himſelf into the place, where he was ſcarce arrived before king Areus himſelf entered with two thouſand freſh men. Pyrrhus notwithſtanding aſſaulted the place the third time, but with little ſucceſs; whereupon he embraced an invitation given him to march to Argos, and endeavoured to rid himſelf of this unlucky buſineſs as well as he could; yet here again he found himſelf diſtreſſed, for king Areus being once come did not care to part with him ſo, but ſent a choice body of horſe to infeſt his rear. The king, vexed at this inſult, ordered his ſon Ptolemy with ſome ſquadrons under his command to march to the aſſiſtance of the troops attacked, where the young prince, more ambitious of glory than careful of life, expoſing himſelf too much was ſlain. Pyrrhus when he heard the news immediately jumped on horſeback, and charging with unwonted fury the Lacedæmonians, ſlew many of them, and particularly their commander in chief, with his own hand; he afterwards quitted his horſe and fought on foot, and when he had ſatiated himſelf with deſtroying numbers of the Spartans, he continued his march

to Argos [h]. Areus is very much blamed for his conduct on this occasion: it is said, that when Pyrrhus was retired, pursuing him was needless, and served only to throw away the lives of many brave men; but it seems the Spartan king was of opinion, that no safety could be hoped for till Pyrrhus was out of Greece; for this reason he posted away in person to Argos with a thousand choice foot, and yet he scarce arrived time enough there to save the city, a gate of which having been perfidiously opened to Pyrrhus in the night, he entered it before the citizens were aware; however, they stood to their arms, and while they were hotly engaged with the enemy, Areus came to their aid; Pyrrhus at last perceiving that he fought under great disadvantages would have retreated; but his orders being mistaken, and his forces and elephants still continuing to enter the city, he was at last beat from his horse by a woman, who, standing on the top of her house and perceiving him about to push his horse upon her son, discharged a thick tile at his head, which struck him on the temple, took from him his senses, and before he could recover them an officer of Antigonus's army struck off his head [i]. Concerning this Areus we know nothing of him farther than that he was a zealous defender of the liberties of Greece, as far as the broken and distressed state of his country would give him leave; for when he understood, that Athens was in danger of being oppressed by Demetrius the son of Antigonus, he generously armed in its defence, and was slain valiantly fighting at the battle of Corinth [k]. To this prince the best critics have referred that letter to Onias the high priest, which we find recorded in the book of Maccabees [l] (S).

[h] Justin. lib. xxv. c. 5. [i] Justin. Hist. lib. xxv. c. 5. Pausan. in Argol. Plut. in vit. Pyrrh. [k] Plut. in vit. Demetr. [l] 1 Maccab. xii. 20. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. lib. xii. c. 5.

(S) The letter above referred to runs thus:

Areus king of the Lacedæmonians to Onias the high priest, greeting;

It is found in writing, that the Lacedæmonians and Jews are brethren, and that they are of the stock of Abraham: Now therefore, since this is come to our knowledge, you shall do well to write to us of your peace (69). This letter is actually in the Laconic stile, and deserves therefore to be preferred to that which we

(69) 1 Maccab. xii. 20.

He was ſucceeded in his throne by his ſon Acrotatus, who had ſo valiantly defended Sparta when attacked by Pyrrhus.

The Acts of Archidamus IV. king of Sparta.

Of the other houſe Archidamus the fourth of that name, the ſon of Eudamidas, governed with great reputation; he was a prince of the true Spartan race, who was deſirous to maintain all Greece in freedom, and to repreſs, if

we find in Joſephus, wherein Demoteles is named as embaſſador from Sparta; the form of the letter is ſaid to be ſquare, and the common ſeal of Lacedæmon is deſcribed as having repreſented thereon an eagle holding a dragon. The learned primate of Ireland hath been led into a great miſtake by paying too much regard to this Jewiſh writer; for it is certain, that this letter could never have been ſent to Onias the third of that name, high-prieſt of the Jews, who flouriſhed when there were no kings at all at Sparta; this the learned Prelate was ſo well aware of, that to get over theſe difficulties, he ſuppoſes one Areus a nobleman of Sparta to have taken the title of king in the penning of this epiſtle (70); but here again is a new and greater difficulty incurred than the former; Jonathan in his letter to the Lacedæmonians, ſpeaking of the epiſtle before us, ſays it was wrote a long time ago, which no way quadrates with the time in which Joſephus and archbiſhop Uſher place it; the truth is, this letter was not written to Onias the ſon of Simon, but to Onias the firſt, who was undeniably cotemporary with this king Areus, of whom we have treated in the text. In this we have followed the opinion of the judicious Dr. Prideaux (71). We take the liberty of adding, that there is the more reaſon to ſuſpect ſome alteration in this letter by Joſephus, becauſe when he comes to give us Jonathan's letter, he has taken the liberty to alter its addreſs alſo, and not at all for the better: thus it runs according to Joſephus: Jonathan, high prieſt of the Jews, and the ſenate, and commonalty of the Jews, to the ephori, ſenate, and people of the Lacedæmonians greeting (72). Whereas in the book of Maccabees the addreſs is thus: Jonathan the high prieſt, and the elders of the nation, and the prieſts, and the other people of the Jews, unto the Lacedæmonians their brethren ſend greeting (73). Neither ephori or ſenate are mentioned here; they were probably put in by Joſephus to make the letter look the better. The name of Demoteles is alſo inſerted in this letter, though we find nothing of it in the letter recorded by the author of the book of Maccabees. How the Spartans and the Jews came to be related, muſt be conſidered in another place; our buſineſs here was to fix the time when the letter from Areus was ſent to Onias.

(70) Uſſer. Annal. V. T. A. I. P. 4531. (71) Connection of the hiſtory of the Old and New Teſtament, Part ii. Book II. (72) Antiq. Judaic. lib. xiii. c. 5. (73) 1 Macc. xii. 6.

if it had been poſſible, the mighty power of the Macedonian kings, which like a torrent ſwept all before them; and though for a time they might be reſtrained from doing much miſchief, by their being obliged to turn their arms elſewhere, yet, whenever they had leiſure, they were ſure to ſeek ſuch an authority in Greece as ſuited not with her liberty. Archidamus had ſtruggled againſt the ſtream when it was moſt rapid, that is, when Demetrius Poliorcetes after ſubduing Athens, ſought to make himſelf maſter of Sparta; twice Archidamus oppoſed him in the field, but was ſo unfortunate as to be as often defeated, nor could any thing have ſaved the virgin city of Sparta from the rage of the victor, if the declenſion of his affairs in Aſia had not conſtrained him for a time to abandon all thoughts of Greece [m]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, but how long he reigned, or at what age he died, is uncertain.

EUDAMIDAS the ſon of Archidamus was the collegue of Acrotatus, he married Ageſiſtrata, by whom he had two ſons, Agis and Archidamus [n]. As to his acts, we find no mention of them in hiſtory: It is probable, that, being a man of ſmall parts, the government reſted chiefly in Acrotatus, who could not but be highly beloved by the people on account of his great valour and many virtues. Ariſtodemus, who had made himſelf prince of Megalopolis, was the capital enemy of the Lacedæmonians, ſeeking by all means to abaſe a nation who were always ready to take arms for liberty, and who alike hated the oppreſſion of tyrants themſelves, or to ſee their neighbours oppreſſed by them. Acrotatus, at the head of the Lacedæmonian army, endeavoured to make head againſt this prince, who was grown formidable to all Peloponneſus; but, his fortune being no way equal to his merit, his forces were routed, and himſelf ſlain, leaving the kingdom to his young ſon Areus, to whom Leonidas the ſon of Cleonymus was tutor or protector; and he dying after a very ſhort reign, Leonidas ſtept into the throne in his own right [o].

Eudamidas ſucceeds his father Archidamus.

LEONIDAS had been bred up, or at leaſt had long lived, in the court of Seleucus, which made him extremely fond of that pomp and grandeur which he ſaw affected there; at Sparta he had a great opportunity of indulging his ambition and luxury, the people being greatly altered from what they were before, and the Lycurgic maxims grown not only in-

Leonidas ſucceeds his pupil in the throne of Sparta.

[m] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [n] Plutarch. in vit. Agid. [o] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & in vit. Cleomen.

to diſſuetude, but contempt. One Opytadeus, being raiſed to a chair among the ephori, took occaſion from thence to gratify his unnatural prejudice againſt his own ſon, and procured a law, whereby all men were left at liberty to diſpoſe of their lands by gift or ſale, or by teſtament at the time of their deceaſe. This ſubverted the very foundations of the ſtate, for by degrees the lands were moſt of them transferred from the antient Spartan families, ſo that though they were reduced now to about ſeven hundred, not above one hundred of theſe had any lands, but lived in the city lazily, without employment, and without wealth, their ſpirits ſinking with their fortune, and with both the credit and glory of the Spartan ſtate [p].

Agis the ſon of Eudamidas attempts to reſtore the conſtitution of Sparta.

THE collegue of Leonidas of the other houſe was Agis, the ſon of Eudamidas, a young prince of great hopes; he ſhewed himſelf both juſt and obliging to all men, and in the gentleneſs of his diſpoſition, and ſublimity of his virtues not only exceeded Leonidas who reigned with him, but all the kings of Sparta from king Ageſilaus. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things by his mother Ageſiſtrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the wealthieſt of the Lacedæmonians; yet, before the age of twenty, he ſo far overcame himſelf as to renounce effeminate pleaſures. He was a very handſome perſon and of a graceful behaviour; yet, to give a check to the vanity he might take therein, would always go plain and mean in his cloaths. In his diet, bathings, and in all his exerciſes he choſe to imitate the old Laconic frugality and temperance, and was often heard to ſay, He would not deſire the kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that authority to reſtore their antient laws and diſcipline. This maxim of his governed his whole life; he endeavoured to aſſociate himſelf with men of intereſt and capacity, ſufficient to bring about the great deſign he had formed of thoroughly reforming the ſtate. Ageſilaus, his uncle by the mother's ſide, was one of his principal counſellors, a man of great eloquence but no great virtue; the part he took in this buſineſs being chiefly owing to his ſon's perſuaſions, whoſe name was Hypomedon, one of the worthieſt men of his age. This Ageſilaus brought over his ſiſter king Agis's mother to the ſentiments of her ſon, notwithſtanding her averſeneſs from them at firſt; and ſhe in a ſhort time brought over moſt of the ladies of Sparta, which was a thing of prodigious conſequence,

[p] Plut. in vit. Agid. & in vit. Cleon.

quence, ſince they had always a mighty ſtroke in political affairs, and their huſbands ſeldom took any ſtep without their advice. On this occaſion, as on many others, they ſhewed their great good ſenſe and virtue; for when they had thoroughly conſidered the matter, and perceived that though theſe new regulations would take away their finery and their trinkets, yet at the ſame time it would reſtore the credit of Sparta and give her new luſtre in the world; they came into it unanimouſly, and endeavoured to engage their husbands to reliſh the propoſal, which they found no difficult taſk to perform among the groſs of the people, who, partly becauſe they ſaw the power of the ſtate decline, and partly from their natural fondneſs for revolutions, were eager to ſee the thing accompliſhed. But the few in whoſe hands the wealth of Sparta was centered grew very uneaſy; they applied themſelves to Leonidas, telling him, that as he was an older and wiſer man than this collegue, he ought to interpoſe, and not ſuffer the conſtitution to be deſtroyed to gratify the ambition of a young man. For theſe poſſeſſors of money called that the conſtitution by which their uſurious gains were to be preſerved, and trembled at the name of Lycurgus, as runaway ſlaves were wont to do if they hear that of their maſter. Leonidas was afraid to meddle with the people, whom he ſaw evidently inclined to favour his collegue and the ſcheme which he had formed. He therefore applied to the principal magiſtrates whom he laboured to bring over to his opinion, that Agis intended to eſtabliſh an independent power in his own perſon by inclining the people to his intereſts; firſt by a remitting of debts, and then by an equal diviſion of lands. The party he formed by theſe ſuggeſtions were very conſiderable; however, Agis perſiſted in his reſolution; and, when his friend Lyſander was choſen one of the ephori, actually preſented his rhetra or decree to the ſenate, the chief articles of which were theſe: That every one ſhould be free from his debts; all the lands to be divided into equal portions; thoſe that lay betwixt the valley of Pellene and mount Taygetus as far as the cities of Mallea and Sellaſia into four thouſand five hundred lots, the remainder into fifteen thouſand; theſe laſt to be ſhared by ſome choſen out of the adjacent countries, men able and fit to bear arms; the firſt among the natural Spartans, admitting alſo ſtrangers to ſupply their number, ſuch as were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All theſe were to be divided into fifteen companies, ſome of four hundred,

dred, ſome of two, with a diet and diſcipline agreeable to the laws of Lycurgus. The matter being hotly debated in the ſenate, Lyſander began to doubt the event, and therefore, without ſtaying to put the queſtion, convoked a general aſſembly of the people; in this aſſembly both the kings, the ephori, and other conſiderable perſons were heard, and by long orations ſought to ſhew the convenience or inconveniency of the ſcheme, according as they were inclined or averſe from it; at laſt, however, it was rejected in the ſenate, though by one voice, and from the time of that rejection the people in general attended on and paid their court to Agis, while the richer citizens, and thoſe eſpecially who had placed their money out at intereſt, applied themſelves to Leonidas. Lyſander, however, contrived a method for removing him out of the way, he cauſed an accuſation to be preferred againſt him for the breach of two old laws, the one forbidding the kings of Sparta to marry a ſtranger, the other prohibiting travel to foreign countries. By the help of theſe accuſations and practiſing a little on the ſuperſtitious temper of the people, he ſo terrified Leonidas, that he fled to the temple of Minerva for ſhelter. Upon this Lyſander ſtirred up Cleombrotus, who was of the royal houſe and who had married the daughter of Leonidas, to pretend to the kingdom, of which when Leonidas had notice, he withdrew, taking his daughter with him, who choſe rather to fly with her father, than to reign with her huſband [q].

Cleombrotus ſucceeds Leonidas on his expulſion.

CLEOMBROTUS, being raiſed to the regal dignity, concurred with Agis in all his deſigns; but the next year the ephori being choſen out of the oppoſite faction, they cited Lyſander and his friends to appear before them, and anſwer for what they had done during their adminiſtration; they in this diſtreſs had inſtantly recourſe to the kings beſeeching them to protect thoſe who were threatened for having performed their command; Lyſander at the ſame time ſuggeſted, that the ephori were created only to take care of the ſtate, in caſe any difference happened between the kings; but that while they agreed, theſe magiſtrates had no right to call in queſtion any acts they thought fit to authorize. Agis and Cleombrotus being perſuaded of this, reſolved to make Lyſander and his friends eaſy immediately; they therefore went directly to the

[q] Plut. ubi ſupra.

the place where the ephori were ſitting, removed them from their ſeats, and placed others in their room, the firſt of theſe being Ageſilaus. Such a tranſaction as this could not well happen without a tumult, but, through the great care and ſteady integrity of Agis, no blood was ſpilt, nor did any ill accident happen. Ageſilaus indeed had projected the murder of Leonidas as he was on the road to Tegæa; but king Agis having notice of it ſent a conſiderable number of his own friends to eſcort him. Things being in this ſituation, the kings would have proceeded both to the cancelling of debts and to the equal diviſion of lands, had not Ageſilaus prevented it, by pretending that it would not be ſafe to attempt both at one time; but that firſt the debts ſhould be cancelled, and then that monied men would more readily come into a diviſion of lands; this he ſaid, becauſe he had himſelf a good eſtate, but was greatly in debt; wherefore he ſought to rid himſelf of the importunities of his creditors without parting with any of his poſſeſſions. The kings, and even Lyſander, were deceived by his ſpecious pretences, ſo that they came readily into his ſchemes, cauſing all obligations to be brought in and burnt immediately, but referring the diviſion of lands to a further opportunity, which greatly diſpleaſed the people. Agis quickly perceived this, and therefore he ſought to repair his error by immediately dividing the eſtates; but Ageſilaus ſtill found means to put it off under one pretence or other, till Agis was obliged to go with a body of Spartan troops to the aſſiſtance of the Achæans. In his abſence he loſt all bounds of modeſty, and acted ſo tyrannically, that by the time Agis returned a conſpiracy was formed for reſtoring Leonidas, which was accordingly effected; and upon this Agis fled to the temple of Minerva, and Cleombrotus to that of Neptune. Leonidas ſhewed more reſentment againſt his ſon-in-law than againſt Agis, he went to his ſanctuary, and reproached him with his ingratitude and want of duty, and threatened him with death; but his daughter Chelonis, interceding and holding the two children ſhe had in her arms, prevailed ſo far as to have his ſentence changed into that of perpetual baniſhment; in which ſhe accompanied him, notwithſtanding all the entreaties of her father; which extraordinary tranſaction hath drawn this reflection from Plutarch, that Cleombrotus was happier in being baniſhed with ſuch a wife,

wife, than he could be in the poſſeſſion of a kingdom without her [r] (T).

Leonidas reſtored to the kingdom, and Cleombrotus baniſhed.

LEONIDAS, once reſettled on the throne, began to contrive all the methods poſſible for drawing Agis out of his ſanctuary, but all his attempts failed; at laſt he corrupted ſome of the king's friends, who were wont to viſit him daily to condole with him, and after a time to carry him to the baths and guard him back again. The names of theſe perſons, for it is but juſt that they ſhould be always recorded, were Amphares, Democharès, and Archeſilaus. The firſt of theſe had borrowed abundance of rich goods and plate from the mother of king Agis; he therefore conceived, if that prince was taken off, he ſhould acquire

[r] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(T) The character of Chelonis the wife of Cleombrotus is one of the moſt noble and moſt laudable in the Spartan hiſtory; we cannot therefore be blamed for inſerting her ſpeech to her father, which ſhe pronounced in a mourning habit and in a ſuppliant poſture, thus: "This mourning veſt, theſe dejected looks, and "all thoſe other tokens of unutterable woe, which cannot be "concealed, are not worn for the ſake of Cleombrotus, but "were put on to condole with you in your baniſhment; "and now you are reſtored to your country and to your king-"dom, muſt I ſtill remain in grief and miſery? Or would you "have me attired in my feſtival ornaments, that I may rejoice "with you, when you have killed within my arms the man "to whom you gave me for a wife? Either Cleombrotus muſt "appeaſe you by mine and my children's tears, or he muſt "ſuffer a puniſhment greater than his faults have deſerved: "he ſhall infallibly ſee me die before him, whom he ſo ten-"derly loves. To what end ſhould I live, or how ſhall I ap-"pear among the Spartan ladies, when it ſhall ſo manifeſtly be "ſeen that I have not been able to move compaſſion, either "in my huſband for the ſake of my father, or in my father "for the ſake of my huſband? I was born, it ſeems, to be diſ-"honoured and diſgraced both as a wife and a daughter, in "that relation which is neareſt to me in each capacity. As for "Cleombrotus, I ſufficiently diſowned his cauſe, when I forſook "him to follow you; but now you yourſelf will juſtify his "proceedings, by ſhewing to the world that for the ſake of "a kingdom it is juſt to kill a ſon-in-law, and be regardleſs of a "daughter" (70).

(70) Plut. in vit. Agid.

acquire the poſſeſſion of them; the other two were bribed by Leonidas; theſe men therefore took an opportunity when king Agis was returning from the baths and relied entirely on their protection, to ſeize him; Amphares catched him by the arm, Demochares, being a ſtrong man, threw a cloak over his head and muffled him up; then their aſſociates coming in to their aſſiſtance, they dragged their ſovereign away to the common priſon, where the new ephori, conſtituted by Leonidas, ſat ready to judge him. To give the greater colour of juſtice to their proceedings, ſome ſenators were by, but they took care that they ſhould be ſuch as were of their party. As ſoon as the king came in, they aſked him how he durſt attempt to alter the government; at which he ſmiled without affording them an anſwer, which provoked one of the ephori to tell him, That he ought rather to weep, for they would now make him ſenſible of his preſumption. Another aſked him, Whether he was not conſtrained to do what he did by Ageſilaus and Lyſander; to which the king with a compoſed countenance anſwered, I was conſtrained by no man, the deſign was mine, and my intent was to have reſtored the laws of Lycurgus and to have governed by them. But do you not now, ſaid one of his judges, repent of your raſhneſs? No, replied the king, though I ſee my death is inevitable, I can never repent of ſo juſt and honourable an intention. The ephori then ordered him to be haled away and ſtrangled. The officers of juſtice refuſed to obey, and even the mercenary ſoldiers declined ſo unworthy an action; whereupon Demochares, reviling them for cowards, forced the king into the room where the execution was to be performed. Agis about to die, perceiving one of the ſerjeants bitterly bewailing his misfortune, ſaid, Weep not, friend, for me, who die innocently; but grieve for thoſe who are guilty of this wicked act; my condition is much better than theirs. Then ſtretching out his neck, he ſubmitted to death with a conſtancy worthy both of the royal dignity and his own great character. Immediately after Agis was dead, Amphares went out of the priſon gate, where he found Ageſiſtrata, who caſting herſelf at his feet, he gently raiſed her up, pretending ſtill the ſame friendſhip as formerly. He aſſured her ſhe need not fear any further violence ſhould be offered againſt her ſon; and that, if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might go in and ſee him; ſhe begged her mother might alſo have the

favour

favour of being admitted, and he replied no body ſhould hinder it. When they were entered, he commanded the gate ſhould again be locked, and the grandmother to be firſt introduced; ſhe was now grown very old, and had lived all her days with great reputation of wiſdom and virtue. As ſoon as Amphares thought ſhe was diſpatched, he told Ageſiſtrata ſhe might now go in if ſhe pleaſed; ſhe entered, where beholding her ſon's body ſtretched on the ground and her mother hanging by the neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſhed at ſo horrid a ſpectacle; but after a while recollecting her ſpirits, the firſt thing ſhe did was to aſſiſt the ſoldiers in taking down the body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her ſon's, where embracing and kiſſing his cheeks, O my ſon, ſaid ſhe, it is thy too great mercy and goodneſs which has brought thee and us to this untimely end. Amphares, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this, ruſhed in haſtily; and, with a furious tone and countenance, ſaid to her, ſince you approve ſo well of your ſon's actions, it is fit you ſhould partake in his reward. She, riſing up to meet her deſtiny, only uttered theſe few words; I pray the gods that all this may redound to the good of Sparta[r]. Archidamus the brother of Agis ſaved himſelf by flight, but was conſtrained to leave his wife, who had juſt lain in, behind him; her becauſe ſhe was the heireſs of a great eſtate, Leonidas compelled by force to marry his own ſon Cleomenes; from this the young lady was very averſe, yet in the end ſhe was forced to comply. Cleomenes behaved towards her with ſo much tenderneſs and humanity, that ſhe became quickly reconciled to her marriage, but continued to hate her father-in-law for all that. Cleomenes was too young to conſummate the marriage as yet, but having an extreme tenderneſs for his wife, he would often beg her to relate to him the ſtory of Agis's murder, at which he wept, and by degrees began privately to follow his example; yet he followed it according to his own diſpoſition, which was by far more bold and violent than that of Agis. He was conſtrained, however, to bridle his deſires till after the death of his father, he well knowing, that both the king and the nobles were too much diſſolved in luxury and eaſe ever to incline to, or ſo much as bear with, the execution of his deſign.

On

[r] Plut. in vit. Agid.

On the death of Leonidas, Cleomenes mounted the Spartan throne alone, and in the very beginning of his reign found himself obliged to exert both his conduct and his courage. Aratus at the head of the Achæans had formed a grand project of uniting all the Peloponnesians into that league; the youth of Cleomenes seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of trying the disposition of the Spartans, which he neglected not, but suddenly invaded the Arcadians their neighbours and their friends, who lived in a manner under their protection[s]. The ephori upon this ordered Cleomenes to seize on a pass into Laconia, which was then in the hands of the allies of the Achæans, which he performed, and afterwards disappointed Aratus in a scheme he had formed for seizing Tegæa and Orchomenium. Upon which the young king sent a message full of sneer to Aratus; the old statesman deriding his youth asked Democrites, a Spartan exile who lived with him, What sort of a person this Cleomenes was? Why, my friend, replied the Spartan, I will answer you in few words; if you have any thing to do against the Lacedæmonians, let me advise you to begin before this young eagle's talons are grown. In the subsequent course of the war, Aratus by his great skill obtained some advantages over the Spartans; but Cleomenes gave therein such shining instances of his courage and military virtues, that this great captain grew himself apprehensive, and the people of Sparta seemed to take new spirit, from their king. The ephori, however, were for putting an end to the war, because they did not care to run any hazard, and because they were not a little afraid of success, which they knew would raise not only the power, but the credit of Cleomenes, which they dreaded more than that of their enemies. The king, who was a man of great penetration, saw clearly, that without reducing the power of the ephori, he should have nothing more left him than the title of the king, with this farther mortification, that he should see the power of Sparta sink daily, without being able to hinder it. In this perplexity he took a bold resolution of ridding himself of the ephori at once; this he communicated to some of his friends, who agreed to assist him in it from the same generous desire of restoring the glory of their country[t]. The first step that was taken in this business was the recalling of Archidamus the brother of Agis, who on his approach to Sparta was murdered by

Cleomenes succeeds Leonidas. Year after the Flood, 2763. Before Christ 236.

[s] Plut. in vit. Arati. [t] Plut. in vit. Cleom.

by his brother's enemies, not without ſome ſuſpicion that Cleomenes conſented thereto; but this ſeems to agree little with his character, and Plutarch, who reports this ſuggeſtion, owns, if there was any truth in it, he was forced thereto [u]. When it appeared a point out of diſpute, that without an army a revolution could not be effected, he by money prevailed on the ephori to engage in a war and to give him the command. His mother Crateſiclea, a woman of great ſpirit, perceiving the difficulties her ſon had to ſtruggle with, married again, that ſhe might fix a nobleman of great intereſt to his party, and at the ſame time engaged to give up her own fortune, perſuading her huſband alſo to come to the ſame terms, whenever a diviſion of goods and of lands ſhould be made. Cleomenes, carrying ſuch as he ſuſpected moſt into the field with him, did many things there worthy of a Spartan prince; but withal he took care ſo to harraſs his army with quick and almoſt continual marches, that many deſired to be left behind in Arcadia; with the reſt he advanced ſlowly towards Lacedæmon. When he drew near the place, he ſent a ſmall party headed by ſome of his confidents, who ſurprized the ephori at ſupper, killed four of them upon the ſpot, and had killed the fifth if he had not counterfeited himſelf dead, and thereby gained an opportunity of retiring, wounded as he was, to a temple, from whence he came forth next day without being injured. On the morrow Cleomenes came into the forum, ordered all the chairs of the ephori to be removed, except one which he reſerved for himſelf: then he made a moſt artful apology to the people for what he had done (U); he ſhewed them the neceſſity of reſtoring the

[u] Id. ibid. Polyb. l. v.

(U) It is from Plutarch that we learn the purport of the king's ſpeech on this occaſion, which it is neceſſary for us to report here, not only as it nearly concerns the preſent thread of our hiſtory, but becauſe we have referred ourſelves to it elſewhere, as containing ſeveral curious particulars relating to the Spartan policy. Cleomenes then in this harangue alledged, "That the government, as it "was framed by Lycurgus, was compoſed of the kings and the "ſenate; and that that model of government had continued a "long time, and needed no other ſort of magiſtrates to give it "perfection. But afterwards in the long war with the Meſſeni"ans, when the kings being to command the armies had no time "to attend civil cauſes, they choſe ſome of their friends, and left "them

the Lycurgic inſtitutions, and aſſured them, that though the ſituation of things had obliged him to make uſe of violence in effecting this reſolution, yet for the future he would

" them to determine the ſuits of their citizens in their ſtead. " Theſe were called ephori, and at firſt behaved themſelves " as ſervants to the kings, but afterwards by degrees they " appropriated the power to themſelves, and erected a diſtinct " ſort of magiſtracy. An evidence of the truth of this may be " taken from the uſual behaviour of the kings, who upon the firſt " and ſecond meſſage of the ephori refuſed to go, but upon the " third readily attended them: And Aſteropus, the firſt that " raiſed the ephori to that height of power, was not Ephorus till " many years after their inſtitution; therefore, whilſt they mo- " deſtly contained themſelves within their own proper ſphere, it " was better to bear with them than to make a diſturbance. But " that an upſtart introduced power ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old " model of government, as to baniſh ſome kings, murder others, " without hearing their defence, and threaten thoſe who de- " ſired to ſee the beſt and moſt divine conſtitution reſtored in " Sparta, was unſufferable. Therefore if it had been poſſible for " him without blood-ſhed to have freed Lacedæmon from thoſe " foreign plagues, luxury, vanity, debts, and uſury; and from " thoſe more antient evils, poverty and riches, he ſhould have " thought himſelf the happieſt king in the world; having, like " an expert phyſician, cured the diſeaſes of his country without " pain. But now in this neceſſity, Lycurgus's example favoured " his proceedings; who being neither king nor magiſtrate, but a " private man, and aiming at the kingdom, came armed into the " market-place, inſomuch, that king Charilaus fled for fear to " the altar: But he, being a good man and a lover of his country, " readily conſented to Lycurgus's project, and admitted an altera- " tion in the ſtate. Thus by his own actions Lycurgus ſhewed, " that it was difficult to correct the government without force " and fear; in uſing which, he ſaid he would be ſo moderate as " never to deſire their aſſiſtance; but either to terrify or ruin " the enemies of Sparta's happineſs and ſafety. He commanded " that all the land ſhould be left in common, and private claims " laid aſide: That debtors ſhould be diſcharged of their debts, " and a ſtrict ſearch be made who were foreigners, and who not. " That the true Spartans recovering their courage might defend " the city with their arms; and that they might no longer ſee " Laconia, for want of a ſufficient number to ſecure it, waited by " the Ætolians (70)".

(70) Plutarch. in vit. Cleom.

would pay a ſtrict regard to the laws, though for his own ſafety he proſcribed at this time fourſcore citizens. He was the firſt who delivered up his whole ſubſtance to the public ſtock, wherein he was followed by his father-in-law and other friends. In aſſigning the lands, he gave ſhares to all whom he had baniſhed, promiſing to recal them as ſoon as was conſiſtent with the public ſafety; immediately after he reſtored the old Laconic way of educating youth, of eating in public, and of doing their exerciſes together; he alſo raiſed a conſiderable body of troops, and diſciplined and armed them in a new manner; to ſhew his diſlike to tyranny, and to remove any umbrage that his citizens might take at his doing all theſe things by his own authority, he aſſociated his brother Euclidas in the kingdom, declaring, that for the future there ſhould be always two kings at Sparta as there were in times paſt, and that he would not erect a monarchy in order to tranſmit it to his poſterity; which declaration of his was extremely grateful to the people. But that which of all others ſerved to eſtabliſh moſt the power and the character of Cleomenes, was the courſe of his own life, which was in nothing more ſtately or more expenſive than that of the meaneſt citizen. There were in his houſe no purple furnitures, no canopies or cloths of ſtate, no ſuperb chairs or couches for indulging eaſe, but a plain king, and every thing plain about him: when any offered petitions, he ſtepped forward to receive them, talking graciouſly to every body, redreſſed all the injuries that were done by others, and did none himſelf; yet had his virtue nothing in it of auſterity or affectation; he was naturally of a pleaſant temper, which he indulged. When ſtrangers dined with him he had plenty of wine, which was ſet down in a braſs veſſel, with ſilver cups near it, according to the number of the gueſts, every man being permitted to drink what he pleaſed, being neither deſired nor forced to drink more. Being informed that Aratus and the Achæans intended to give him ſome diſturbance, from an apprehenſion that after theſe alterations he durſt not leave the city, he immediately marched with a body of troops into their territories, and cut them out work enough at home. In the courſe of the war, he gained ſuch advantages over Aratus, as made that great ſtateſman and captain decline being choſen captain general of the Achæans next year as he was wont; yet did not Cleomenes make any ill uſe of his victories, or attempt to oppreſs the cities which fell into his power, but reſtored them to their liberty, and, where they had been expelled, recalled

recalled their antient inhabitants. The Achæans were so much frighted with this unexpected run of ill success, that they were ready to listen to any terms which Cleomenes should think fit to offer. That generous victor declared, that he sought nothing more than to be acknowledged general of the Greeks, and that he was ready to deliver up the prisoners without ransom, and to restore the cities he had taken. Lerna was appointed for the place of treaty, the Aehæans being willing to accept of the king's terms; but Cleomenes marching thither swiftly heated himself very much by the way, and drinking in the midst of his heat a draught of cold water, threw himself into a fever, which was attended with the loss of his speech; he ordered, however, the principal captives of the Achæans to be set at liberty, and put off the meeting to another time and place. This accident ruined him and Greece; for Aratus, who till this time had approved himself a most worthy Grecian commander, now suffered envy, jealousy, and self-conceit to triumph over his virtue and love for his country; and he, who in his youth had expelled the Macedonians out of Peloponnesus merely from the love of freedom, now privately recalled them, fearing that Cleomenes, the most worthy of the Spartan kings, should be raised to that dignity which he so highly deserved [x]. When Cleomenes was recovered, he advanced towards Argos, where the Achæans held their assembly; but when he drew near, Aratus caused deputies to be sent him, to inform him, that he must either enter the city alone, or be content to treat without the place; to which Cleomenes answered, That he was unjustly dealt with, for they ought to have told him so plainly at first, and not now when he was come to their very doors, shew their jealousy and deny him admission. Not long after he declared war, and began to act offensively. Upon this the whole league of the Achæans was put into a ferment, most of the towns being ready to revolt and break the union; because on the one side the people had been made to hope for a division of the lands and a discharge of their debts; and on the other the nobility grew weary of Aratus's power, and were almost all of them provoked against him for having called the Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Encouraged by these misunderstandings, Cleomenes invaded Achæa, where he first took Pellene by surprize and beat out the Achæan garrison; afterwards he

[x] Plut. in vit. Arat. Polyb. lib. ii.

made himſelf maſter of Phenæon and Penteleon. Not long after he ſurprized Argos, and in a very ſmall ſpace of time raiſed himſelf to greater power than any of his predeceſſors, and his city to greater pre-eminence than ſhe had ever held in Greece. In this ſpace he would very gladly have treated with Aratus, offering him any terms to have engaged his friendſhip; but he was immoveable in his reſolution of deſtroying the Spartan greatneſs. With this view he procured the caſtle of Corinth, which was the key of Peloponneſus, to be delivered up to Antigonus, who ſuddenly came to his aſſiſtance with an army of twenty-eight thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe. Cleomenes, though he was much inferior to the enemy, yet defended the far greater part of Peloponneſus till Argos was betrayed; even there he did great things, and when over-powered by numbers he could do no more, made a moſt glorious retreat. At this time he received from Sparta the news of his wife's death, at which he was exceedingly grieved; for though the Spartans were remarkable for being fond huſbands, yet Cleomenes was diſtinguiſhed for his fondneſs even among them. He bore his grief, however, like a hero and like a king; he went to his houſe, indulged his ſorrow with his mother and other relations, and then returning to the camp reſumed his functions of a monarch and a general, without ſuffering his private concerns to interfere with public affairs. Ptolemy at this time offered him his friendſhip in caſe he would ſend him his mother and his ſon as hoſtages. This demand troubled Cleomenes; he went often to break the matter to his parent, but was unable to do it; at laſt, when it broke out, Crateſiclea burſt out a laughing; Well, ſaid ſhe, was it this you were afraid of telling? Why do you not put me on ſhipboard, and ſend this carcaſs where it may be ſerviceable to Sparta, before age waſtes it unprofitably here? When ſhe was going on board, ſhe withdrew her ſon into the temple of Neptune, where having wept and embraced each other, Come king of Sparta, ſaid ſhe, let us dry our tears, that no ſigns of grief may appear when we go out, nor any token of weakneſs appear unworthy your dignity or the honour of our country, ſince our actions are all that are in our power, and events belong wholly to providence. She wrote afterwards to him from Egypt: King of Sparta, do what is worthy of your country and may redound to its profit; nor, for the ſake of an old woman and a little child, ſtand in fear of what Ptolemy may do. Cleomenes acted in this unequal war with all the conduct

duct and valour that could be expected in the moſt excellent captain among the Greeks [y]. He had to do with a numerous army compoſed of veterans, well armed, and well diſciplined, and well paid; his own troops were moſt of them new-raiſed, many of them half armed, and nothing, but what he could get, to ſubſiſt them with. Yet he kept the war out of Laconia, took the city of Megalopolis, which was bigger than Sparta, in the midſt of king Antigonus's armies; and when he had taken it, generouſly offered to reſtore it untouched to its citizens; but they, rejecting his offer, abandoned it to the plunder of his ſoldiers [z]. After this he harraſſed the territory of Argos, and raiſed mighty contributions, though Antigonus and the Macedonian forces were in that very city. This even in his own time was ſtiled raſhneſs, arrogance, and a vain-glorious ſhew of ſhort-lived ſucceſs; and it is owing to Polybius, that poſterity conſiders it in a different light; for he tells us, that though the generality believed Cleomenes to have acted from a deſperate temerity, yet men of the beſt diſcernment and underſtanding agreed, that he behaved with great prudence and judgment. The true ſtate of the caſe is this: Cleomenes ſaw, that though at preſent he could make head againſt his enemies, yet in a ſhort time he ſhould be deſtroyed without fighting; he therefore ſought to provoke Antigonus to fight, where his choice of ground might give him an advantage; and here again Antigonus gave a ſtrong teſtimony of his conſummate ſkill in military affairs; for notwithſtanding the murmurs of his own troops, the outcries of the Greeks, and the inſults of Cleomenes, he kept himſelf where he was, and would not ſuffer either his own, or the paſſions of others, to puſh him upon a ſtep which might be injurious to his fortune. But afterwards, when he had it in his power to fight, and Cleomenes by reaſon of his poverty could no longer decline it, he gave him battle at Selaſia, where, partly through the ſuperiority of the Macedonian troops, partly through the treachery of Damoteles, the Lacedæmonians were defeated with a vaſt ſlaughter of their mercenary troops, and with almoſt the utter deſtruction of their own; for of ſix thouſand Spartans only two hundred eſcaped. In the beginning of the action Cleomenes had the better, at leaſt in that part of the army where he commanded in perſon; but looking behind him,

[y] Plut. ubi ſupra, & in vit. Arati. Polyb. ubi ſupra. [z] Plut. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm.

and seeing the other wing commanded by his brother surrounded, he cried out, Thou art lost, dear brother, thou art lost, thou brave example to our Spartan youth, and theme of our matrons songs! This misfortune of Cleomenes deserves the more to be pitied, since, if he could have avoided fighting but two days, he must have seen Antigonus constrained to abandon the Achæans; for within that space after the battle messengers arrived in his camp from Macedonia, which brought advice of such disorders there as forced him immediately to return [a]. When the battle was over, Cleomenes retired to Sparta, where, however, he knew it was impossible for him to stay, nor indeed did he rest there above a few hours; for, after having given a few directions, he went to his own house, where, without taking any refreshment, he leaned himself, in his armour as he was, against a pillar, and considering what he should do, he at length determined to retire to Egypt; which resolution he and his friends immediately put into execution, going directly to Gythium, there imbarqued on board a few ships, and passed over to Ptolemy Euergetes, who entertained him honourably while he lived; but his son growing suspicious of him confined him, which Cleomenes at length resenting, he with twelve friends forced the place where he was confined; but finding it afterwards impracticable to escape, they slew each other. Ptolemy Philopator in revenge of this caused the body of Cleomenes to be exposed on a cross, butchered his mother, the rest of his family, and all her attendants. Miserable end of so great a man, who fought only to make his country free, and his countrymen virtuous! In him ended the Herculean race of Spartan kings, if we except the short reign of Agesipolis which we shall presently mention (X).

After

[a] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Cleomen. & Philop. Justin. lib. xxviii. c. 4.

(X) In this note we shall vindicate our history of the reign of Cleomenes, which we confess to be very little consistent with the account given us by Polybius, though we acknowledge that he is, generally speaking, a a most judicious and impartial writer, and had great opportunities of knowing the true state of things at the time of which we are speaking; and yet we affirm, that he has not spoken of Cleomenes things exactly conformable to truth, whence we conceive we had a just right to differ from him, notwithstanding his great and established reputation. Two things therefore

AFTER the fatal battle of Selasia, Sparta fell into the hands of king Antigonus, who, out of regard to the merit of

The state of Sparta after the flight of Cleomenes.

therefore we shall endeavour to demonstrate in this note: First, That Polybius hath injured the character of Cleomenes in his history; and, Secondly, That the causes of his misrepresentations may with probability, and even with certainty, be assigned. First then, Polybius, opening to his reader the causes of the Cleomenic war, writes thus: When this war was kindled, and Cleomenes had ruined the republic of Lacedæmon, and converted a lawful authority into tyrannic power, Aratus, who saw that this prince made war with no less conduct than valour, and being at the same time afraid of what might be attempted by the Ætolians, thought it necessary to counterwork their projects (71). In this passage Cleomenes is roundly declared a tyrant, aud undoubtedly he was so in the opinion of all the Achæans; and the historians of those times dealt so freely with his character, that the great Livy makes no scruple of calling him Cleomenes the first tyrant of Lacedæmon (72). Pausanias is yet more outrageous; he says, that Cleomenes, following the example of the great Pausanias who gained the battle of Platæa, affected tyranny, and thereby disgusted the Lacedæmonians so much, that they hated the thought of kings ever after (73). Yet all these great men are most certainly in the wrong; nay, Polybius and Pausanias are so of their own shewing. For the first every where admits, that Cleomenes was a prince of great wisdom and mildness, as well as intrepidly valiant and of a lofty spirit The reason for which he stiles him a tyrant is, as appears from the foregoing passage, because he altered that condition of the republic in which it stood when he ascended the throne. It is confessed he did so, but that this could not denominate him a tyrant, we will prove from Polybius himself. In another part of his writings, descanting like a grave politician, as indeed he was, on the ruin of the Spartan state, he makes use of these words: "Lycurgus, in providing by his laws for the harmony of his ci-" tizens, for the security of his polity, and the maintenance of " liberty, hath done so well, that his institutes seem rather to be " divine than human. An equality of possessions with a simple " and inexpensive course of life could not but render men honest " and sociable in private life, and quiet and peaceable in public " concerns; finally, continual exercise and a readiness to under-" take any kind of labour could not fail of making them both " valiant and indefatigable (74)". He then shews, that their affecting conquest engaged them to depart from the laws of Lycurgus, and induced their ruin; and in the very place where he calls Cleomenes

(71) Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. (72) Liv. lib. xxxiv. (73) Pausan. in Corinthiacis. (74) Fragment. lib. xiii.

of their anceſtors, treated the inhabitants with great kindneſs and indulgence; they in return for this behaved for a time

Cleomenes tyrant, he commiſerates the Lacedæmonians, for having from a ſtate of perfect freedom ſunk by degrees into that of abject ſlavery under Nabis, by a continual declenſion from the Lycurgic inſtitutes. Now, if the ſlavery of the Lacedæmonians and their ruin aroſe from their leaving the laws of Lycurgus, and if the laws of Lycurgus derived their chief excellence from their enjoining an equality of poſſeſſions, a ſimple frugal life, and continual exerciſe, how could Cleomenes be a tyrant for changing that declining condition, in which he found the Spartan republic, into that form, as near as might be, wherein Lycurgus left it? but perhaps it will be ſaid he acted tyrannically in putting to death the ephori, and in effecting this alteration by force; yet if this be admitted, it will ſubvert all the Greek notions of liberty. The ephori were not eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, they had exceeded the limits of their office, they had deſtroyed the conſtitution by introducing the ſale of lands, they had moſt impiouſly murdered Agis their natural ſovereign, and, in one word, by keeping one of the thrones of Sparta vacant, which they did by force, they violated the fundamental laws of the ſtate, and had, as Polybius phraſes it, changed a legal authority into a moſt deteſtable tyranny, from which Cleomenes reſcued his country, and reſtored it to its antient luſtre and liberty by the only way it could be effected, that is by force. That Cleomenes was legally king of Sparta, Polybius himſelf owns; that the change he wrought did not make him a tyrant, we have proved, and conſequently we have ſhewn, that Livy was in an error when he ſtiled him the firſt of the Lacedæmonian tyrants. We will next ſhew the falſhood of Pauſanias's account, he ſays, that Cleomenes affected the empire of Greece, and Polybius intimates the ſame thing, but they offer no facts to ſupport it; and the contrary thereof is evident from the current of Polybius's hiſtory. A tyrant is one who ſacrifices public rights to his particular views, which Cleomenes, had mighty opportunities of doing, and whenever he had them, conſtantly rejected them. He brought his paternal eſtate into the public ſtock when he new-modelled Sparta; he reſtored all the cities he took to their antient form of government, when he might have annexed them to his own dominions; and choſe to have allies where he might have had ſubjects; with reaſon therefore have we concluded with Plutarch, that he did not affect the tyranny of Greece. As to the latter part of Pauſanias's cenſure, that the Spartans ſo hated the memory of Cleomenes, it is diametrically oppoſite to truth; for Polybius tells us, that after his flight into Egypt they remained without kings, becauſe they tenderly loved Cleomenes, and ardently wiſhed and expected his return.

time very quietly, and, ſubmitting to the preſent ſituation of things, acted in ſuch a manner as might give leaſt umbrage to Aratus and the Achæans, who were the king's friends; as long as Cleomenes lived, though an exile and at laſt a priſoner in Egypt, the Spartans lived as well as they could under the government of the ephori and ſenate; but as ſoon as the news came of his death, and they were once thoroughly aſcertained it was true, new ſtirs aroſe, in which Adimas, one of the ephori, endeavoured all he could to moderate the people; and when his collegues had ſummoned them to meet in arms, he had the courage to repreſent to them, how little their behaviour correſponded with their circumſtances,

turn. Theſe are his very words, and he afterwards tells us, that as ſoon as they knew that Cleomenes was dead, they reſolved to be no longer without kings. We come now to the ſecond part of what we propoſed, the cauſes of Polybius's miſrepreſentations, and they were no other than thoſe which have been and will be common in the world, as long as it is inhabited by men. Polybius lived in theſe times: He was by birth of the city of Megalopolis which Cleomenes deſtroyed; he was an Achæan ſtatesman, a profeſſed and zealous friend of Aratus, the capital enemy of this prince whom he ſo much decries. Aratus ſought to bring all the Peloponneſian ſtates into the Achæan league, and why? that they might be thereby ſafe againſt the Macedonian power; Cleomenes oppoſed this, becauſe it was contrary to the intereſt of Sparta, which would have thereby become inconſiderable. Aratus endeavoured in a time of full peace to have executed his ſcheme by force, on a ſuppoſition, that Cleomenes being a young man might have been eaſily depoſed. After all, when Cleomenes in his own defence had humbled the Achæans, he did not pretend to reduce them into ſubjection, but offered to join with them to ſupport the liberty of Greece againſt the Macedonian kings; but Aratus, reſolving to have all things his own way, called in theſe very Macedonians, delivered up to them Acro-Corinth, deſtroyed the Lacedæmonian kingdom, induced the ruin of his own country, and was himſelf poiſoned by Philip king of Macedon, whom he vainly called and imagined to be his pupil. Polybius, miſled by Aratus's notions, paints Cleomenes as a tyrant, though he took the only method to preſerve Greece free, and Greece loſt her freedom becauſe he failed in his deſign; this has appeared ſince, and Plutarch, who was a true friend to liberty and virtue, living without the reach of prejudice, has done that juſtice to Cleomenes which Polybius denied him (75).

(75) Hiſt. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Cleom. Arati & Philopœmen.

circumstances, and how unreasonable it was for them to involve themselves in their present unsettled condition in a new war with the Macedonians, who not long ago had vanquished them, and had ever treated them well. The people of Sparta, like the people of most other cities, were inclined to listen to reason as soon as they began to understand it, which the rest of the ephori perceiving, they and their associates gathered about Adimas and stabbed him; which once done, they did what they pleased. Soon after this Philip the son of Antigonus arrived with a great army on their frontiers, when the Spartans sent deputies to make their submission, which when the king had heard, he suffered them to withdraw, and caused the matter to be afterwards debated in council. Most of those who composed it, after representing the Lacedæmonians as a turbulent and factious people, declared, that the king ought to treat them as heretofore Alexander had done the Thebans, that is, put their principal men to death, and humble the rest by a very severe chastisement. But the king, though but seventeen years old, differed from them; he said, the sedition of the Spartans turned to their own hurt; that on his appearance they had offered to submit themselves and become his subjects; and that to put their principal men to death and mal-treat the rest would be unworthy of a prince; he therefore contented himself with telling the deputies, that he should have his eye upon the Spartans for the future, and therefore advised them to be quiet; after which he dismissed them [b].

Lycurgus and Agesipolis elected kings.

The Ætolians, making new disturbances in Greece, were very desirous to engage the Lacedæmonians in their interest; to this end they sent Machates embassador to Sparta; he endeavoured to persuade the ephori to chuse two kings, and to unite themselves strictly with the Ætolians; but those magistrates, liking neither of his propositions, procured them both to be rejected by the people, notwithstanding that a strong party had declared themselves for Machates. This party after his departure found means to stir up the people so effectually against the ephori, that at a solemn festival they murdered them at the temple of Pallas, and elected others, whom they directed to elect kings. In consequence of this, they chose first Agesipolis a boy, the grandson of Cleombrotus whom Leonidas banished, and appointed Cleomenes, the son of Cleombrotus and the child's uncle

[b] Polyb. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arat.

uncle, his tutor. For the other king they ſet up Lycurgus, a man no way allied to the royal family, or at leaſt never conceived to be allied to it, till by giving a talent a-piece to the ephori, they declared him of the Herculean race and the lawful king of Sparta. He after ſome time drove Ageſipolis into baniſhment, and involved his country in ſeveral wars, which he waged with various ſucceſs. At laſt Chilo conſpired againſt him; this man conceived he had ſome right to the Spartan throne, and having engaged about two hundred perſons to abet his ſcheme, he fell upon the ephori ſuddenly and murdered them; after which he ſurrounded the houſe of Lycurgus, who by the fidelity of ſome of his ſervants, made his eſcape. Chilo, perceiving that the people little affected him, fled out of Laconia, and retired to the Macedonians whom he endeavoured to irritate againſt his country. When things were a little ſettled, Lycurgus was recalled, and reigned in Sparta many years. When king Philip came into Peloponneſus for the ſecond time, and began to tranſact things there, not only without the advice, but contrary to the opinion, of Aratus, Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians began to take heart, and to think once more of contending with the power of Macedon, notwithſtanding all the miſchiefs they had ſuſtained; neither were they frighted from this purpoſe, when they were informed, that the king was become friends again with Aratus and his ſon; wherefore, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, they invaded Meſſenia, which immediately drew Philip that way, upon which Lycurgus retired, that he might put his country into a condition to ſuſtain the invaſion, which he plainly perceived was intended, though king Philip took all the precautions poſſible to hinder his deſign from being penetrated [c]. He advanced with his army as far as Amyclæ, from whence he ſpoiled all the country round about: In the mean time the Meſſenians invaded Laconia on the other ſide, reſolving to march through it and join the Macedonians; but while their commander, who greatly contemned the Spartans in their preſent diſtreſſed condition, encamped careleſly and without throwing up any intrenchments, Lycurgus ſuddenly attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took the greateſt part of their horſes and baggage, and returned with much honour to Sparta. As ſoon as he returned, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for the defence of the city. In the firſt place, he recovered the poſts which the Macedonians had

[c] Polyb. Hiſt. lib. iv. Plut. in vit. Arat.

had seized on the mountains, and then causing the waters of the Eurotas to be dammed up, he provided a means of laying all the country between the river and the mountains under water; so that the Macedonians, not being able to march that way, would be obliged to coast the foot of the mountains, and thereby expose their rear to the insults of Lycurgus and his Lacedæmonians. Philip perceiving this resolved, first of all to dispossess Lycurgus of his posts in the mountains, which, at the head of a choice body of troops, he with much ado performed; however, he retired with his forces at last into the city, which he preserved from any insults; and thus this great king of Macedon, after having plundered and ravaged Laconia, was obliged to retire, his own camp being full of sedition, and his soldiers more inclined to mutiny than fighting. Some short time after this, the ephori, having, or pretending to have, information, that Lycurgus intended to make himself absolute, they attempted to surprize and murder him in his house; but he, having previous notice of their design, withdrew into Ætolia, and the iniquity of the ephori being clearly discovered by the people, he was shortly after recalled. What he did after this we know not, nor how long he held the kingdom; whether he died in peace, or by the sword; in possession of the regal authority, or not; neither can we say what steps were taken by the Spartans when they lost this king of their own election: If we take him for the last of their princes, or if, according to others, we look upon Cleomenes in that light, either way we shall see the oracle concerning a lame reign fulfilled; but perhaps it will be better to interpret this prophecy generally of all single reigns, which, according to the constitution of Sparta, could not but be lame, and under them all the people were most notoriously unhappy, falling continually from bad to worse, every succeeding tyrant excelling in wickedness his predecessor.

Machanidas assumes the tyranny. Year after the flood, 2792. Before Christ 207.

MACHANIDAS was the successor of Lycurgus, but when he attained the sovereignty is very uncertain; the year in which we find him first mentioned, we have placed in the margin; by what colour he held his dignity appears not, but that he was a person of great abilities is certain. At home he ejected the ephori, as not caring to have any either equal or greater than himself in Sparta; abroad he made all Peloponnesus tremble, which in all probability he would have subdued and brought under his own power, if Philopœmen

pœmen the chief of the Achæans had not oppoſed him [d]. He engaged all the cities in that league to furniſh troops for reducing the power of Machanidas within bounds, which, as he plainly ſhewed, if not timely undertaken, would be a thing beyond their abilities. When he had drawn together this army, after exerciſing them for ſome time in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, he marched towards Mantinæa, in order of battle. Thither alſo came Machanidas at the head of a very powerful army, compoſed not only of Spartans, but of mercenaries; an engagement quickly followed, which was very obſtinate, in which at firſt Machanidas had the better; but he purſuing this advantage too far, Philopœmen attacked him in the rear; however, the Lacedæmonians fought deſperately for a time, expecting that Machanidas would come to their relief, which accordingly he did; but Philopœmen foreſeeing that he would take the ſhorteſt way, and knowing that there was a ditch there of which Machanidas was ignorant, he left Polybius the Megalopolitan to puſh the enemy that were ſtill fighting, and with a ſmall party of horſe advanced to the ditch to meet Machanidas, whom he preſently diſtinguiſhed by his purple robe. The tyrant, who with two or three friends had outrode the reſt of his troops, ſeeing that Philopœmen and his company were but few, reſolved to paſs the ditch; in order to this he puſhed his horſe directly againſt Philopœmen, who turning ſide-ways from him, as if he meant to avoid him, brought the point of his ſpear to bear directly againſt his breaſt as his horſe leaped, ſo that, juſt as he paſſed the ditch, Machanidas fell down dead; this put an end to the battle, for as ſoon as his death was known his army fled: The Achæans waſted all the provinces which had been ſubject to him, the Spartans, who loſt four thouſand men in this engagement, having neither ſpirits nor ſtrength to oppoſe them [e].

Not long after the death of Machanidas, we find Sparta under a new and yet ſeverer bondage under one Nabis, who is reported to have exceeded all tyrants, and to have left the epithets of gracious and merciful to Phalaris and Dionyſius on a compariſon of their actions with his. Other evil princes had their peculiar vices, and perhaps many ways of plaguing and puniſhing their ſubjects; but Nabis had not only all, but invented and practiſed ſuch acts of cruelty

Nabis ſucceeds Machanidas. Year after the Flood, 2803. Year before Chriſt, 196.

[d] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Philop. Liv. Hiſt lib. xxxiv.
[e] Plutarch. in vit. Philopœmen. Polyb. Fragment. lib. vii.

cruelty as were never heard of before, and have sunk into oblivion since. To all who were honest, brave, or noble, he was an open enemy, such as he could lay his hands on he murdered, such as were not immediately in his power he banished: But did he stop there? No. He sent some of his Cretan assassins after them where-ever they retired, who watched them so narrowly, that in the field, or at their tables, or in their beds, they found an opportunity to slay them. At home he reigned with a dissimulation, which some called wisdom. He kept up the state of a prince, he wore purple, was attended by guards, performed the functions of a first magistrate, kept an equal countenance, made use of smooth speeches, entertained numbers of spies and sycophants, and struck such a terror into all who were not so, that they durst not express their thoughts or their fears. Polybius tells us, that he had a painted image which resembled his wife, and this being clad in royal robes he introduced, when he fancied it impracticable to wheedle any Lacedæmonian out of his money; and such was the art with which this image was contrived, that, by touching certain secret springs, it catched any who were near it in its arms, and forced them to say any thing the tyrant pleased [f]. The distressed and dejected state of all Greece, which was now mightily divided, weak in its councils, and weaker still in the execution of them, and with all this mightily over-awed by the power of the Macedonian kings and the Roman republic, gave vast opportunities to the tyrant to encrease his dominions and to exalt his power. He in the midst of these confusions seized, under pretence of assisting some of the exiled citizens, on Argos, into which he put a garrison under the command of Pythagoras his son-in-law, a man of great abilities, and who was indeed the support of his tyranny. The Achæans immediately applied to the Romans, for they began to be affrighted themselves at the apprehensions of the tyrant's growing power. Titus Quintius the Roman general arriving in Greece, they quickly made him sensible of the mischiefs that would follow, if Nabis was permitted to go on; for, not contented with holding the prime part of Peloponnesus under his sway, he began to be ambitious of the empire of the sea, and to project such schemes as threatened disturbance even to the Romans themselves. Quintius marched immediately into the neighbourhood of Argos, and had some

[f] Id. Fragm. lib. xiii.

ſome thoughts of attacking the city, where on his approach a riſing was attempted, which iſſued in the deſtruction of thoſe who were deſirous to be free. After this he marched towards Lacedæmon itſelf, at which Nabis was exceedingly troubled; he ordered however, a general aſſembly of the people to be held without the city, whither as ſoon as they were come, he ſurrounded them with his troops; then he made a ſhort ſpeech, intimating the mighty danger they were in; for it is the mode of all tyrants to call themſelves and their private concerns the intereſt of their country; he then magnified the great pains he had taken in ſecuring all the poſts and avenues of Sparta, concluded, that ſince without ſpeaking he had done ſo much for their ſervice, they ought not now he did ſpeak to grudge doing ſomewhat for him, the rather, becauſe what he ſought concerned likewiſe their own ſafety; ſome there were amongſt them, he ſaid, who had given him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their conduct, theſe therefore he was determined to ſeize and impriſon, till, the preſent danger being over, he might, which he greatly wiſhed, reſtore them again to liberty conſiſtent with his own and the public ſafety: Having made this goodly harangue, he cauſed fourſcore perſons of worth and honour to be arreſted, the unarmed multitude looking on with amazement, and that ſame night he cauſed them all to be murdered in priſon; a little afterwards, growing jealous of the Helotes, he ſeized a great number of them, cauſed them to be ſcourged in the ſtreets, till the kennels were diſcoloured with their blood, and then put them to death without mercy. After all, finding the Romans about to beſiege him, he reſolved to attempt a treaty, knowing that king Antiochus was meditating new ſtirs, and from thence concluded, that Quintius would be glad to come to ſome agreement with him. His hopes were not ill grounded, that great man, having nothing ſo much in view as the intereſt of Rome, readily agreed to meet him and hear his propoſals. Nabis at this interview made a long and well-compoſed oration, to which Quintius made but an indifferent return, yet promiſed to ſend him certain articles in writing; and thus this conference ended. The allies laboured hard to engage Quintius not to treat any more king Eumenes, who was in his camp, affirmed; that it was to no purpoſe, for that the tyrant would think no longer of peace than war was near him; Ageſipolis

king

king of Sparta, who with many other illuſtrious exiles waited on Quintius, inſiſted, that it would be unworthy of the Roman name to enter into a treaty with ſo execrable a perſon; the Achæans were of the ſame ſentiments, yet Quintius remained firm to his own; he ſaw clearly that they regarded their own intereſts, and thence he inferred, that he ought to mind none but thoſe of Rome; acting therefore on this motive, he ſent Nabis, as he had promiſed, an account of the terms whereon he would grant him peace, and thoſe terms were theſe: That he ſhould withdraw all his garriſons from Argos and its territories: that he ſhould deliver up all the ſhips of war he had taken, and of all his fleet ſhould retain no more than two galliots: That he ſhould deliver up ſuch as had fled to him from the Roman allies, and make reſtitution to the Meſſenians for the plundering their territories: That he ſhould reſtore to the Lacedæmonian exiles their wives and children: That he ſhould build neither caſtle nor city in his own territories nor in thoſe of his neighbours: That he ſhould give five ſuch hoſtages as the general would chuſe, and among them his own ſon: That he ſhould pay down a hundred talents, and that he ſhould continue paying fifty talents a year for eight years together; Nabis diſliked theſe conditions, and found means to make all the Lacedæmonians diſlike them, ſo that they determined to make an obſtinate defence; Quintius, perceiving nothing was to be done but by force, and having with him an army of fifty thouſand men, reſolved to attack the place, which accordingly he did ſeveral times, but was as often repulſed. At laſt he penetrated into the city, and his ſoldiers beginning to take poſt in the firſt long ſtreet, Nabis thought of nothing but making his eſcape; yet Pythagoras delivered him from this danger, by ſetting the ſtreet on fire at each end, and engaging the Lacedæmonians, who were yet fighting in front, to ſupply the riſing flames with fuel. The Roman ſoldiers were forced again to withdraw, but Nabis was ſo thoroughly frightened, that with much ado he procured peace on the terms before ſpecified, which was hardly concluded before advice came, that the Argives had delivered themſelves by expelling his garriſons. When Nabis was free from the neighbourhood of the Roman army, he began to caſt about in his mind how he might extricate himſelf from the miſchiefs he laboured under; for he could not bear the thoughts of loſing at once thoſe dominions, which he had

had been ſo long and with ſo much pains acquiring. He was eſpecially irritated at beholding himſelf without a ſea-port, and little ſet by amongſt his neighbours; he therefore began to treat privately with Antiochus and the Ætolians for creating new diſturbances in Peloponneſus, and having received from them great promiſes, he began to act againſt the Achæans and their allies. Gythium the ſea-port of Sparta he beſieged and recovered; but after that and a ſlight victory at ſea, which he obtained againſt Philopœmen, he was routed at land, rather for want of abilities as a general in himſelf, than any fault in his ſoldiers. Philopœmen, though he could not hinder the taking of Gythium, yet reſolved to terrify the tyrant by marching directly towards Lacedæmon, which had the conſequence he expected and deſired, ſince Nabis drew his forces together, and led them with the utmoſt diligence to the relief of his capital; by this forced march he fronted the Achæan army within ten miles of the city, the tyrant ſeizing on this occaſion a very ſtrong camp, where Philopœmen intended to have lain that night. This great general, perceiving that his firſt deſign was rendered abortive, immediately formed a ſecond, and, ſince he could not ſpoil Sparta, reſolved to content himſelf with deſtroying an army every way ſuperior to his own. There lay between the camps a little rivulet, from which both the Achæans and Lacedæmonians were to fetch water; but it was conſiderably nearer to the former than to the latter. Philopœmen therefore ſent a great detachment to take poſt privately in a copſe which bordered on the river; when the troops of Nabis came to water their horſes and to fill their veſſels for the camp, this detachment ſuddenly attacked them and cut many of the light-armed ſoldiers in pieces. About the ſame time he ſent one of his auxiliary ſoldiers as a deſerter to Nabis, with inſtructions to give him information, that the Achæans deſigned to move in the night, in order to get between him and Lacedæmon. The tyrant, affrighted at this news, as ſoon as it was throughly dark, quitted a camp which Philopœmen could never have forced, and, leaving only a few light-armed troops in his intrenchments, marched with all the troops he could towards Sparta. Philopœmen foreſeeing this attacked his camp as ſoon as he was out of it, and ſo haraſſed his army with his light-armed mercenaries, that Nabis found

himſelf conſtrained to retire into the neighbouring woods, where he remained all the next day. Philopœmen in this ſpace recalling his light-armed forces, left them in the camp which he had taken, and, with his troops that were ſtill freſh, marched with great ſecrecy, and ſeized the paſſes which led to Lacedæmon, not doubting, but at the approach of night the tyrant would march again; this fell out as he expected, and as he had ſeized the avenues, the forces of Nabis were in a manner at his mercy, and he uſed his advantage ſo well, that the tyrant with a very ſmall part of his army got into the city, covered with diſgrace, and unable to hinder Philopœmen from ſpoiling the country, which he did for thirty days, and then retired, leaving Nabis much dejected and with ſmall forces to continue the war. His recovery of Gythium furniſhed him at preſent with little comfort, for the enemy being maſter of all the country, he could ſcarcely hold any correſpondence therewith; beſides, his navy was very inconſiderable, and he had every day repeated advice that the Romans intended ſuddenly to ſend a new army into Greece. The Lacedæmonians themſelves appeared diſſatisfied, which made him afraid to lead his ſoldiers without the city; and pent up within it they were ſcarce of any uſe. In the midſt of theſe diſtractions, he placed all his hopes in the Ætolians, who had indeed done a great deal of miſchief in Greece, and had been ſtrongly inſtrumental in drawing him into this war. To theſe he diſpatched courier after courier, not with the haughty command of a tyrant, but with the humble ſupplications of a diſtreſſed ally; he reminded them, that for their ſakes only he had ſo precipitately entered into this war, at a time when none elſe cared to own them for allies; he ſhewed them truly the nature of his diſtreſs, hoping that it would make their relief the quicker and more effectual; but it produced quite a contrary effect, the Ætolians being fit confederates for ſuch a tyrant. As ſoon as they had given audience to his meſſengers, they diſpatched them with large aſſurances of ready aſſiſtance, while in the mean time they conſulted what for their intereſt would be fitteſt to be done; the reſult of their conſultations was, that in the days of his proſperity, and when he had a ſtrong army of mercenaries at his command, Nabis was their good ally, and deſerved all poſſible regard; but in the preſent ſituation of things, when his

his forces were in a manner cut off, and he ſcarce able to maintain himſelf in Sparta, 'twould better ſerve their purpoſes to remove him out of the way and take the city to themſelves. This counſel taken and approved, a thouſand foot and thirty horſe were choſen to march to Lacedæmon under the command of Alexamenus. When they were ready to depart, the horſemen were ſent for into the great council, where they received the following ſhort and pithy inſtructions; that they were not ſent to aſſiſt Nabis to make war upon the Achæans, or for any other purpoſe whatſoever, than to obey Alexamenus, and to do what he directed, let it be what it would. Thus diſmiſſed, they marched under the command of that general to Sparta, where they found Nabis very little ſatisfied with ſo ſmall a reinforcement. Alexamenus did all he could to encourage him, he told him, the Ætolians by ſending him intended no more than to give a ſpecimen of their good will, inſtructing him alſo to inform him, that if his neceſſities required it, they would, whenever he requeſted it, march with the utmoſt forces they could raiſe to his relief; he likewiſe informed him, that Antiochus was reſolved to make war on the Romans, and intended to cover Greece with his armies and the ſea with his ſhips; that many of the Greek ſtates were inclined to his party, and that the Ætolians were about to muſter all their troops before the king's commiſſioners ſhortly, which was the reaſon why they ſent ſo few under his command. The tyrant, encouraged by theſe conſolatory ſpeeches, began, by the advice of Alexamenus, to exerciſe his forces without the city, that he might at once give them courage, and the Achæans apprehenſions. At theſe exerciſes the Ætolian general failed not to aſſiſt; his guard of horſe keeping, according to his order, aloof, and he ſometimes riding up to them as it were to give them orders. Theſe growing at laſt into daily practices, the Lacedæmonians ſinking again into a timorous obedience, Nabis entertained freſh hopes of regaining all his dominions, and of revenging himſelf upon the Romans for the injuries which he conceived they had done him. The Spartan guards, which Alexamenus looked upon as the beſt corps in the tyrant's army, he adviſed to be poſted, phalanx-wiſe. beyond the reſt, offering ſuch plauſible reaſons, that Nabis readily yielded to it, which was the only ſtep wanting to his ruin. When the day came whereon Alexamenus reſolved to execute his great and deſperate deſign, he behaved towards Nabis with

more than ordinary complaiſance; he commended the appearance and diſcipline of his troops, applauded his cavalry, promiſed him the ſupremacy in Peloponneſus, and perceiving that his complaiſance had wrought a proper effect, the tyrant teſtifying by his looks and geſtures the higheſt ſatisfaction, Alexamenus ſuddenly wheeled off, and riding up to his troop of Ætolians, bid them remember the inſtructions they had received when they were firſt choſen for this ſervice. Having ſaid this, he turned the head of his horſe, and rode with a full carreer againſt Nabis whom he overthrew, and his Ætolians, riding immediately after him, one after another buried their ſpears in the boſom of the tyrant. His guards were hardly informed of what paſt till he was dead; and then, not knowing for whom they fought, they forbore fighting at all. The reſt of the Lacedæmonians looked on with a mixture of joy and terror, joy, that the tyrant was dead, who had ſo long and ſo cruelly oppreſt them, terror, at beholding ſo ſtrange an accident; the reaſons of which they knew not, and of its conſequences were therefore afraid. Alexamenus and his Ætolians, taking advantage of their amazement, marched directly into the city, their chief breaking into the tyrant's palace and rifling all his treaſures; the ſoldiers ſhortly after followed his example, ſo that in a ſhort time the Lacedæmonians looked on the murder of Nabis as their misfortune; but conſidering how little it became the inhabitants of the famous Sparta to look on and ſee their riches carried away by foreigners, they without much ado took a child whoſe name was Laconicus, and who on account of his being deſcended from the royal family was bred up by Nabis; him they ſet on horſeback, and gathering about him, they ſurrounded many of the Ætolians and put them to the ſword, after a while they broke into the palace, where they ſlew Alexamenus and thoſe who were with him; they forced likewiſe a temple of Diana to which many of the Ætolians were fled; all of whom they put without mercy to the ſword. When they were in the midſt of this confuſion, of which none had projected any iſſue, Philopœmen arrived, ſome friends of his having poſted to him with the account of the death of Nabis; the forces he had were few, nor did he from them conceive any hopes of taking the city; on the contrary he did what Alexamenus ought to have done, that is, he convinced the Lacedæmonians of the madneſs of their proceedings, and engaged them, ſince they

they had ſo happily recovered their freedom, to unite themſelves to the Achæans, reaping thus by his virtue all the fruits the Ætolians expected from their treachery.

It may indeed ſeem ſtrange, that the Spartans, who had entertained ſuch generous notions of liberty, ſubmitted patiently for ſo long a tract of time to the arbitrary commands of lawleſs tyrants; but this wonder will be in a great meaſure taken off, if we conſider two things; Firſt, That the manners of the Lacedæmonians were greatly corrupted, which is indeed the very baſis of ſlavery; there can be no ſuch thing as bending the necks of virtuous people; but when once men are abandoned to their vices and become ſlaves to their paſſions, they readily ſtoop to thoſe who can gratify them; and this was the caſe of the majority of the inhabitants of Sparta at this time. Secondly, thoſe amongſt them who were diſtinguiſhed by their merit and their morals, were on this very account proſcribed by the tyrants and hated by their creatures; ſo that they were forced to forſake their country and leave it to groan under a power which they were unable to reſiſt. To this we may add, that ſuch as were of mild diſpoſitions flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſeeing better times, and even in theſe conſoled themſelves with the thought, that Sparta yet retained her independency, and was not ſubjected to any other ſtate [g] (Y).

g Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv. Plutarch. in vit. Philop. Juſtin. lib. xxx. c. 4. lib. xxxi. c. 1, 2.

(Y) There is a point or two in the Lacedæmonian hiſtory, which though they have been handled in a curious manner already, require to be conſidered more largely. Aratus undoubtedly intended the preſervation of the Grecian liberty, eſpecially from the Macedonian power, but at the ſame time as certainly intended to engage all the Peloponneſian ſtates in the Achæan league, which was abſolutely inconſiſtent with their retaining any monarchical form. On this account it was that he hated and made war upon all the little princes in his neighbourhood, whom he ſtiled tyrants and proſecuted as ſuch, as the Achæans continued ever after to do. If Sparta had acceded to the Achæan league, it is very poſſible, that Greece might have vindicated its freedom, for ſome time at leaſt, againſt both the Macedonians and the Romans; but Sparta had been too long at the head of Peloponneſus to think of changing her government at the firſt motion of Aratus and the Achæans, and therefore gladly accepted the propo-

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ſal of Cleomenes to reſtore her antient form of government, and with it her antient luſtre (75). Aratus, ſeeing that this would entirely overturn his ſcheme, immediately called Cleomenes tyrant, and as ſuch would have pulled him down. While the Spartans, and thoſe who ſided with the Spartans, acknowledged him the vindicator of the antient Grecian liberty, one who deſired to leave all cities to be governed according to their own laws, as well as to preſerve kingly government in Sparta. It is true, that Machanidas and Nabis pretended to carry on the ſame deſign, the latter actually dividing the lands as Cleomenes had done; but this they did with a view to the aggrandizing of themſelves and their families, and the ſupporting of a dominion unlawfully maintained, which was far from being his caſe (76). That in this and in a former note we have fairly ſtated theſe matters, will clearly appear from the ſubſequent hiſtory of the Achæans, wherein it will be found, that there was no depending upon the Lacedæmonians, till their manners were wholly changed and the Lycurgic inſtitutions rooted out by force. Now whether ſuch proceedings as theſe of ruining a conſtitution that did not ſuit with their league, or Cleomenes's ſchemes for ſupporting every ſtate in its priſtine form, ought with greateſt juſtice to be ſtiled a deſire of beſtowing liberty to Greece, the reader muſt determine.

(75) Polyb. Hiſt. lib. iv. Plutarch. in vit. Arati. (76) Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The History of the several states of Greece, *from the beginning of the* Achæan *league to its dissolution, and thence succinctly to the present time.*

SECT. I.

The History of Achaia.

ALL Greece, in the ages we are now to write of, may be reduced to three states, viz. Achaia, Ætolia, and Athens. There were, 'tis true, at this time several other republics in Greece; but as they only acted an under-part, and in conjunction sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, of the more powerful states just now mentioned, their histories are so interwoven with those of the greater republics, that to deliver them separately would be only swelling the work with needless repetitions, as the reader will find in the perusal of the following sheets. We shall begin with the history of Achaia, by far the most considerable republic of Greece in its declining times; after having premised, that the name of Achaia was used by the antients in three different senses. In the earlier ages it comprehended all the provinces of that great continent, which the geographers, strictly speaking, call Greece; that is, Attica, Megaris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, the territory of Thebes, Ætolia, and Doris. In after-ages it was confined to that country in Peloponnesus which was possessed by the Achæans, and extended along the bay of Corinth and the Ionian sea, from the confines of Sicyon to the territory of Elis. In the Roman times the name of Achaia compriſed not only all Peloponnesus, but such other cities beyond the isthmus as had entered into the Achæan league; upon the dissolution of which all Greece was by a decree of the Roman senate divided into two provinces, viz. that of Macedonia, containing Macedonia and Thessaly, and that of Achaia, which took in all the other states of Greece. We have already described the country [a], and shall there-

[a] Vol. vi. p. 85.

fore now proceed to the hiſtory of a people, that not only maintained their own liberties amidſt innumerable tyrants, but reſtored moſt of the Greek cities to their antient freedom.

ACHAIA, a ſtate originally of ſmall account, roſe by degrees to ſuch a height of reputation and proſperity, as to rival and eclipſe the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. This great increaſe of power was not owing either to the vaſt numbers or extraordinary valour of its inhabitants, but ſolely to its wholeſome laws and happy conſtitution. For the Achæans, after having ſhaken off the tyrannical yoke of regal power, formed to themſelves, on the plan of a democracy, a new ſyſtem of government, which, obtaining by degrees in all the cities of their ſmall republic, united them into one body, and at the ſame time left them in full poſſeſſion of their reſpective liberties, and quite independent of each other. Thus the Achæans were not only joined together by a firm alliance, and governed by the ſame laws, but moreover had the ſame money, weights, and meaſures, the ſame magiſtrates, council, and judges, and in ſhort every thing ſo uniform, that all Achaia ſeemed but one city. This invited many of the Peloponneſians to embrace their form of government and accede to the Achæan alliance, while in the mean time the authors of this inſtitution reaped no advantage by their acceſſion; for no ſooner did any city receive their laws, but it was admitted to the enjoyment of the ſame rights and privileges with the reſt. Neither was the fame of their wiſe laws and mild government confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponneſus, but even reached the Greek colonies in Italy, where the Crotoniates, the Sybarites, and the Cauloniates, agreed to adopt the Achæan laws and govern their ſtates conformably [b] (A). The Lacedæmonians and Thebans had

[b] Polyb. lib. ii. Pauſan. in Achaic.

(A) Polybius tells (1) us, that great diſturbances ariſing among the Greek cities in that part of Italy which was called Magna Græcia, embaſſadors were diſpatched to them from all parts of Greece; but that the council only of the Achæans was choſen to cure thoſe great evils and compoſe the diſſenſions; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, that all thoſe cities by common conſent agreed to imitate them, and to form themſelves according to the example of the Achæan republic. Whereupon uniting in one body they built a temple to Jupiter Homorius, appointing that place for the congreſs of their general aſſemblies.

(1) Polyb. lib. ii.

had ſuch an eſteem of their impartial juſtice and equity, that they choſe them after the famous battle of Leuctra to compoſe ſome differences that were ſtill ſubſiſting between them. The contending parties were not induced, as our author obſerves [c], to refer their differences to the arbitration of the Achæans by any argument of their greatneſs or power, there being no ſtate at that time in all Greece that was not ſuperior to them in both theſe reſpects, but merely in conſideration of their juſtice and probity, which had acquired them the good opinion of all the world.

THIS form of government continued from the expulſion of Gyges the laſt king of Achaia to the time of Alexander the Great, upon whoſe death this little republic was involved in all the calamities that are inſeparable from diſcord. The ſpirit of patriotiſm no longer prevailed among them, each city purſuing their private intereſt to the prejudice and deſtruction of their neighbours. As theſe diſſenſions and emulations were artificially ſown and carefully fomented by the Macedonian princes, ſo they failed not to take their advantage of them; for Demetrius, Caſſander, and Antigonus Gonatus, ſeizing on ſome of their cities, obliged them to receive the Macedonian yoke. In this unhappy ſituation they changed maſters as often as Macedon did ſovereigns, and were moreover enſlaved by tyrants of their own, who as they eſpouſed the Macedonian intereſt, ſo they were ſupported with the whole ſtrength of that kingdom [d].

THE Achæans, accuſtomed to live according to their own laws and inured to liberty and freedom, could not brook ſo ſlaviſh a ſubjection, and therefore in the 124th olympiad, which was coincident with the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy, they began to revive their antient union and return to their former aſſociation. The inhabitants of Patra and Dyma gave the firſt example of this happy change. Five years after thoſe of Ægium, having driven out the Macedonian garriſon, acceded to the alliance. The inhabitants of Bura followed their example, having firſt killed their prince or tyrant; and ſoon after thoſe of Ceraunia incorporated their city into the ſame Achæan body, Iſeas their tyrant reſigning the dominion, upon promiſe of indemnity for what was paſſed [e].

The Achæan league revived. Year of the Flood, 2723. Before Chriſt 280.

THE cities we have mentioned were the firſt that revived the antient aſſociation, continuing for the ſpace of twenty-

[c] Polyb. ibid. [d] Polyb. & Pauſan. ubi ſupra. [e] Idem, ibid.

twenty-five years to maintain the ſame form of government without being joined by any others. But at laſt the good order that reigned in this little republic, where liberty and equality, with a ſincere zeal for juſtice and the public welfare, were the fundamental principles of their government, drew ſeveral neighbouring cities to join them. Sicyon was one of the firſt that acceded in this manner, being induced thereunto by Aratus (B) the Sicyonian, who at the age of twenty

(B) Aratus, a native of Sicyon, played on this occaſion a noble part on the ſtage of action, which rendered his name famous all over Greece. Sicyon, having long mourned under the yoke of her domeſtic tyrants, attempted to ſhake it off by devolving the power on Clinias, the father of Aratus and one of her beſt citizens. The government began to flouriſh aud aſſume a new form under his wiſe conduct, when Abantidas found means to diſconcert his meaſures, and take the whole power into his own hands. He killed Clinias, and with him all thoſe who ſtood up for the liberties of their country; and would have likewiſe deſtroyed Aratus, who was then but ſeven years old, had not the infant eſcaped with ſome others amidſt the diſorders and confuſion that filled the houſe when his father was killed. As he was wandering about the city in the utmoſt conſternation and diſtreſs, he accidentally entered the houſe of the tyrant's ſiſter, with a deſign to conceal himſelf there till the tumult was over, for he knew not to whom it belonged. The tyrant's ſiſter, being perſuaded that this deſtitute infant had taken refuge under her roof by the impulſe of ſome deity, cauſed him the enſuing night to be ſecretly conveyed to Argos, where he was educated with the utmoſt care by ſome hoſpitable friends of his father. The new tyranny had paſſed through ſeveral hands, when Aratus, being come to man's eſtate, began to entertain thoughts of reſcuing his country from the oppreſſion it groaned under. He was greatly reſpected both for his birth and the many excellent qualities which he began already to diſplay on ſeveral occaſions. The Sicyonian exiles, diſcovering in him an early averſion to tyrants, began to caſt their eyes upon him, as a perſon deſtined by heaven to be one day their deliverer. Neither were they deceived in their conjecture. For Aratus had ſcarce attained the twentieth year of his age, when he formed a confederacy againſt Nicocles, who was tyrant of Sicyon at that time, and purſued his meaſures with ſo much prudence and ſecrecy, that, notwithſtanding the tyrant kept a vigilant eye on his conduct, he ſcaled the walls of Sicyon, and entered the city by night, before Nicocles had any notice or even ſuſpicion of his deſign. However, he had the good luck to make his eſcape, leaving Aratus in poſſeſſion of the city. The next morning the people being aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, without knowing what

twenty years reſcued his country from tyranny and reſtored his countrymen to the enjoyment of their former liberties. Eight years after he had engaged his country in the Achæan league, he took by ſurprize Acro-Corinth (C), and alſo the

what had been tranſacted, a herald proclaimed with a loud voice, that Aratus the ſon of Clinias invited the citizens to reſume their antient liberty. Theſe joyful words were no ſooner heard, but the whole multitude, with repeated ſhouts and loud acclamations, flocked to the tyrant's palace, and burnt it down to the ground in a few minutes. Thus was Sicyon delivered from its tyrants without the loſs of one ſingle man on either ſide; for Aratus commanded his followers to abſtain from ſlaughter, ſaying, that an action of this nature ought not to be polluted with the blood of his fellow-citizens. This circumſtance gave him no leſs joy than the action itſelf.

Sicyon began then to recover its antient ſplendor; but Aratus was not yet quite eaſed from his inquietude and perplexity. Antigonus king of Macedon had ſupported and protected Nicocles, and was ready to lay hold of the firſt opportunity to make himſelf maſter of the city, or eſtabliſh in it ſome other tyrant: ſeeds of ſedition were artfully ſown among the citizens by his partizans and emiſſaries; and Aratus was extremely apprehenſive of their effects. He therefore concluded, that the ſafeſt and moſt prudent conduct in ſo delicate a juncture would be to unite Sicyon with the Achæan league, which he did accordingly, ſtrengthening the league with all the forces of his country, and entering himſelf among the cavalry for the ſervice of that ſtate (2).

(C) The iſthmus of Corinth unites the continent of Greece with that of Peloponneſus. The citadel of Corinth, known by the name of Acro-Corinth, was ſituated on a high mountain between thoſe two continents, which are there divided by a very narrow neck of land; ſo that this fortreſs cuts off all communication by land from the inner part of the iſthmus, and can awe, if well garriſoned, all Greece; for which reaſon Philip of Macedon uſed to call it the fetters of Greece.

This fortreſs Antigonus had taken by ſurprize, with a deſign to enſlave all Peloponneſus; but Aratus wreſted it out of his hand by an action equal, in the opinion of Plutarch, to the moſt celebrated enterprizes of the antient heroes of Greece. After he had been long meditating with himſelf by what means he might gain that important place, he was by accident furniſhed with an opportunity of accompliſhing his deſign.

One Erginus, an inhabitant of Corinth, had contracted an intimate acquaintance with a banker of Sicyon, who was a particular

(2) Plut. in Arat.

the city of Megara, from the Macedonians, uniting them both to the Achæans. The cities of Træzene, Epidaurus, and

ticular friend of Aratus. As the citadel happened one day to be the ſubject of their converſation, Erginus told his friend, that in going to viſit his brother, who was a ſoldier of the garriſon, he had obſerved a narrow track hewn in the rock, which led up to that part of the hill where the wall of the fortreſs was very low. The banker, who was very attentive to this account, aſked his friend with a ſmile, whether he and his brother were deſirous to make their fortunes. Erginus underſtood him, and promiſed to ſound his brother, by name Diocles, on that head. A few days after he returned to Sicyon, and engaged with the banker to conduct Aratus to that part of the mountain where the wall was but fifteen feet high, adding, that his brother was ready to concur with him in every other particular relating to the enterprize. Aratus promiſed on his part to reward them with ſixty talents if the affair ſhould ſucceed; but as he was not maſter of ſuch a ſum, and the borrowing it might create ſuſpicion, he pawned all his plate, together with his wife's jewels, to the banker, as a ſecurity for the promiſed reward.

Aratus having thus engaged the two brothers, and ſurmounted a great many difficulties, each of which was ſufficient to diſcourage any other but him, the troops were ordered to paſs the night under arms. He then ſelected four hundred men, furniſhed them with ſcaling-ladders, and led them to one of the gates of the city; for the citadel was on the top of a ſteep rock within the city. They ſcaled the walls without being obſerved, Erginus having, with the aſſiſtance of his brother and ſome others that were gained over by him, killed the centinels that were there upon duty. As they were marching in great ſilence through the city, they met with a ſmall guard that was going the rounds, and killed them all but one, who making his eſcape alarmed the city. But Aratus, notwithſtanding the alarm, continued his march, and arriving at the foot of the rock, on which the fortreſs ſtood, began to climb up at the head of his men. But miſſing the path that was ſtruck out of the rock, by reaſon of a thick fog which roſe from the ſea at their firſt entering the city, Aratus was not a little perplexed. The city was already alarmed, all the ſtreets, and even the ramparts, blazed with innumerable lights, and the trumpets ſounded to arms on all ſides. While he was thus perplexed, the fog all on a ſudden cleared up, and the moon, returning to ſhine with the ſame brightneſs as before, diſcovered the intricate windings of the track, which he followed at the head of a hundred of his boldeſt men, and arrived with much ado at the ſpot which had been deſcribed to him. But he found the garriſon, which was by this time

and Megalopolis, were likewiſe prevailed upon by him to join in the alliance, the tyrants making a voluntary reſignation of the authority they had uſurped over their fellow-citizens [f]. The tyrants of the Argives, of the Hermionians, and the Phliaſians, following their example, were likewiſe received into the alliance.

As theſe glorious ſucceſſes raiſed the reputation of the Achæan league, ſo they created no ſmall jealouſy in the neighbouring ſtates. But before we proceed to the wars which they were ſoon involved in by their jealous and reſtleſs neighbours, we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of their happy conſtitution. All the cities ſubject to the Achæan league

[f] Polyb. ibid. Plut. in Arato.

time alarmed, ready to receive him. Whereupon he immediately diſpatched Erginus to acquaint the body of three hundred men, which he had left behind with orders to cover his rear, with the danger he was in. While theſe were waiting at the foot of the rock drawn up in a cloſe body, Archelaus who commanded the troops of king Antigonus, appeared at the head of a conſiderable band with a deſign to mount the hill and attack Aratus in the rear. The three hundred Sicyonians at his approach concealed themſelves among the rocks; but he was no ſooner paſt than they ſtarted out, and fell upon him with ſuch reſolution, that he was ſoon put to the rout. This action was ſcarce over, when Erginus arrived, and acquainted them, that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, and in great need of immediate aſſiſtance. Upon this notice the victorious troops, conducted by Erginus, began to climb up the rock, proclaiming their approach with loud ſhouts to animate their friends, and ſtrike new terror into the enemy. The light of the moon reflecting on their arms, and their ſhouts, redoubled by the ecchoes among the rocks and hollow places in the midnight ſilence, made them appear more numerous than they really were. Whereupon the enemy retired after a faint reſiſtance from the wall, and left Aratus abſolute maſter of the citadel. In the mean time the reſt of the troops arriving from Sicyon were not only received with open arms, but aſſiſted by the Corinthians in ſeizing all the Macedonians that were in the city.

Aratus having ſecured the citadel went from thence to the city, and having aſſembled the people in the theatre, acquainted them in a long diſcourſe with the particulars of the Achæan league, and exhorted them to accede to it. They unanimouſly agreed to join in the alliance; whereupon Aratus reſtored to them the keys of their city, which till then had never been in their power ſince the time of Philip the father of Alexander (3).

(3) Plut in Arat.

league were governed by the great council or general assembly of the whole nation. To this assembly or diet each of the confederate cities had a right to send a certain number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. By this means no resolutions were taken, but what were equally advantageous to the whole confederacy, and the interests of each particular city so consulted as to leave no room for complaints. As the supreme and legislative power was lodged in the assembly, it was constantly convened twice a year, in the spring and autumn; but seldom out of these stated times, unless upon some very urgent occasion. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, &c. If any city of the league did not acquiesce to the determinations and ordinances of the diet, or refused to furnish their quotas in time of war, they were compelled to it by dint of arms. The chief magistrate of the whole league, called by the Greeks Strategos, and by the Latins Prætor, was chosen in the general assembly by the majority of votes. This employment was both a civil and military one, it being the Prætor's province to preside in the diet and command the army. They chose at first two Prætors, but it was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one; and the first who enjoyed that dignity alone was Marcus the Carian, who was succeeded by the famous Aratus. The prætor and other magistrates were appointed in the vernal assemblies, and seldom continued two years successively in the same employment. The former was vested with great power, especially in time of war; but at the same time liable to be called to an account by the general assembly, and punished without any regard to his dignity, if convicted of misdemeanor or any other crime. The demiurgi were next in power to the prætor, and therefore stiled by Polybius and Livy the supreme magistrates of the Achæans. They were ten in number, chosen by the general assembly from among the most eminent men of the whole league, for prudence, equity, and experience. It was their office to assist with their advice the prætor, who was to lay nothing before the assembly but what had been previously approved of by the major part of the demiurgi. In the prætor's absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them; and in some extraordinary cases they were even impowered to summon the general assembly out of the stated times.

Few of their laws have reached our times; however, from the writings of the antients we have collected the five following, which we find to have been religiouſly obſerved while the republic continued in a flouriſhing condition. 1. That an extraordinary aſſembly was not to be ſummoned at the requeſt of foreign embaſſadors, unleſs they firſt notified in writing to the prætor and demiurgi the ſubject of their embaſſy. 2. That no city ſubject to the league ſhould ſend any embaſſy to a foreign prince or ſtate, without the conſent and approbation of the general diet. 3. That no member of the aſſembly ſhould accept of preſents from foreign princes under any pretence whatſoever. 4. That no prince, ſtate or city ſhould be admitted into the league without the conſent of the whole alliance. 5. That the general aſſembly ſhould never ſit above three days. Theſe laws have been explained at length and illuſtrated with many uſeful obſervations by a modern writer of no mean character [e], to whom we refer the reader and reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

The Ætolians, conceiving no ſmall jealouſy at the growing power and extraordinary ſucceſs of the Achæans, began to inſtil the ſame into the neighbouring ſtates, with a view of breaking the union of thoſe cities that were already joined, and preventing others from entering into the league. The ſenſe of the benefits which they had a little before received from the friendſhip of the Achæans, during their war with Antigonus, with-held them from openly declaring war againſt their benefactors. However, they left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the Lacedæmonians, and engage their king Cleomenes in a war againſt the Achæans; wherein they ſucceeded to their wiſh; for Cleomenes at their inſtigation having built a fortreſs in the territory of the Megalopolitans called Athenæum, the Achæans interpreted that as an open rupture, and declared in a general aſſembly, that the Lacedæmonians ſhould be repu-

ted

[e] Martini Shoockii. Reſpub. Achæor. & Veient.

ted enemies [f]. Such was the beginning of the war, which was called the Cleomenic war (C).

The Cleomenic war. Year of the flood 2771. Before Chriſt 232.

THIS declaration of the Achæan confederacy was no ſooner heard at Sparta, but the Ephori commanded their troops to take the field under the conduct of Cleomenes, who, coming up with the Achæans near Pallantium, offered them battle. But Aratus declaring againſt an engagement, Ariſtomachus the Achæan general made a retreat, which drew ſevere reproaches upon Aratus, both from his own countrymen and from the enemy, whoſe army did not amount to five thouſand men in the whole; whereas that of the Achæans conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe [g]. Not long after the two armies met again, when the Achæans were defeated; but Aratus, having rallied in the flight what troops he could, marched ſtrait to Mantinea, and, before the enemy could have any ſuſpicion of his deſign, made himſelf maſter of that important place. This advantage was ſoon counter-ballanced by the loſs of another battle, wherein great numbers of the Achæans were ſlain with Lyſiades their general, while they were purſuing with two much eagerneſs and in diſorder the Lacedæmonians, who had given way and feigned a retreat. After this victory Cleomenes ad-

[f] Idem, ibid. [g] Plut. in Cleom.

(C) Plutarch (2) relates the occaſion of this war in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that Cleomenes, not being able to brook the authority of the Ephori, who engroſſed all the power to themſelves, leaving him only the empty title of king, reſolved to change the form of government; and as he was ſenſible that few would concur with him in that view, he imagined the accompliſhment of his deſign would be greatly facilitated by a war; and therefore endeavoured to embroil his city with the Achæans, who luckily for his purpoſe had given Sparta ſome occaſions of complaint; for Aratus, as our author tells us, not being able to prevail upon the Arcadians, who had eſpouſed the party of the Lacedæmonians, to abandon them and enter into the Achæan league, entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, ravaged their country, and in a word treated them as declared enemies. This opportunity Cleomenes laid hold of, and taking the field, treated the Achæans as they had done the Arcadians. According to this account the Achæans, and not the Lacedæmonians, were the aggreſſors.

(2) Plut. in Cleom.

advanced into the territories of Megalopolis, where his troops committed great devaſtations, and got a very conſiderable booty. To theſe ravages he added inſults, cauſing public games and plays to be exhibited in the ſight of the enemy, not that he had any ſatisfaction in ſuch ſhews and diverſions, but only with a view to convince the Achæans, that he entirely deſpiſed them, and was ſure of victory, having to deal with ſo contemptible a foe [h].

THE Achæans, now reduced to the laſt extremity and under apprehenſion of being enſlaved by the Lacedæmonians, eſpecially if they ſhould be joined by the Ætolians, who at that time were making great preparations for a war, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a peace upon any terms. But Aratus, dreading the conſequence of a treaty ſet on foot between his diſpirited countrymen and a victorious enemy, uſed his utmoſt efforts to divert them from it, and at the ſame time had recourſe to an expedient which no ways redounded to his honour. This was to engage Antigonus king of Macedon in this war againſt the Lacedæmonians, which opened a way to the Macedonians into Greece.

The Achæans invite Antigonus into Greece. Year of the flood 2776. Before Chriſt 227.

ARATUS knew that Antigonus had great cauſe to be diſſatisfied with his former proceedings; but he was likewiſe ſenſible, that princes have neither friends nor enemies, but meaſure amities and enmities by the rules of intereſt. However, he would not openly enter into a negotiation of this nature, being well aware, that Cleomenes and the Ætolians would oppoſe it, and that the Achæans themſelves would have reaſon to deſpair, if they ſhould ſee their general applying to their enemy. He therefore reſolved to proſecute his purpoſe with ſuch caution as to leave no room for ſuſpicion, and to carry on his meaſures ſo as to keep them undiſcovered. He was not ignorant, that, the Megalopolitans, by their neighbourhood to the Lacedæmonians, were moſt expoſed to the incurſions of the enemies, and conſequently, as they were greatly inclined to the houſe of Macedon, for the many favours they had received at the hand of Philip ſon of Amyntas, they would reſort for ſuccour to Antigonus and the Macedonians. Having therefore gained over to his ſcheme Nicophanes and Cercidas, two principal citizens of Megalopolis and well qualified for conducting the enterprize, by their means he brought

[h] Plut. ibid.

brought it ſo about, that the Megalopolitans decreed to ſend embaſſadors to the aſſembly of the Achæans, begging leave to ſollicit ſuccours from Antigonus. Nicophanes and Cercidas were themſelves ſent to the Achæans with orders to proceed to Antigonus if they approved the propoſition. The general aſſembly, having given audience to the embaſſadors, and reflecting that they were not in a condition to yield them any effectual ſuccours by reaſon of their own great ſtreights, aſſented to their propoſal, and granted them leave to purſue their orders. When they received audience of Antigonus, they touched upon the affairs of their own country in a few words, but enlarged, purſuant to the inſtructions of Aratus, on the imminent danger to which the king himſelf would be expoſed, ſhould the alliance, which was then talked of between the Ætolians and Cleomenes, take place. They repreſented to him, that, if the united forces of thoſe two ſtates ſhould gain over the Achæans the advantages they expected, the ambition of Cleomenes and the Ætolians would never be ſatisfied with the ſingle conqueſt of Peloponneſus, but would aſpire to the empire of all Greece, which they could not compaſs without firſt deſtroying the Macedonian monarchy. They therefore begged him to deliberate maturely which was the ſafeſt counſel for him to take; whether to ſuccour the Achæans in oppoſition to Cleomenes and defeat his ambitious deſigns, or, by neglecting the occaſion of gaining the friendſhip of ſo great a people, become liable at laſt to ſuſtain a war in Theſſaly for the empire of Macedon, not only with the Lacedæmodians and Ætolians, but with the Achæans themſelves. To theſe remonſtrances they added, that, if the Ætolians continued their neutrality, the Achæans would be capable of ſupporting themſelves with their own forces; but, if on the other hand the Ætolians ſhould join the enemy, they muſt then entreat him to prevent with timely ſuccours the ruin of Peloponneſus, which might be attended with fatal conſequences to himſelf. They likewiſe took care to inſinuate, that Aratus would give ſuch ſecurity for his fair proceeding and ſincere intentions as ſhould be pleaſing to both parties, and that he himſelf would take upon him to demand aſſiſtance when he ſhould think it needful.

ANTIGONUS highly approved all theſe repreſentations, and with great pleaſure laid hold of the opportunity of enga-

engaging in the affairs of Greece. He likewiſe wrote an obliging letter to the Megalopolitans, aſſuring them of his aſſiſtance whenſoever the Achæans ſhould think fit to call for it. The embaſſadors having acquainted Aratus with the good diſpoſition wherein they found Antigonus towards the Achæans, he was not a little pleaſed to find his project ſucceed ſo well. He wiſhed indeed to have had no occaſion to call in foreign aids, and did all that lay in his power to prevent it; and though neceſſity obliged him to have recourſe to that prince, yet to ſhun the blame that might redound upon the authors of ſuch meaſures, he took care they ſhould appear as concerted by the Achæans without his privity. The Megalopolitans having acquainted the Achæans with the kind reception their deputies had met with at the court of Macedon, and ſent the letter of Antigonus to be read in the general aſſembly, moſt of them were for inviting that prince to march his army into Peloponneſus without further delay. But Aratus ſtanding up made a long ſpeech, exhorting them to try firſt, whether they could ſupport themſelves with their own forces; adding, that if after all their efforts fortune ſhould declare againſt them, it would then be time enough to have recourſe to their friends. His advice was approved by the whole aſſembly, and it was then concluded, that the Achæans ſhould employ their own forces only in the proſecution of the war [i].

THE war proved very unſucceſsful for the Achæans, who, being often worſted by Cleomenes, were obliged to abandon the field and retire into their ſtrong holds. Neither were theſe able to ſtop the career of the conqueror, who in one campaign took the cities of Caphyes, Pellene, Pheneus, Phlionte, Cleonæ, Epidaurus, Hermione, and Corinth itſelf. Theſe ſucceſſes allowed the Achæans no further time to deliberate; and accordingly, Aratus, at their entreaties, diſpatched his ſon to Antigonus, inviting that prince to come with all ſpeed to their aſſiſtance, and aſſuring him that, on his arrival, Acro-Corinth ſhould be put into his hands. Antigonus immediately began his march towards Peloponneſus, at the head of twenty-thouſand foot and fourteen hundred horſe, and arriving at the iſthmus encamped juſt oppoſite to Cleomenes, who had fortified with a ditch and rampart the whole ſpace between Acro-Corinth and the Onion hills. As Antigonus did not think it adviſeable, nor even practicable, to force his way

Antigonus arrives in Greece. Year of the flood 2778. Before Chriſt 225.

[i] Polyb ubi ſupra. Plut. in Cleom. & Arat.

through, and on the other hand had not a ſufficient quantity of proviſions to ſubſiſt his army till the Achæans joined him, he was preparing to decamp, and tranſport his troops by ſea to Sicyon. But in the mean time a meſſenger arriving at the camp acquainted Aratus, who was come to meet Antigonus, that the inhabitants of Argos had revolted from Cleomenes, and were then beſieging the citadel. Whereupon Aratus, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, immediately put to ſea, and arriving at Epidaurus marched from thence to Argos, and made himſelf maſter both of the city and caſtle, after having defeated in a ſkirmiſh the partizans of Cleomenes, and killed Megiſtones who had been detached from the army to their relief [k]. This ſucceſs proved of great conſequence to the Achæans, and firſt of all gave riſe to the proſperity of the allies; for Cleomenes, hearing that Argos was taken, and being apprehenſive that the enemies would ſurround him, abandoned his lines and retired with great precipitation, firſt to Argos, and then to Mantinea. He appeared before Argos quite unexpected, and in that alarm got into the city, but could not keep it, the citadel being in the hands of Aratus, and Antigonus purſuing him cloſe with all his forces.

ANTIGONUS, having thus entered Peloponneſus without the loſs of one ſingle man, advanced to Corinth, which immediately ſurrendered, and thence to Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenos, Hærea, and Telphuſſa; all which places, terrified at the approach of the Macedonians, either voluntarily ſubmitted, or made but a faint reſiſtance. And now winter drawing near, he ſent home his troops, and went himſelf to Ægium to aſſiſt at the general aſſembly of the Achæans, where, after having acquainted them with the motives of his coming among them, he was choſen general of the confederate army, and the important caſtle of Acro-Corinth, was by a decree of the council made over to him.

Megalopolis taken and deſtroyed by Cleomenes.

IN the mean time Cleomenes, receiving intelligence that Antigonus had ſent home his army while he himſelf continued at Ægium, formed a deſign of ſurpriſing the city of Megalopolis, very conſiderable at that time, and no ways inferior in power and extent to Sparta itſelf. As the garriſon was not very ſtrong at that time, nor the guards very ſtrict in their duty, ſince Antigonus was near at hand and

[k] Plut. in Arat. & Cleom. Polyb. ubi ſupra.

and the enemy weakened with frequent loſſes, Cleomenes imagined he might eaſily get into the town in the night, provided he could gain ſome of the inhabitants over to his intereſt ; and accordingly applied himſelf to certain Meſſenians, who, having been baniſhed their country, had taken ſanctuary in Megalopolis. Being conducted by theſe, he arrived at the city by night, ſcaled the walls, and made himſelf maſter of the place without the leaſt oppoſition. Moſt of the inhabitants retired to Meſſene, whither Cleomenes ſent a herald to acquaint them, that he would reſtore them to the poſſeſſion of their city, provided they would renounce the Achæan league and join the Lacedæmonians. But they choſe rather to ſee themſelves diveſted of all that was moſt dear and valuable to them, than to violate the fidelity they had ſwore to their allies. The famous Philopœmen, whom we ſhall have frequently occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this hiſtory, contributed not a little to this generous reſolution. This refuſal highly enraged Cleomenes, who immediately gave up the town to be plundered, ſent all the ſtatues and pictures to Sparta, demoliſhed the houſes, threw down the walls, and committed ſo many outrages, that he left not ſo much as any appearance that it had ever been a peopled place [1].

Antigonus having ſent his troops, as we have already obſerved, into winter quarters in Macedonia, Cleomenes aſſembled his early in the ſpring with a deſign to put in execution a project, which in the opinion of the vulgar was the reſult of temerity and deſpair, but according to Polybius, a competent judge in matters of that nature, conducted with all imaginable prudence and ſagacity. As the Macedonians were diſperſed in their winter quarters, and Antigonus enjoying himſelf with his friends at Argos, without any other forces but a few mercenaries, Cleomenes taking the field made an irruption into the territories of Argos, laying waſte the whole country to the very gates of the city. What he propoſed in this enterprize was, to bring Antigonus to hazard an engagement, which in all probability he would have loſt ; or, if he declined it, to leſſen his reputation among the Achæans, and raiſe complaints againſt him, chiefly in the city of Argos. This project ſucceeded according to his expectation ; for the Argians, ſeeing their country ravaged and laid waſte under the king's eyes, while he continued inactive, aſſembled in

[1] Plut. & Polyb. ibidem.

a tumultuous manner at the palace gates, and with threats preſſed him either to take the field and protect his friends, or to reſign the command of their troops to thoſe who were leſs timorous than himſelf. But Antigonus was deaf to all their reproaches and remonſtrances, and, in ſpite of the many reflections that were publicly caſt upon him on that occaſion, kept within the walls of the city, and tamely beheld the enemy inſulting him at the very gates. Thus Cleomenes having frightened the enemy and inſpired his own men with new courage, returned loaded with booty to Sparta. In the beginning of the ſummer, Antigonus, being deſirous to retrieve the reputation he had undeſervedly loſt among the Achæans, took the field with an army of twenty-eight thouſand foot and twelve hundred horſe, and advanced into Laconia.

Cleomenes, not doubting but the enemy would ſoon viſit him, took care to guard all the paſſes with ſtrong detachments, and to fortify the avenues with ditches and ramparts, filling up and barricadoing the roads with large trees laid acroſs. He marched himſelf with a body of twenty thouſand men, and encamped at a certain place called Selaſia, having reaſon to ſuſpect that the enemy propoſed to paſs that way; nor was he deceived in his conjecture. This paſs was formed by two mountains, the one called Eva, the other Olympus; between theſe runs the river Ouens, along the banks of which there was a narrow way leading to Sparta. Cleomenes, having thrown up a good entrenchment at the foot of theſe mountains, poſted the auxiliaries on the eminence of mount Eva under the command of his brother Euclidas, while he himſelf encamped on mount Olympus with the Spartan troops and the mercenaries. The cavalry he drew up along the banks of the river ſuſtained by a body of mercenary foot. When Antigonus arrived, and viewed the ſituation of the ground with the fortifications and defences that Cleomenes had made, and obſerved with how much judgment he had poſted his troops, he did not think it adviſeable to attack him, but encamped at a ſmall diſtance on the banks of the Gorgulus, which covered part of his army. There he remained ſome days, the better to acquaint himſelf with the ſituation of the different poſts and the diſpoſition of the enemy. He often marched round their camp feigning to attack them, ſometimes in one place, ſometimes in another; but finding every poſt well guarded, and Cleomenes warily

warily watching his motions, he gave over all thoughts of forcing the enemies camp, and retired to his own, which was equally ſecured againſt all attempts. Both armies having ſtood thus to their defence ſome days, without being able to gain any advantage over each other, the two generals at laſt agreed on a deciſive battle.

The battle of Selaſia. Year of the flood 2780. Before Chriſt 223.

IT is not eaſy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to ſuch a reſolution; he was poſted very advantageouſly; his troops were not ſo numerous as the enemy's by one third; he was ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſion from Sparta, with which city he had a free communication. What then could make him hazard a battle, whereof the event was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius indeed ſeems to inſinuate the cauſe of this proceeding; for he tells us [m], that Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in this war, acquainted him, that he was not in a condition to make good his engagement, exhorting him at the ſame time to come to an accommodation with Antigonus and the Achæans. As he was therefore incapable of bearing the whole charge of the war, and had no proſpect of any ſupplies from foreign ſtates, we may ſuppoſe that the deſperate poſture of his affairs forced him to venture a battle.

BOTH armies being drawn up and the ſignals given, Antigonus detached a body of Illyrians againſt Euclidas, who was poſted on mount Eva; but while they were aſcending the hill ſome light-armed troops of the enemy advancing charged them in flank, while Euclidas, who was poſted on the top of the hill, preſſed them in front, and a body of mercenaries warmly attacked their rear. Philopœmen, who then ſerved in the army as a volunteer, obſerving what danger the Illyrians were in, acquainted the commanders with it; but, they not hearkening to him, as he was but very young and had not yet bore any command in the army, without any orders from the generals, he attacked, with a ſmall body of Megalopolitans his countrymen, the enemies horſe, and obliged them to give ground. This forced the mercenaries, who had fallen on the Illyrians rear, to haſten to the relief of the cavalry; for Cleomenes had poſted them at firſt near the cavalry on purpoſe to ſupport and cover them. By this means the Illyrians being diſengaged, reſolutely marched up the hill againſt Euclidas, who inſtead of moving towards the enemy

[m] Polyb. lib. ii.

my, and thereby improving the advantage of the ſhock which the deſcent of the hill gave him, remained in the place where he was firſt poſted. The Illyrians, having gained the top of the hill without any oppoſition, now advanced againſt Euclidas on even ground, and attacked him with ſuch reſolution, that he was obliged to abandon the top of the hill and retire to the rocks and precipices, where he was ſoon defeated and moſt of his men cut in pieces. This ſucceſs againſt Euclidas was entirely owing to Philopœmen, as Antigonus himſelf acknowledged, for, after the battle, having aſked the officer that engaged the enemies horſe how he came to fall upon them before the ſignal, and the officer excuſing himſelf by ſaying, that a young man of Megalopolis had done it without his direction, the king replied, that the young man had behaved like an experienced commander and gained the victory, but that he had acted like a raw ſoldier [n].

DURING this variety of action the cavalry of both armies had likewiſe engaged on the plain by the river. The Achæans behaved with uncommon bravery, being ſenſible, that this battle would decide their liberties. Philopœmen diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt, for his horſe being killed under him, he afterwards fought among the foot, killing with his own hand great numbers of the enemies, till he was with a javelin ſtruck through both thighs at one ſtroke.

BUT the ſharpeſt encounter was on mount Olympus, where the two kings engaged with their light-armed troops and mercenaries, conſiſting of about five thouſand on each ſide. As they fought under the eye of their princes, every man ſtrove to ſignalize himſelf and perform ſomething worthy of ſuch ſpectators. It was a long time before victory inclined to either ſide; but at laſt Cleomenes, receiving notice that his brother was defeated on the hill, and that his cavalry began to give ground on the plain, being apprehenſive that the enemy would pour in upon him from all quarters, thought it adviſeable to level all the intrenchments before his camp, and order his troops to march out in front. The trumpets therefore having ſounded the ſignal for the light-armed troops to retire, the phalanxes advanced on both ſides with equal animoſity; but the Lacedæmonian phalanx, not being able to ſuſtain the ſhock of the

Cleomenes defeated.

[n] Idem, ibid.

the double Macedonian phalanx, gave ground, and ſoon fell into the utmoſt confuſion. The overthrow then became general; the Lacedæmonians were every where cut in pieces, and thoſe who found means to make their eſcape fled from the field of battle in the greateſt diſorder. Cleomenes with a ſmall party of horſe retreated to Sparta, whence he departed the night following to Gythium, where he embarked on a veſſel, that attended him there according to his directions, and ſailed to Alexandria, accompanied by a ſmall number only of his intimate friends[o]. Plutarch aſſures us, that moſt of the foreign troops in both armies were ſlain in this engagement, and that of five thouſand Lacedæmonians two hundred only outlived that action.

CLEOMENES had ſcarce ſet ſail when Antigonus arrived at Sparta, and made himſelf maſter of it without reſiſtance; for Cleomenes had adviſed the citizens to receive Antigonus, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that, whatever might be his own condition, he would always promote the welfare of his country. The conqueror treated the inhabitants in a very friendly manner, declaring to them, that he had not engaged in a war againſt the Spartans, but againſt Cleomenes, whoſe flight had diſarmed his reſentment. He added, that nothing could render his memory ſo glorious in future ages, as to have it ſaid, that Sparta had been preſerved by the prince, who alone had the good fortune to conquer it. Having in this friendly manner addreſſed the citizens, he declared them free and reſtored them to the full enjoyment of their antient privileges. He ſhewed an inclination to continue ſome time among them, but was obliged to leave the city three days after he had entered it. His departure was occaſioned by the intelligence he received that the Illyrians had invaded Macedonia, and were committing there dreadful ravages. If Cleomenes had reſpited giving battle three days only, or had fortified himſelf in Sparta and held out for ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, he would have preſerved his dominions. From Sparta Antigonus marched to Tegæa, which city he likewiſe declared free, and from thence to Argos, where the general aſſembly of the Achæan confederacy was then ſitting. There he was thanked by the deputies of each city of the Achæan league, and by a decree of the council declared the

[o] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Cleom.

the protector of Achaia. From Argos he proceeded by long journies to Macedon, where he gained a ſignal victory over the Illyrians; but on that occaſion ſtraining his voice to animate his men, he burſt a vein, and having voided a great quantity of blood, he fell into an ill ſtate of health, which ſoon after took him out of the world [p]. Thus ended the Cleomenic war, leaving all Greece in a profound tranquility.

The war of the confederates.

BUT the Ætolians were ſoon weary of peace, which obliged them to live honeſtly and abſtain from plunder and rapine which they uſed to ſubſiſt on, leading much the ſame life on land as pirates do at ſea; they had no ſenſe of friendſhip or alliance, accounting all thoſe as enemies whom they could prey upon, and believing they had a right to any thing they could take away. However, during the life of Antigonus, the fear they were under leſt he ſhould fall upon them kept them in awe. But he was no ſooner dead, and Philip the ſon of Demetrius, who was then very young, placed on the throne, than they returned to their old manner of life, entering the territories of the Meſſenians, and carrying off their cattle and whatever elſe they could meet with. Complaints were made to their chief magiſtrates of ſuch proceedings; but they ſeemed rather inclined to encourage than reſtrain ſuch robberies, being ſharers in the booty. The chief author of all theſe diſorders was one Dorimachus of Trichonia, a turbulent young man, and, as our author calls him [q], every way an Ætolian, who being ſent to Phigalia, a city in Peloponneſus, but of the Ætolian confederacy, to be a ſpie upon the Achæans, encouraged the looſe rable of that place to plunder their neighbours, with a view of enriching himſelf with their ſpoils. To him therefore chiefly the Meſſenians had recourſe, demanding reparation for the damages they had ſuffered, and begging he would not give countenance to the diſturbers of the public tranquillity. Dorimachus told their deputies, that he would come himſelf to Meſſene, and there hear their complaints and ſee all their grievances redreſſed. He went to Meſſene accordingly, but application being made to him by the chief ſufferers, he diſmiſſed them with reproachful language and menaces; nay, while he ſtill remained in the city, a band of Ætolian robbers from Phigalia attacked in the night a certain country-houſe called Chyron, killed all thoſe who made reſiſtance, bound the

[p] Polyb. lib. ii. [q] Polyb. lib. iv.

the reſt, and carried them off together with cattle and furniture. Hereupon the Meſſenians, having cited Dorimachus to appear before their aſſembly, arreſted him on his entering the council, and kept him in priſon, till he promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that reparation ſhould be made for all the injuries they had ſuffered and the authors of the late ſlaughter put into their hands. But he was no ſooner returned to his own country, than he prevailed upon the Ætolians to revenge the treatment he had met with at Meſſene, by declaring war againſt the Meſſenians; whch being proclaimed, the Ætolian pirates began to infeſt the neighbouring ſeas, taking all the ſhips they met with; they even made prize of a ſhip belonging to the king of Macedon, and carrying her to Cythera ſold there both the ſhip and her company. In ſhort, they plundered all the coaſt of Epirus, made an attempt on Thyrea a city of Acarnania, and, conveying ſome troops privately into Peloponneſus, ſurpriſed and kept poſſeſſion of a ſtrong hold called Clarium in the Megalopolitan territory, making uſe of it to lodge and ſecure their plunder. And now, having a place of retreat in the very heart of Peloponneſus, they began their march towards Meſſene, plundering the cities of Patræ and Pharæ, which were of the Achæan alliance, laying waſte all the countries through which they paſſed, till they came to Phigalia, which they made their place of arms, making from thence frequent inroads on the lands of the Meſſenians [r].

The Achæans in the mean time aſſembling according to the cuſtom at Ægium, the complaints of the Patræans and Pharæans were heard, and the deputies of the Meſſenians ſent to implore the aſſiſtance of the Achæans againſt the common enemy. After the aſſembly had deliberated on theſe matters, it was agreed, that the ſtate had been affronted by this inſolent proceeding of the Ætolians, who had preſumed to enter Achaia in a hoſtile manner, contrary to the treary of peace. Whereupon, juſtly provoked by theſe infractions, they reſolved to ſend ſuccours to the Meſſenians, and that, as ſoon as the prætor ſhould have raiſed them, they would then proceed further to execute what ſhould be thought expedient by the aſſembly. Timoxenus, who was then prætor of the Achæans, was not at all pleaſed with the decree of the aſſembly; for, his authority

[r] Polyb. lib. iv.

thority not being yet expired, he had no mind to head the army, which duty was annexed to his office, as having a very mean opinion of the Achæan ſoldiery. But Aratus, provoked at the indignities they had ſuffered by the audacious Ætolians, loſt no time in putting the Achæans under arms, being determined to come ſpeedily to a battle with the enemy. Five days before he entered on his charge, he diſpatched orders to all the towns and cities, appointing them a day, when all their young men fit for the ſervice ſhould aſſemble at Megalopolis. All the Achæan youth being drawn together purſuant to his orders at the place of rendezvous, he ſent a meſſenger to the Ætolians, requiring them to depart the territories of Meſſenia, and not to march into Achaia on peril of being treated as enemies. The Ætolians, not being at that time in a condition to make head againſt the army of the Achæans, complied with his demand. Whereupon Aratus diſmiſſed the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, who had joined him, marching only with three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy and prevent them from plundering the country. As he drew near them he obſerved, that they were marching off with an immenſe booty, which ſo provoked him, that he could not forbear attacking them under all the diſadvantages imaginable. The diſpute was long and obſtinate, but at laſt the Achæans, having the diſadvantage of the ground and being overpowered with numbers, were obliged to retire. The Ætolians purſued them cloſe with great ſhouts and acclamations, and made ſuch a ſlaughter of the fugitives, that they muſt have all been cut off, had they not had at hand the ſafe retreats of Orchomenus and Caphya. The Megalapolitans, who had drawn all their forces together in order to join Aratus, arrived the day after the battle, and proved of no other uſe than to bury thoſe whom they hoped to have relieved. And now the Ætolians, having gained a complete victory, contrary to their expectation, marched without fear or danger quite croſs the Peloponneſus, made an unſucceſsful attempt on Pellene, plundered the territory of Sicyon, and encamped on the iſthmus.

Battle of Caphya loſt by Aratus. Year of the flood 2782. Before Chriſt 221.

In the mean time, the Achæans having called their general aſſembly, complaints were made againſt Aratus by all the allies, as the cauſe of the loſs and diſhonour which they had ſuſtained. And indeed there was no diſpute, but Aratus had greatly erred in having, we may

Aratus accuſed before the aſſembly of the Achæans.

ſay,

ſay, uſurped the magiſtracy, by taking it upon him before he was regularly elected into his charge; and he could not deny but what he had undertaken thereupon had ſucceeded very ill. However, he endeavoured to prove, that the loſs of the battle was not his fault; adding, that, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he aſked pardon, and hoped, that in regard of his paſt ſervices they would not cenſure him with more rigour than humanity. His ſubmiſſion on this occaſion changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accuſers, who, privately withdrawing, left Aratus in greater eſteem among all ranks of people than he had ever been to that time: the aſſembly gave themſelves entirely up to his counſel and conduct, and re-inſtated him in the command of the allied army. However, the remembrance of his defeat had thrown a great damp on his courage; ſo that he behaved as a prudent civil magiſtrate, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to diſtreſs them, he made no advantage of them, but ſuffered their parties to lay waſte almoſt the whole country [s] (D).

THE Achæans were therefore forced to addreſs Macedonia again, and call in Philip, in hopes that the affection he bore to Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to ſend them ſpeedy ſuccours. For Antigonus on his death-bed had above all things entreated Philip to join with Aratus, and follow his counſel in all things relating to Greece; he had alſo ſent him when very young into Peloponneſus, to learn the art of government under the eye of ſo great a ſtateſman. Philip, having

[s] Polyb. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Arat.

(D) Aratus was accuſed in the aſſembly, firſt, of having taken the command upon him before he was duly elected: ſecondly, he was blamed for having diſmiſſed the Achæan troops, while the Ætolians were ſtill in the heart of Peloponneſus, notwithſtanding he had before been well aſſured, that they did all they could to engage Peloponneſus in a war. The third article againſt him was, his venturing to join battle with ſo few troops, when he might have made with great eaſe a ſafe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The laſt and heavieſt charge againſt him was, that, after he had reſolved to give the enemy battle, he did not make one ſoldier-like ſtep in the whole conduct of the action.

having given audience to the Achæan deputies, and underſtood by their ſpeech the injuries they had ſuffered from the Ætolians, contrary to the articles of peace agreed on in the reign of Antigonus, promiſed to aſſiſt them with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom; and accordingly ſoon after ſet out for Greece, and arrived at Corinth. Upon his arrival the embaſſadors of the confederates, who were already met at Corinth, began to concert with him what meaſures they ſhould take with relation to the Ætolians. Complaints were made to the king by almoſt every city in Peloponneſus againſt them, and war unanimouſly declared both by the king and the confederates. It was moreover enacted by the aſſembly, with the concurrence and approbation of Philip, that all thoſe who had been ſufferers by the Ætolians, ſince the death of Demetrius father to Philip, ſhould be received into the confederacy, and that if any city or ſtate had been awed into an alliance with the Ætolians, and paid them tribute, they ſhould be forthwith ſet at liberty, the ſecurity of their reſpective governments committed to their own hands, and all garriſons withdrawn. This decree was ſent to all the confederate towns, to the end, that, it being every where received and ratified by the ſuffrages of the people, they might jointly in their different ſtates proclaim war againſt the common enemy. Which was done accordingly, and the war from thence called the confederate war [t].

The Ætolians on the other ſide prepared for war, and choſe for their prætor one Scopas, who had been the chief author of all the violences they had committed. Philip, having concerted with the Achæans the operations of the enſuing campaign, marched his army back into Macedon, where he employed all the winter in making the requiſite military preparations. He won over Scerdilaidas to the Achæan league. He was a petty king of Illyria, and had engaged in an alliance with the Ætolians, but was at that time highly incenſed againſt them for refuſing to give him, according to the articles agreed upon between them, ſhare of the ſpoils which had been got at the taking of Cynætha. This breach of articles ſo diſguſted him, that he was eaſily prevailed upon by Philip to enter into the common alliance, and furniſh a fleet of thirty ſhips, on the

[t] Polyb. ibid p. 294. 299.

the terms of being paid yearly the ſum of twenty talents [u]. The Achæans likewiſe ſent to invite all their allies to join them in the confederacy. The Acarnanians without any heſitation declared war againſt the Ætolians, though they were moſt expoſed to the enemy's inſults, as lying neareſt the Ætolian territories, and no-ways in a condition to defend themſelves. Our author beſtows the higheſt encomiums on this people, telling us, that there is no nation among the Greeks with which friendſhip may be more ſafely contracted, there being none that profeſs more regard to public or private faith, or will venture further for the love of liberty: that, both in public and private treaties, they prefer honour to all other conſiderations, and that, however weak, they have often in defence of their reputation engaged in the greateſt dangers [w]. The Epirots refuſed to declare war, till Philip ſhould firſt proclaim it. The Meſſenians, for whoſe ſake the war was undertaken, declared that they would not engage in it, unleſs Phigalia, which commanded their frontiers, were firſt drawn off from the Ætolian league. The Lacedæmonians had declared at firſt for the Achæans, but, the contrary faction prevailing, they joined the Ætolians. Thus all things falling out to the wiſh of the Ætolians, they entered on the war with great hopes of ſucceſs, while the Achæans had but a melancholy proſpect of their affairs. For Philip, on whom chiefly they relied, was yet but forming his army; the Epirots were ſlow in their preparations, and the Meſſenians continued neuter, while the Ætolians, aſſiſted by the Eleans and Lacedæmonians, attacked them on all ſides [x] and gained very conſiderable advantages. Embaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to Philip, who, hearing the danger his allies were in, marched out to their relief with fifteen thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe, and croſſing Theſſaly arrived in Epirus. Here he was prevailed upon by the Epirots to lay ſiege to Ambracia, which took him up forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare againſt his coming; whereas, if he had led his army directly into Ætolia, he would in all likelihood have at once put an end to the war. While Philip was employed at Am-

[u] Idem, ibid. p. 305, 306. [w] Idem, ibid. p. 330.
[x] Idem, ibid. p. 334.

Ambracia, Scopas, at the head of a numerous body of Ætolians, took his march through Theſſaly, and entering Macedonia ravaged the country without the leaſt oppoſition, returning home in a ſhort time with an immenſe booty. However, this did not hinder Philip from purſuing the ſiege of Ambracia, and, after the ſurrender of that city, entering Ætolia and ſeizing on a great many important places; he would have ſoon reduced all Ætolia, had he not been obliged to repair to the relief of his own country, which the Dardanians were upon the point of invading. At his departure he aſſured the embaſſadors of the Achæans, that as ſoon as he ſhould be able to compoſe his affairs at home, he would return into Greece and aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of his power. His unexpected arrival ſo terrified the Dardanians, that they diſmiſſed their army, after they had got near the frontiers of Macedonia, and retired home. Whereupon Philip returning to Theſſaly ſpent there the remaining part of the ſummer in the city of Lariſſa [y].

In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had juſt before appointed their prætor, drawing together their troops led them into the upper Epirus, laying waſte the whole country, not ſo much in proſpect of profit to himſelf, as out of malice to the Epirots. He did not even ſpare the temple of Dodona, but laid it in aſhes carrying home all the ornaments and rich furniture of that ſtately edifice. Philip having notice of theſe ravages, though it was now the depth of winter, left Lariſſa, and taking with him three thouſand Chalcaſpides, ſo called from their carrying brazen ſhields, two thouſand buckler-men, three hundred Candiots, and about four hundred horſe, marched through Theſſaly and Eubæa to Corinth, where he arrived without any one's having the leaſt notice of his march. On his arrival he ſent for Aratus, and diſpatched letters to his ſon, who bore the ſame name, and was that year prætor and commander in chief of the Achæan forces, requiring him to aſſemble the troops as ſoon as poſſible, and appoint a place of rendezvous. Caphya was the place agreed on; whither while Philip was marching, he met with a detachment of two thouſand Eleans, who, under the command of Euripidas, were advancing to plunder the territory of Sicyon, and having attacked them unexpectedly, for they were quite ignorant of Philip's return, he took about twelve

[y] Polyb. ibid.

twelve hundred of them, and cut the reſt in pieces. Three days after he arrived at Caphya, where he halted two days to refreſh his troops, and then together with Aratus the younger, who had there drawn together ten thouſand Achæans, he advanced to Pſophis, with a deſign to beſiege it. This was a bold attempt, for the city was accounted impregnable, both on account of its natural ſituation, and the many fortifications which had been added to it (E), and beſides was furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon commanded by Euripidas, who had eſcaped from the late defeat. Philip encamped on an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the town, and, after viewing the fortifications and ſituation of the place, was a long time doubtful whether he ſhould attempt it or not; but at length, reflecting on the great importance of ſuch a fortreſs, he reſolved at all adventures to begin the ſiege. Having therefore ordered his troops to refreſh themſelves, and be in a readineſs under their arms by break of day, he commanded them to march down and paſs the bridge over the Erymanthus; which they did without oppoſition, the garriſon not ſuſpecting they would venture on ſuch a dangerous enterprize. Having croſſed the river they approached the town, and lodged themſelves at the very foot of the wall. This ſtruck Euripidas and the garriſon with great terror; for they never imagined, that the enemy would be ſo bold as to make an eſſay of their ſtrength againſt a place ſo well fortified and provided, or to undertake a long ſiege, by reaſon of the winter and bad weather. What they chiefly apprehended was, that Philip might become maſter of the place by intelligence. But when theſe fears were over, there being none in the town ſo much as inclined to the king's party, they betook themſelves to the defence of the works, the greateſt part of the Ætolians mounting the walls, while the Elean mercenaries

Pſophis taken by the confederates.

(E) Pſophis was the moſt antient city of Arcadia, ſituated in the very heart of Peloponneſus, and on the weſt borders of Arcadia towards the frontiers of Achaia. It was ſurrounded on the weſt ſide by a rapid ſtream, which during the winter was nowhere fordable; on the eaſt by the Erymanthus, a great and violent river; on the ſouth by a torrent which emptied itſelf into the Erymanthus; on the north it was defended by an eminence very ſtrong by nature and greatly improved by art, which ſerved for a citadel; and beſides, the walls and works about the town were very conſiderable, both for their height and thickneſs.

made a ſally by a gate in the upper part of the town in hopes of ſurpriſing the enemy on that ſide. In the mean time the king, having appointed three ſeveral attacks to be made, ordered ladders to be raiſed by men deſtined for that particular ſervice againſt each place, with a ſtrong guard of Macedonians to ſupport them; then commanding the ſignal to be given, they advanced to the aſſault on all quarters of the town; the garriſon for ſome time made a brave reſiſtance, overturning many of their ladders, but their darts beginning to fail them, and the Macedonians bravely maintaining the attack, notwithſtanding the oppoſition they met with, they deſerted at length their poſts, and betook themſelves to flight to the citadel, leaving the Macedonians poſſeſſed of the walls. At the ſame time the Candiots, who had engaged the party that had made the ſally, beat them back, and in the purſuit entered pell-mell with them into the town; ſo that it was taken in all quarters at once. The inhabitants with their wives aud children took ſanctuary in the citadel, as did Euripidas and ſuch as had time to provide for their ſafety [z]. Euripidas, foreſeeing what muſt inevitably befal him, capitulated with Philip and yielded up the citadel, after having obtained indemnity for all that were retired thither, both towns-men and ſtrangers. The king being obliged by the bad weather to take up his abode here for ſome days, he aſſembled all the Achæans that were with him, and after ſhewing them of what importance the city of Pſophis was to them in the war they had on their hands, generouſly gave it up to their deputies, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would let no occaſion paſs of ſhewing them the ſtrongeſt proofs of his affection to their nation and zeal for their intereſt.

FROM Pſophis the king led his army to Laſion, which he found abandoned both by the Elean garriſon and the inhabitants. This town likewiſe he delivered up to the Achæans, as he did the city of Stratus to the Telphuſſians, whom the Eleans had driven out. From Stratus he continued his march to Olympia, where after he had allowed his troops three days reſt, he entered the territories of the Eleans, ſending detachments abroad to plunder and lay waſte the country, while he encamped with the main body of the army in the neighbourhood of Artemiſium. This territory had been formerly accounted ſacred in regard

[z] Polyb. ibid. p. 336.

gard of the Olympic games, which were ſolemnized there every fourth year; and all the nations of Greece had agreed never to turn their arms againſt it. But the Eleans had forfeited this privilege by engaging in the wars of Greece, and adhering to one party againſt another. As the territory of the Eleans was the beſt peopled and the moſt fruitful of all Peloponneſus, and the inhabitants ſo fond of a country life that they could never be prevailed upon to inhabit their towns, the allied army found here ſo great a booty that they could ſcarce carry it off, the ſoldiers being over-loaded with the rich moveables of their country-houſes, beſides the many priſoners and numerous herds of cattle, which greatly embaraſſed them in their march. Philip therefore found it neceſſary to retire out of the Elean territory and re-encamp at Olympia, taking on his march the fortreſs of Thaleme, whither many of the Eleans had conveyed their moſt valuable effects [a].

Diſturbances raiſed by Apelles.

WHILE Philip was thus employing his arms in defence of the Achæan liberties, one of his courtiers formed a project of reducing them to a ſtate of ſlavery. Among the many tutors and governors left by Antigonus to king Philip, who came a child to the crown, Apelles held the chief rank, and had preſerved a powerful influence over the young prince. This miniſter took it into his head to reduce the Achæans to the ſame condition in which the Theſſalians were at that time; that is, to ſubject them to the caprice of the miniſters of Macedon, leaving them only the bare name of liberty, which was the caſe of the Theſſalians. To compaſs this deſign, his firſt eſſay was on the patience of the Achæan ſoldiery, whom the Macedonians by his orders often diſlodged, taking poſſeſſion of their quarters, when they found them better provided than themſelves, and depriving them of their plunder; when they complained of this hard uſage he cauſed them to be put under arreſt, and ſeverely puniſhed by the common executioner, imagining, that by this ſort of uſage he ſhould be able by degrees to bring the Achæans to bear any burden, the king ſhould think fit to lay upon them. But Aratus complaining to the king of this injurious treatment and imparting to him the project of Apelles, that prince aſſured him, that care ſhould be taken for the future to prevent any ſuch injuries. And accordingly he ordered Apelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans without

[a] Idem, ibid.

the concurrence of their prætor or chief officer. The Achæans, over-joyed at the favour the king ſhewed them and the orders he had given for their peace and ſecurity, were ever beſtowing the higheſt encomiums on his equity and other exalted qualities. And indeed, if our author is to be credited, he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe virtues which can endear a king to his people; ſuch as a lively genius, an uncommon underſtanding, a happy memory, an agreeable utterance, an unaffected grace in all his actions, and a beautiful aſpect heightened by a majeſtic air, which beſpoke the greatneſs of his mind; but his brighteſt virtues were the ſweetneſs of his temper, his affability, and a great deſire to pleaſe and content all who lived under his government [b]. How he forfeited this great character our author gives him, and from a glorious king became an inhuman tyrant, we refer to a more proper place.

THE king, having thus ſettled matters between the Macedonians and Achæans, decamped from Olympia, and, having cauſed a bridge to be laid over the Alpheus, entered the territory of the Triphalians (F), reduced the city of Aliphera (G), and in a few days brought all that country under ſubjection. The rapidity of his conqueſts ſtruck ſuch terror into all the neighbouring ſtates, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted, and the reſt, after a faint reſiſtance

[b] Polyb. ubi ſupra, p. 338, 339.

(F) This country, which took its name from an Arcadian youth, lies on the ſea-coaſt of Peloponneſus between the Eleans and Meſſenians, on the north-weſt ſkirts of Achaia. Its towns were Sancticum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typanæa, Pyrgus, Æpium, Bolax, Styllagium, and Phryxa. All theſe places the Eleans had lately reduced to their obedience, together with Aliphera, a town of Arcadia, and Megalopolis itſelf, a city at that time of great note (3).

(G) Aliphera was ſeated on the top of a high and ſteep hill, which was defended by a ſtrong fortreſs. In this fortreſs was to be ſeen a brazen ſtatue of Minerva, famous for its ſize and the excellence of the workmanſhip. The inhabitants themſelves, as our author tells us, could give no clear account why it was placed there, nor at whoſe charges. It was the work of Hecabodorus and Soſtratus, and generally eſteemed the moſt beautiful and finiſhed piece they ever performed (4).

(3) Polyb. lib. ii. p. 339. 343. (4) Idem, ibid. p. 343.

ſiſtance, were forced to receive the yoke. Having thus greatly weakened the Ætolian confederacy, he returned loaded with ſpoils and glory to Argos, where he paſſed the remainder of the winter [c].

Apelles endeavours to put Aratus in diſgrace with the king.

Apelles had not yet ſo given over his project as to be without hopes of bringing by degrees the Achæans to a ſervile ſubjection. But he well knew, that both the Aratus's, father and ſon, withſtood his deſign, and that the king held them in great eſteem, eſpecially the father, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He therefore reſolved to attack them both, and by fraud and addreſs put them, if poſſible, in diſgrace with the king. With this view he ſent for all thoſe who were of the oppoſite faction among the Achæans and enemies to Aratus, and having inſtructed himſelf in their ſeveral intereſts and characters, he employed all his arts to engage them in his friendſhip, acting in their favour with the king, whom he endeavoured to perſuade, that if he continued to treat Aratus with ſo much deference, he could never hope to gain any thing on the Achæans further than was ſtipulated by the articles of confederacy. But if he would be pleaſed to countenance thoſe he ſhould recommend, he might ſoon compaſs whatever he deſired, and diſpoſe of all matters in Peloponneſus at his pleaſure. The new friends enforced theſe reflections and improved on the arguments of Apelles. As the time of electing a new prætor was drawing near, he prevailed with the king to be preſent at the Achæan aſſembly, and to employ all his intereſt in favour of one Eperatus, a declared enemy to Aratus, who was accordingly elected in preference to Timozenus, whom Aratus had ſet up. Thus Philip, notwithſtanding his excellent parts, became the tool of his prime miniſter; what then can be expected from a weak prince that devotes himſelf to the will of a crafty intriguing Apelles? And now Apelles began to think that he had advanced far in his enterprize, having obtained an Achæan prætor of his faction. He therefore renewed his attempts, being determined totally to deſtroy the intereſt of Aratus with the king. An incident which happened at that time armed him with new calumnies. Amphidamus, chief of the Eleans, who had been taken priſoner, perſuaded the king that it would be no difficult matter to procure him the friendſhip of his countrymen, and that

[c] Idem, p. 343.

he could easily make them covet his alliance. Hereupon the king discharged him without ransom, empowering him to assure the Eleans, that, on condition of their entering into an alliance with him, he would suffer them to live in the entire enjoyment of all their privileges, and exempt them both from garrisons and tribute. But the Eleans would not listen to any conditions how advantageous soever, declaring, that no consideration should be capable of inducing them to abandon their antient allies. This so unreasonable a refusal Apelles ascribed to the ill services done clandestinely by Aratus, telling the king, that he had kept Amphidamus from enforcing, as he had engaged to do, his offers to the inhabitants of Elis, and that, on Amphidamus's departure from Olympia towards Elis, he had conferred with him and made him change his mind, being by him persuaded that it would be no-ways for the interest of Peloponnesus that Philip should acquire any power over the Eleans. The king immediately sent for Aratus, and insisted upon Apelles's charging him to his face with what he had brought against him in private. This Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance as might have disconcerted innocence itself. He even added, that since the king had discovered his insincerity, by which he had rendered himself so unworthy of his kindness and good offices, the whole matter should be referred to the general assembly of the Achæans, and the king in the mean time return with his army into Macedon. This was what he wanted, not doubting, but he should get him condemned there by the powerful influence of his authority. Aratus beseeched the king not to give credit over-hastily to what he heard, shewing, that it was a piece of justice owing by a king, more than by any other man, to a person accused, to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of impeachment, and till then suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce those who were witnesses to the conference whereof he had been accused, and likewise the person who had given Apelles the information, and that in short nothing ought to be omitted whereby the king might arrive at the certain truth of the matter, before he discovered any thing to the assembly. The king thought Aratus's request very just and reasonable, and engaged his royal word that he should be gratified in it. Not long after Amphidamus, being suspected by the Eleans

ans to favour the king's party, was obliged to fly his country and retire to Dymas, whither the king was come to ſettle ſome affairs. Aratus laid hold of this opportunity, and begged the king, that he himſelf would examine Amphidamus, ſince the ſecret was ſaid to have been imparted to him. He complied with his requeſt, and upon a ſtrict examination found that there was not the leaſt grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, and reſtored to the king's favour and confidence [d].

As Philip began to want both money and proviſions for his army, he prevailed upon the Achæan magiſtrates, by means of Aratus, to convene a general aſſembly at Sicyon; where, on the report he made of the ſtate of his exchequer and of the urgent want he was in of money to maintain his forces, it was decreed, that, the inſtant his troops ſhould ſet out on their march, fifty talents ſhould be advanced to the king with ten thouſand meaſures of wheat; and that afterwards, ſo long as he ſhould carry on the war in perſon in Peloponneſus, he ſhould receive fifteen talents a month. This renewed his eſteem for Aratus, to whom he was indebted for ſo large a ſupply, as he himſelf acknowledged, in a private conference which he had both with the father and the ſon after the council was diſmiſſed. On this occaſion he imputed all that had paſſed to the artifices of Apelles, begging them to forget their wrongs, and continue to him their affection in the ſame degree as heretofore, ſince he conſidered them now more than ever [e].

And now the armies beginning to move from their winter quarters, it was reſolved to proſecute the war likewiſe by ſea, in order to divide the enemies forces, and be able to carry their arms with more eaſe whitherſoever they ſhould judge it moſt expedient, for they had to do at once with the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans. Purſuant to this reſolution the king ordered the fleet, both his own and the Achæan ſhips, to rendezvous at the port of Lechæum, where he commanded the Macedonian phalanx to be inſtructed in the uſe of the oar.

While Philip was thus employed in training up his Macedonians for naval expeditions, Apelles, who could not brook the diminution of his credit with the king, nor ſuffer that the counſels of Aratus ſhould be followed and not his, took ſecret meaſures to defeat all the king's deſigns. He agreed with Leontius and Megaleas, two chief

Treaſonable practices of Apelles.

[d] Idem, ibid. p. 344. 349. [e] Idem, l. v. p. 350.

chief officers who were to act in the army, that they should secretly thwart and obstruct all his measures, while he, making his abode at Chalchis, should take care to shorten and retard his supplies, so that he should be obliged for want of money and provisions, to pass the whole summer in a state of inactivity. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign, and to force him by the ill posture of his affairs to throw himself into his arms. With this prospect he acted his own part so well, that, by stopping the convoys of money and provisions that were sending to the king, he reduced him to such straights, that he was obliged to pawn all his plate to supply his wants.

PHILIP, thinking his Macedonians now sufficiently instructed in the use of the oar, embarked with six thousand of them and twelve hundred mercenaries, steering his course towards Patræ, where he arrived the next day. From Patræ he dispatched messengers to the Epirots, Messenians, Acarnanians, and Scardilaidas, requiring them to hasten with their ships and join him at Cephalenia. He then left Patræ, and came to Paleis a strong city in the island of Cephalenia.

Paleis besieged.

Here, finding plenty of corn on the ground to maintain his army, he disembarqued and set down before the place, drawing his vessels ashore and securing them with a good ditch and palliſadoe. He had appointed the confederates to meet him at this place, and was mighty desirous to become master of it before their arrival. It was of great use to the Ætolians, who from thence made all their descents into Peloponnesus and plundered the coasts of Epirus and Acarnania. Philip therefore, having viewed the situation of the town, caused the military engines to be planted before it, ordering his Macedonians to undermine the walls. They went chearfully to work, and in a very short time undermined great part of the wall, propping and supporting it with great wooden stakes. The king then summoned the town to surrender, which the garrison refusing to do, fire was set to the posts that sustained the walls, and a breach made six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was ordered to mount the breach, and enter the town over the ruins of the wall.

Treachery of Leontius.

But he, mindful of his agreement with Apelles, having corrupted some of the chief officers that served under him, attacked the enemy so faintly, that he was repulsed with great loss, when he had the fairest opportunity that could be wished for of taking the town. This obliged the king to raise the siege, though he was joined by the Epirots, Acarnanians,

nanians, Meſſenians, and by fifteen veſſels ſent him by Scardilaidas [f].

While Philip was thus employed at the ſiege of Paleis, Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian marched at the head of a numerous army to the territories of Meſſenia, and Dorimachus the Ætolian with a ſtrong detachment into Theſſaly, both with the ſame deſign of obliging the king by this double diverſion to break up the ſiege. Whereupon embaſſadors were diſpatched to him from the Acarnanians and Meſſenians, the former adviſing him to make an inroad into Ætolia, and thereby oblige Dorimachus to return to the defence of his own country; and the latter entreating him to ſail directly to Meſſenia, where he might eaſily ſurprize Lycurgus, who was not under any apprehenſion of being attacked. Leontius ſtrongly ſeconded this advice, foreſeeing, that if the king followed it he would be obliged to ſpend the whole ſummer there, while the Ætolians would be at liberty to put all to fire and ſword in Theſſaly and Epirus; for during the ſeaſon of the Eteſian winds, which continued moſt part of the ſummer, it was impoſſible to return back, as they were not in thoſe days very expert mariners. Aratus therefore did not fail to declare in favour of the former opinion, ſhewing how advantageous it would be to fall on the Ætolians, while their country was unfurniſhed with troops, and adding, that the opportunity of making deſcents was not to be neglected, now that Dorimachus with the Ætolian troops was employed elſewhere. The king, who, ever ſince the cowardly behaviour of Leontius at Paleis, began to ſuſpect his fidelity, followed the advice of Aratus, and having wrote to Eperatus the Achæan prætor to aſſemble his troops and march to the relief of the Meſſenians, he himſelf weighed anchor, and arrived the next day at Leucas. There he landed his forces, and having cauſed his veſſels to be carried over the iſthmus of Dioryctus, he paſſed into the gulph of Ambracia, which runs far up into Ætolia, and came before day-break to Lemnæa. Here he commanded the ſoldiers to take a ſhort refreſhment, and to be in a readineſs to march without any baggage but what was abſolutely neceſſary. While the king was on the point of ſetting out from Lemnæa, Ariſtophontes the Acarnanian general came to join him with all his forces; for that people, having been great ſufferers by the Ætolians, greedily embraced ſo fair an opportunity of repaying them in their own coin; and on this

[f] Idem, ibid p. 350. 365.

this occaſion not only ſuch as were obliged by their laws to bear arms, but even thoſe who were exempted in regard of their age or long ſervices, took the field. The Epirots incited by the like motives were not leſs forward, though; by reaſon of the extent of their country and the ſudden arrival of king Philip, they had not been able to draw all their forces together. The king, being thus reinforced, departed from Lemnæa in the cloſe of the evening, leaving the baggage under a ſtrong guard, and arrived by day-break at the river Achelous, intending to ſurprize the important town of Thermæ. Leontius, foreſeeing that this enterprize would be attended in all likelihood with ſucceſs, adviſed the king to encamp on the banks of the Achelous, and allow the army ſome reſt after ſo fatigueing a night's march, being willing that the Ætolians ſhould have ſome time to bethink themthemſelves and provide for their defence. But Aratus, being now ſenſible that Leontius oppoſed all promiſing deſigns, preſſed Philip by no means to conſent to any delay, nor upon any reaſon whatſoever reſpite his march, the ſucceſs whereof lay in diſpatch. The king followed his Advice, and ſetting out that inſtant marched directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almoſt impracticable road, cut between two ſteep rocks and exceeding narrow. Thermæ was the capital of Ætolia, and the place where their yearly aſſemblies and fairs were held. As it was reckoned impregnable by reaſon of its ſituation, and no enemy had ever before dared to approach it, the Ætolians had lodged in it all their moſt valuable effects. So great therefore was their ſurprize when they ſaw Philip all on a ſudden appear before it, that they had not ſo much preſence of mind as to ſhut the gates or make the leaſt reſiſtance. The Macedonians and allies were permitted to plunder the town, which abounded with all ſorts of proviſions, military ſtores, and valuable moveables. The army remained that night in the town, and the next morning every one chuſing out of the booty what was moſt valuable and eaſy to be carried away, they made a heap of the reſt and burnt it before the camp. They likewiſe ſaved the beſt arms which were found in their armories, exchanging them with ſuch of their own as were leſs ſerviceable, and burning the reſt to the number of fifteen thouſand ſuits [g].

Thermæ, the capital of Ætolia, ſurpriſed and plundered.

THE Macedonians did not ſtop here; but calling to mind what the Ætolians had done at Dium and Dodona, they

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 365. & ſeq.

they ſet fire to the porticos of the temple, and levelled that magnificent ſtructure with the ground, throwing down, defacing, and breaking in pieces to the number of two thouſand ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, and at that time greatly eſteemed even in Greece. They reſpected, however, ſuch as were known, either by their form or the inſcription, to repreſent any of the gods. The deſolation was ſuch as to ſtrike the king himſelf and thoſe about him with a kind of terror, though at the ſame time they believed, that they had not over-acted their revenge for the ſacrilegious impieties of the Ætolians at Dium.

Philip having plundered the town marched back the ſame way he came; the booty he placed in the van, guarded by his heavy-armed troops; the Acarnanians and mercenaries were poſted in the rear, and the king himſelf with a body of light-armed Macedonians ready to face the enemy in what part ſoever they ſhould appear; for he was extremely ſolicitous to paſs the ſtreights before the Ætolians could draw together a body of troops to oppoſe his paſſage. But he had ſcarce begun his march when three thouſand Ætolians, headed by Alexander the Trichonian, fell on his rear and put them in great confuſion. This Philip had foreſeen, and accordingly placed a detachment of Illyrians in ambuſh behind a riſing ground. Theſe, unexpectedly appearing, fell on the enemy who had charged beyond them, and having killed about a hundred of them, and taken as many priſoners, obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight among the rocks and woods. He was again attacked near Stratus, but having repulſed the enemy with great courage and reſolution, he arrived ſafe and unmoleſted at Lemnæa, where he had left his baggage and veſſels. Here he ſacrificed to the gods by way of thankſgiving for the ſucceſs that had attended his arms in that expedition, and at the ſame time to expreſs his joy gave his officers a royal entertainment. Leontius and Megaleas were preſent, but every one ſoon perceived by their behaviour, that they looked with an evil eye on the good fortune of their maſter. During the whole entertainment they could not help throwing out againſt Aratus the moſt injurious and ſhocking railleries. But words were not all; at the breaking up of the banquet, being heated with wine and fired with anger, they purſued him with ſtones till he got into his tent. This put the whole army in an uproar, not only the Achæans, but the Macedonians themſelves, running from all quarters to his aſſiſtance. The noiſe ſoon reached the king's ears, who,

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after a ſtrict enquiry into the whole affair, condemned Megaleas, for Leontius abſconded, in a fine of twenty talents and put him under arreſt. The next day he ſent for Aratus, and after expreſſing his ſenſe of the violence that had been offered him, he gave him new aſſurances of his protection. Leontius, in the mean time, being informed how the king had proceeded with Megaleas, came boldly with a crowd of ſoldiers to the royal tent, thinking thereby, as the prince was but young, to put him into ſome apprehenſion, and awe him into another reſolution touching the offenders. Being come into the king's preſence, Who has been ſo bold, ſays he, as to lay hands on Megaleas? It was I, replied the king in a majeſtic tone, and whatever has been done is by my expreſs command. This reſolution in the king ſo frightened Leontius, that he immediately retired from his preſence. He no ſooner withdrew, but the king called a council to examine into the affair, and hear what was alledged againſt Leontius, Megaleas, and their accomplices. Aratus charged them with all thoſe criminal practices we have already taken notice of, and diſcovered the whole conſpiracy of Apelles. As he urged nothing againſt them but what was vouched by competent witneſſes, they were all found guilty. The king, however, by an unſeaſonable clemency, pardoned them, and even ſet Megaleas at liberty, Leontius binding himſelf for the payment of the fine the king had laid on him [h].

During Philip's expedition into Ætolia, Lycurgus king of Sparta made an inroad into the territories of the Meſſenians, but did nothing worth recording. Dorimachus likewiſe, who had led a conſiderable body of Ætolians into Theſſaly, with a deſign to lay waſte the country and thereby oblige the king to raiſe the ſiege of Paleis, returned without compaſſing either, having found the Theſſalians ready to give him a warm reception. He therefore kept on the mountains, till he heard that the Macedonians had invaded Ætolia, when he left Theſſaly and haſtened to the relief of his own country. But before he arrived the king was retired [i].

The confederates enter the country of the Lacedæmonians.

In the mean time Philip, having embarqued his troops at Leucas and plundered the coaſt of Hyanthes in his way, arrived at Corinth, where landing his forces and ordering the veſſels to be carried over to Lechæum, he diſpatched meſſengers

[h] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 368. 376. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.
[i] Idem, p. 372.

meſſengers to the confederate towns of Peloponneſus, appointing them to rendezvous their troops at Tegæa. He then marched from Corinth, and came the next day to Tegæa, whence he proceeded with ſuch of the Achæan horſe as were there ready, holding his rout over the mountains, with a deſign to fall by ſurprize on the Lacedæmonian territories. After four days march through a deſert country, he gained the top of thoſe hills that command the city of Sparta, and thence advanced to Amylcæ, a town diſtant from Sparta about four miles. The Spartans, who had heard of the ſucceſs he met with at Thermæ, were ſtrangely alarmed, when they ſaw the young monarch appear ſo ſuddenly in their territories, and approaching to the very gates of their metropolis. Several ſkirmiſhes were fought, in which Philip was always victorious; but we ſhall omit the particulars, which would ſwell the hiſtory to an undue length, and only ſay, that this expedition proved no leſs glorious to the king's arms than that of Ætolia; for he laid waſte the enemy's country far and near, took and deſtroyed ſeveral towns, beat Lycurgus, who with a body of two thouſand Lacedæmonians had attempted to cut off his retreat, and returned with an immenſe booty to Corinth. Here he found embaſſadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to offer their mediation and incline both parties to a peace. The king, diſſembling his real intention, told them, that he was willing to conclude a peace with the Ætolians on reaſonable terms, and charged them on their return to diſpoſe his enemies to it. The king at that time had formed a project of making a deſcent on the territories of the Phocians, and executing there an enterprize of great importance. Having therefore diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, he haſtened to Leontium, propoſing to embarque his troops there.

Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy raiſe a tumult among the troops.

BUT he was ſcarce gone, when Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who was alſo one of Philip's chief officers, began to employ the authority they had over the forces that remained at Corinth, to draw off their affections from their prince, and win them over to their own intereſt. They repreſented to them, chiefly to the light-armed troops and the king's guards, that they, who were the firſt in all hazards and ſecured the reſt of the army from all danger, were not treated according to their merit, and that, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by any particular reward for their ſervice, they had been even deprived of the booty which they had taken, notwithſtanding the conſtant cuſtom in like caſes

to

to the contrary. The ſoldiers, eſpecially the youth, were ſo inflamed by theſe ſeditious diſcourſes, that aſſembling in parties they plundered the houſes of the king's chief favourites, and carried their inſolence to that height as to force the gates of the king's own palace. The king, receiving timely notice of the tumult, flew to Corinth, and aſſembling the Macedonians made them ſenſible of their fault, in a long harangue intermixed with gentleneſs and ſeverity. The tumult being appeaſed, ſome adviſed the king to ſeize on the authors of the ſedition and puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity; others thought it more adviſeable to gain them by gentle methods, the king being ſtill young, and his authority not yet entirely fixed in the minds of the people. This advice he followed for the preſent, ſtifling his reſentment and pretending to be very well ſatisfied, he returned to Lechæum after exhorting his troops to union and concord. But it was now too late to undertake any thing againſt the Phocians, who had drawn together their forces and were prepared to receive him.

In the mean time, Leontius being well appriſed, that the king, though he carried it very fair with him as to outward appearance, would not fail in due time to vent his juſt reſentment upon him, had recourſe to Apelles, giving him notice of the danger he was in, and preſſing him to leave Chalcis and haſten to court. Philip had been informed by Aratus of the whole conduct of Apelles, but had kept his thoughts ſo cloſe, that no body could diſcover from his behaviour any change in him with reſpect to his prime miniſter, who continued to govern at Chalcis more like a ſovereign prince than a ſubject (H). He therefore no ſooner heard of the danger his client was in, but he left Chalcis, not doubting but he ſhould be received at court after the uſual manner, and change the king's mind at his pleaſure. As he

(H) Apelles during his reſidence at Chalcis governed all things with an arbitrary ſway, as if he, and not Phillip, had been inveſted with the ſovereign power. Wherefore the magiſtrates, and ſuch as had charge of the affairs in Macedon and Theſſaly, applied to him alone, and took his directions in all matters of importance. When any of the Greek towns had occaſion to publiſh new laws or ordinances, or confer honours or preferments, there was ſcarce ever any mention made of the king, but of Apelles (5).

(5) Idem, l. v. p. 350. & ſeq.

he drew near to Corinth, Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, who were the chief officers in the army, prevailed by their authority on the flower of the king's forces to meet him, and attend him by way of guard into the town; ſo that he made his entry with a pompous train, and went directly to wait on the king. But the officer, who was on duty at the gate of the royal palace and had received orders to that effect, ſtopped him, and told him that he muſt wait, for the king was not then at leiſure. Apelles was thunder-ſtruck at ſo unexpected a reception, and after having waited ſome time in ſilence retired to his lodgings, attended only by his own domeſtics, all the reſt having already deſerted him (I). Megaleas, ſeeing the prime miniſter, on whoſe protection he relied, fallen into diſgrace, made his eſcape to Athens, leaving Leontius, who was his ſurety for the ſum of twenty talents, to ſhift for himſelf. Hereupon the king having ſent the buckler-men, whoſe chief officer was Leontius, to Triphalia under the command of Taurion, pretending to have ſome extraordinary occaſion for their ſervice, cauſed Leontius to be arreſted, giving out that it was for the payment of the twenty talents which he was bound for, but in reality to have him in his power, and to ſound the diſpoſition of the ſoldiery. The troops which he commanded no ſooner received notice of his arreſt, but they ſent a petition to the king, importing, that if the commitment of Leontius was on any other account than that of his being ſurety for Megaleas, the king would be pleaſed not to determine any thing againſt him during their abſence; and that they ſhould interpret any ſentence in his prejudice as an injury done to them and reſent it accordingly; but in caſe Leontius was under arreſt to ſecure the payment of the money due on account of Megaleas, they would readily contribute towards ſatisfying the debt. But their affection ſhewn to Leontius proved unſeaſonable, and was taken by the

Apelles how received by Philip.

Leontius arreſted.

(I) Behold the uncertain ſtate of mortal greatneſs, ſays our author; in one and the ſame moment men are raiſed to the higheſt preferments and ſunk to the loweſt ebb of fortune; and this chiefly in the courts of princes, where like counters, their value riſes and falls according to they place they are ſet in; for thoſe who follow the court are great and little at the pleaſure of their maſter, who carries their fortune in his hands (6).

(6) Idem, ibid. p. 351.

the king so ill, that it became the occasion of his death sooner than was expected [k].

A thirty days truce granted to the Ætolians.

During this interval, the embassadors returned from Ætolia, bringing with them proposals for a truce of thirty days; they assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace, and that they had appointed a day for their general assembly to meet at Rhium, where they prayed the king to be present, promising all the advances possible on their part towards a general pacification. Philip accepted of the truce, and sent his dispatches to the confederates, requiring them to send their respective deputies to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself immediately set out from Lechæum in order to assist at it, and arrived the next day at Patræ. There letters were delivered to him directed by Megaleas to the Ætolians, encouraging them to pursue the war against Philip and the Achæans, since the king was in the utmost distress for want of money and provisions. They contained likewise most reproachful and injurous reflections on the king, which shewed his hatred to him, and convinced him, that the whole faction of Apelles sought his destruction. He therefore ordered him immediately to be taken into custody, together with his son and a youth his favourite, and so sent to Corinth. At the same time he enjoined the magistrates of Thebes to prosecute Megaleas, who had retired thither from Athens; but he prevented his trial by laying violent hands on himself.

Megaleas lays violent hands on himself. Leontius and Apelles put to death.

Not long after Leontius received sentence of death, and likewise Apelles with his son and favourite. History can scarce furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of his sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. It was with the utmost difficulty, that Aratus roused the king from his irresolution and servitude, and prevailed upon him at last to exert himself, after he had been so long deaf to the repeated complaints of his subjects, and blind to all the faults of his favourite minister [l].

As to the Ætolians, they were sincerely disposed to peace, being grown weary of a war, in which all their projects had succeeded quite otherwise than they expected. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced prince, Philip not being yet arrived, as they imagined, at an age of conduct and experience; but they found

[k] Idem, p. 373, 374.

[l] Idem, ibid. p. 376.

found him an able and enterprizing leader, and well qualified both for counſel and execution. However, when they came to hear of the mutiny of the troops and the conſpiracy of Apelles, hoping theſe troubles would beget diſtractions at court, they poſtponed their meeting at Rhium. Philip and the confederates, who had a hopeful proſpect of the iſſue of the war, and wiſhed for nothing more ardently than to break off all negotiations of peace, were glad of the opportunity which the enemy furniſhed them with, and accordingly animated each other to the proſecution of the war. As winter was drawing near, Philip, after engaging the allies to meet him with their forces early in the ſpring, weighed anchor and returned to Corinth. There he gave the Macedonians leave to return to their winter quarters in their own country; while he coaſting Attica went to Demetrias in Theſſaly, where Ptolemy, the only conſpirator that remained, was ſentenced to die and executed accordingly.

The confederates reſolve to purſue the war.

By this time Eperatus, who had been choſen prætor of the Achæans by the influence of Apelles, as we have related above, was become univerſally deſpiſed, as being no ways qualified for that truſt, which is commonly the caſe in forced elections. No one would pay obedience to his orders, and the country being open and defenceleſs, great havock was made in it by Pyrrhias, at the head of three thouſand Eleans and Ætolians. The Achæan troops, being in arrear of their pay, refuſed to obey the prætor's orders, when at any time they were commanded to march out to the relief of the country, and deſerted in great numbers. All this was owing to the inſufficiency of Eperatus; but, happily for the Achæans, his authority was almoſt expired, and early in the ſummer Aratus appointed to ſucceed him [m]. The new prætor found the Achæan mercenaries corrupted by an univerſal decay of military diſcipline, and the cities no ways diſpoſed to contribute towards the carrying on of the war. In the general aſſembly, after having warmly exhorted their deputies to the proſecution of the war, he wreſted from them a decree, empowering him to levy eight thouſand mercenary foot and five hundred horſe, beſides three thouſand foot and three hundred horſe which were to be raiſed at home. By the ſame decree the Megalopolitans were to contribute three hundred foot and fifty horſe, and the Argians the like number [n].

[m] Idem, p. 377. [n] Idem, p. 378.

WHILE the Achæans were thus preparing for the proſecution of the war, Lycurgus and Pyrrhias, prætor of the Eleans, taking the field, made an inroad into the territories of the Meſſenians, but were ſoon forced to retire by Aratus, who advanced with the mercenaries to cover the frontiers of Meſſene, Megalopolis, Tegæa, and Argos, which were moſt expoſed to the inſults of the Lacedæmonians. Not long after Lycus, whom Aratus had appointed to command the troops while he aſſiſted at the general aſſembly, gained a conſiderable victory over the Eleans, who, under the conduct of Euripidas their new prætor, had advanced as far as Pharæa, plundering and laying waſte the whole country. The plunder which he got on this occaſion produced a great ſum of money; ſo that the troops took better heart in proſpect of better pay, and the people conceived hopes that they ſhould now be exempt from taxes and contributions towards the war.

Thebes of Phthiotis taken by the confederates. Year of the flood 2786. before Chriſt 217.

IN the mean time, Philip, having ordered ſuch ſtores and proviſions as he had provided during the winter to be brought from Lariſſa, ſet out on his march towards Greece, with a deſign to begin the campaign with the ſiege of Thebes called Phthiotis (L), whence the Ætolians uſed to make continual inroads into the territories of Demetrias, Pharſalia, and even Lariſſa. Accordingly, having divided his army into three bodies, he inveſted the town, and, with an hundred and fifty catapults and other engines for caſting of ſtones, began to batter the walls night and day without intermiſſion. The inhabitants at firſt made a vigorous reſiſtance; but great numbers of them being killed by the many darts and ſtones that had been caſt into the town, and the reſt quite tired out by inceſſant attacks which kept them continually in action, their reſolution began to fail, and the Macedonians advancing their mines, and now preparing to give the aſſault, they thought fit to ſurrender at diſcretion. Philip plundered the town, ſold the inhabitants, and, repeopling it with a colony of Macedonians, changed the name of Thebes into that of Philippopolis.

NOT long after the town had ſurrendered, new embaſſadors came to him from Chios, Rhodes, Byzantium, and from

(L) This city was ſituate near the ſea about eight and thirty miles diſtance from Lariſſa; and was on the frontiers of Magneſia and Theſſaly, its territory bordering on Magneſia towards Demetrias, and on Theſſaly towards that tract which was inhabited by the Pharſalians and Pheræans.

from Ptolemy king of Egypt, to propoſe the concluding of a peace. The king replied as he had done before, that he was inclined to put an end to the war, and that they needed but apply to the Ætolians, to know whether they were willing to concur with him in reſtoring Greece to its former tranquillity. Philip was in reality very far from being inclined to a peace; but, as he did not care to declare his true intentions, he only told the embaſſadors, that in the mean time he was determined to purſue his enterprizes.

He afterwards ſet out with his friends and favourites for Argos, to be preſent at the Nemæan games. While he was one day aſſiſting at one of theſe public ſports, he was interrupted by an expreſs ſent him from Macedon, with advice, that the Romans had loſt a great battle in Tuſcany near the lake Thraſymenus, and that Hannibal was maſter of all the open country. This news Philip imparted to none but Demetrius of Pharus, enjoining him all poſſible ſecreſy. Demetrius glad of this opportunity, adviſed him to put a period to the Ætolian war with what expedition he could, in order to invade Illyricum (M), and afterwards croſs over into Italy. He added, that ſuch a deſign would gain him the affections of the whole Greek nation, that the Achæans would join him out of the affection they bore him, and the Ætolians through fear, after the calamities they had ſuffered in the preſent war; that ſuch an expedition would be his firſt ſtep to univerſal monarchy, which none had a better claim to than himſelf; and that the preſent diſtreſs of the Romans offered him a favourable opportunity of executing ſo mighty a project. Such council as this could not but charm a king, who was in the flower of his youth, ſucceſsful in his exploits, bold, enterpriſing, and of a race which had always graſped at univerſal empire.

(M) Scerdilaidas, a petty king of Illyria, whom we have mentioned above, thinking himſelf ill treated by Philip, who had not yet paid him the money that was due to him, according to the treaty agreed on by both parties, fitted out a ſquadron with orders to take by repriſal what was due by agreement. This ſquadron being admitted into the port of Leucas, for Scerdilaidas was in alliance with the Achæans, ſeized there ſome Macedonian veſſels, and ſent them together with the Macedonians that were aboard into Illyricum. From thence they ſailed to Malea, taking all the king's veſſels they could meet with. A war with this prince Demetrius thought would prove very favourable to his preſent project.

Philip inclined to conclude a peace.

HOWEVER, as no man could better conceal his real intentions a very rare quality in ſo young a prince, he did not ſhew that ſtrong inclination for peace which he had in reality conceived. He only diſpatched letters to the confederates, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the aſſembly to negotiate a peace; and in the mean time, the better to hide his inclinations, he advanced with his forces to Loſion, and, after taking a ſmall fortreſs which was built on the ruins of that place, he made as if he intended to poſſeſs himſelf of Elea. Both parties were grown ſo tired of the war, that his ſummons was received every where with great joy, and plenipotentiaries from all parts haſtened to Naupactus which was the place appointed for the conferences. The king, to give a more expeditious iſſue to the affair, came at the head of his army, and encamping within leſs than a league of the place attended there the reſult of their conferences. The firſt article which the king cauſed to be propoſed to the Ætolians, by the embaſſadors of the confederate cities, was, that every one ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts; which article being agreed upon, the reſt met with no difficulty, ſo that the treaty was ſoon concluded and ratified by Philip and the Achæans on one ſide, and the Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and Eleans on the other [o].

The ſpeech of Agelas of Naupactus, at the opening of the aſſembly.

AT the firſt opening of the aſſembly, Agelas of Naupactus made a ſpeech before the king and the confederates, which deſerves a place here, ſince Polybius has thought it worthy of relating at length in his hiſtory. He told them, that the Greeks ought above all things to ſhun all occaſions of war among themſelves, and render thanks to the gods, that, becoming now of one mind, and leading each other, as it were, by the hand, like thoſe who ford a river, they had a proſpect of uniting in a mutual defence of themſelves and their cities againſt the barbarians, whoſe deſigns they had ſo much cauſe to apprehend. That, though they could not give perpetuity to the preſent union, it behoved them, at leaſt in that juncture, to agree as one man in the preſervation of their liberties, ſince none could be ignorant of the great power of the barbarians, and the mighty war they were like to have on their hands with that people. That it was evident to every one who was ever ſo little ſkilled in politics, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans

[o] Polyb. ibid. p. 435.

Romans, would not confine themſelves to the empire of Italy or Sicily, but extend their conqueſt further, even to Greece itſelf. Wherefore he exhorted them, eſpecially Philip, to keep a watchful eye on the danger that threatened them; ſaying, that this prince would be able to avert it, if inſtead of impairing the ſtrength of the Greeks, as he had hitherto done, and rendering them by that means an eaſier prey to their enemies, he would now take their affairs to heart, and act for the whole Greek nation as if Greece were his inheritance. That by this means he would win the affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him and concur in all his meaſures. That, if his mind was bent on great enterprizes and he thirſted after glory, he ſhould extend his proſpect towards the weſt, and keep an eye on the war which had ſet all Italy in a flame; that he ſhould watch the event of it, improve it to his advantage, and generouſly aſpire to the dominion of the world. That if he had any diſputes with the Greeks, he ſhould leave the deciſion of them to another ſeaſon; for if he once ſuffered the ſtorm, that was gathering in the weſt, to reach Greece, it might juſtly be feared, that it would then no longer be in their power to make war, conclude a peace, or manage their affairs as they pleaſed.

THIS ſpeech, which was a clear prediction of what happened afterwards to Greece, inſpired both the confederates and Philip with an eager deſire of peace. And this is the firſt time that the affairs of Italy influenced thoſe of Greece. For after this neither Philip nor the other powers of Greece regulated their conduct from the ſtate of their reſpective neighbours, but kept their eyes fixed on Italy, as the only object of their attention. The Aſiatics and the inhabitants of the iſlands did the ſame ſoon after, having no more recourſe in their diſputes to Antiochus or Ptolemy, to ſouthern or eaſtern princes, but turning their eyes weſtward, and ſending embaſſadors, ſome to the Carthaginians, others to the Romans. In like manner the Romans, awakened by the growing power and enterpriſing genius of Philip, diſpatched embaſſadors into Greece, to obviate betimes the dangers that threatened them from that quarter, as will be ſeen in the ſequel of this hiſtory [P].

A peace concluded.

As ſoon as the peace was ratified, the Achæans raiſed Timoxenus to the prætorſhip, and then returned to their antient manner and cuſtom of life, after having re-edified the walls

[P] Idem, ibid. p. 436, 437.

of their cities, rebuilt their temples and altars, eſtabliſhed their worſhip, and repaired the public and private damages, which they had ſuſtained during the war.

Philip changes his conduct.

But this happy ſtate of tranquility was ſoon diſturbed by that very prince who had procured it. Philip, having concluded an alliance with Hannibal, began to change his conduct, and thinking it neceſſary to bring all Greece to an abſolute ſubjection, before he made any attempts upon Italy, he began with the Meſſenians, who had been lately admitted into the Achæan confederacy. The city of Meſſene was at this time rent into two factions, the nobility ſtriving to humble the people, and the people to leſſen the power of the nobility. Theſe contentions became ſo violent, that both factions agreed to call in Philip and refer their differences to his arbitration. The ambitious prince was glad of this opportunity, and flew to Meſſene, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the city. On his arrival he found Aratus employing his beſt endeavours to compoſe their differences, in a manner that no ways ſuited his private ends. He therefore did not think fit to adviſe with him, but held private conferences with ſuch of the Meſſenians as reſorted to his palace. The nobility he encouraged to curb the inſolence of the unruly rabble with the utmoſt ſeverity of the laws; but uſed a quite different ſtile in talking with the heads of the popular faction, telling them, that they were to blame for ſuffering themſelves, being ſo many, to be oppreſſed by a few, as if they had no hands to defend themſelves againſt tyrants. Thus both parties preſuming on the king's aſſiſtance, thought it adviſeable to exert themſelves before he was gone, ſince he ſeemed ſo well diſpoſed to countenance them. Accordingly the nobility gave orders for the apprehending of ſome orators, who ſtirred up, ſaid they, the people to ſedition; this alarmed the populace, who falling upon the nobility murdered in their rage above two hundred of them. This is what Philip had propoſed from the very beginning, being well apprized, that if one party were deſtroyed, it would be no hard taſk for him to get the better of the other. Neither did Aratus the younger forbear reproaching him with it, in very bitter and offenſive terms. But the king, who on ſuch occaſions had a marvellous command of his temper, ſmothered his reſentment, and taking Aratus the elder by the hand, he aſked him, whether he would not attend him up to the caſtle of Ithome where he intended to ſacrifice. This caſtle commanded the city of Meſſene,

Diſturbances at Meſſene.

and

and kept the further parts of Peloponneſus in awe, as Acro-Corinth, which he was already poſſeſſed of, did the hither. Ithome was held by ſome of the popular faction, who, looking upon Philip as their deliverer, admitted him without the leaſt jealouſy. While the ſacrifice was performing, the entrails of the victim being, aecording to cuſtom, put into his hands, he ſhewed them to Aratus, and with a ſmile aſked him, whether they prognoſticated, that, being now in poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, he ſhould tamely part with it, or rather keep it for his own uſe. Aratus made no reply, but Demetrius Pharius, though the king had not aſked his advice, gave this officious anſwer: if you are a ſoothſayer you muſt quietly begone from hence; but if you are a king you muſt not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, but hold the ox faſt by both his horns; alluding thereby to Ithome and Acro-Corinth, which were called the two horns of Peloponneſus. The king, however, would have Aratus by all means to give his opinion, who told him, that if the place could be kept without breach of faith, he would do well to keep it, but if by ſeizing of Ithome he muſt loſe the ſtrongeſt caſtle he had, his credit, he thought it far more adviſeable to deliver it up to its owners. This advice Philip followed for the preſent, but ever after maintained a private grudge againſt Aratus, which he perceiving retired from court, and led a private life at Sicyon, where he had leiſure to repent his ever calling the Macedonians into Peloponneſus. Philip, having now got rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, marched his forces into Epirus, where he ſeized on the town of Oricum, and laid ſiege to Apollonia, which he was ſoon forced to raiſe in a moſt ſhameful manner, his camp being ſurprized by theRoman prætor Lævinus, and he forced to make his eſcape half naked. After this diſappointment he returned to Peloponneſus, not having yet laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting the Meſſenians. But they, being now on their guard, refuſed to admit him into their city; whereupon calling them his enemies, he laid waſte the whole country, and retired without being able to reduce the city, the Achæans, who were his confederates, refuſing to lend him any help for ſuch an enterprize; for Meſſene, as we have obſerved above, was at that time a member of the Achæan body. This backwardneſs of his confederates he aſcribed to Aratus, and therefore, as he did not now ſcruple to commit the moſt

Aratus retires from Philip's court.

henious

heinous crimes, he reſolved to ſacrifice both the father and ſon to his reſentment. He dared not employ open force and violence, in regard of their great reputation and the reſpect which was univerſally paid to their virtue, and therefore charged Taurion, one of his officers, to diſpatch firſt the elder Aratus, ſecretly during his abſence. Taurion obeyed the wicked command, though not without ſome reluctance; he inſinuated himſelf into Aratus's friendſhip and often invited him to dinner, which gave him an opportunity of poiſoning him with a poiſon, which was ſure, but ſlow in its operation. Aratus was not ignorant of the lingering diſtemper which he fell into; but reflecting that complaints would only ſtir up the Achæans againſt him and create new diſturbances, he bore it patiently, as if it had been a common and natural diſeaſe. One day only happening to ſpit blood before one Cephalion, who was his boſom friend and ſeemed ſomewhat ſurprized, he ſaid, Behold, my dear Cephalion, the effect of friendſhip with kings. This brought him to his end in Ægium, being then in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and prætor of the Achæans the ſeventeenth time. The Achæans were for burying him in the place where he died, but the Sicyonians claimed this honour, as due to the place where he was born. Accordingly, changing their grief into mirth, they went, crowned with chaplets of flowers and clad in white robes, to bring the body of their deceaſed hero to Sicyon, dancing before it, and ſinging hymns and odes in commendation of his eminent virtues and exalted qualities. He was interred with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity in the higheſt part of the city, which was ever after called Aratium. The Achæans decreed, that divine honours ſhould be paid him, and appointed a prieſt for that purpoſe. Plutarch tells us, that in his time two ſolemn ſacrifices were ſtill offered him annually; the firſt on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, and this ſacrifice was called Soteria, the other on his birth day. During the ſacrifice the young men and children walked round the altar, ſinging odes to the lyre in honour of their deliverer, and the ſenate, crowned with garlands of flowers, followed the proceſſion. To this they are ſaid to have been encouraged by an oracle of Apollo[q].

Philip cauſes him to be poiſoned. Year of the flood 2787. Before Chriſt 216.

ARATUS was without all doubt one of the greateſt men of his time, and may juſtly be ſtyled one of the founders of

[q] Polyb. lib. viii. p. 518, 519. Plut. in Arato.

of the Achæan republic, he having brought it to that form and ſplendor by which it became one of the moſt powerful ſtates of Greece. However, his talent lay more in contriving a warlike ſtratagem, in forming and projecting extraordinary enterprizes, than in executing them. In his adminiſtration he was guilty of one very great error, which was the calling in the kings of Macedon to the aſſiſtance of the republic, an expedient which no well-wiſher to his country could approve of, and was the more diſhonourable in him as he was prompted to it out of jealouſy to Cleomenes king of Sparta. For that prince, after having reduced the Achæans to the laſt extremity, was willing to reſtore them their priſoners and all the places he had taken, on condition they would create him prætor of Achaia. The Achæans were inclined to accept of a peace on theſe terms: But Aratus, thinking it would be very diſhonourable for him, who had bore for many years the chief ſway in the republic, to be thus ſupplanted by a young man, uſed his utmoſt efforts to diſſuade the Achæans from yielding to the conditions propoſed by Cleomenes; and becauſe they could no longer hold out againſt that warlike prince with their own ſtrength, he had recourſe to Antigonus king of Macedon, put him into poſſeſſion of Acro-Corinth, and thereby enabled him and his ſucceſſors to manage the affairs of Greece at their pleaſure [r]. But for this he atoned, both with his own death and with that of his ſon, which was more deplorable; for Philip, growing completely wicked, as Plutarch expreſſes it, commanded a kind of poiſon to be given him, which deprived him of his underſtanding, and prompted him to commit ſuch abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal ignominy on his name, had they been done deliberately and while he was in his ſenſes; inſomuch that, though he was then in the flower of his age, his death was looked upon not as a misfortune, but as the greateſt bleſſing that could befal himſelf and his family [s].

THESE inhuman and tyrannical proceedings in Philip highly incenſed the Achæans againſt him, as he afterwards found by experience, when they were more at liberty to act as they pleaſed. At preſent they were not in a condition to ſupport themſelves without him, the Ætolians, their irreconcileable enemies, having entered into an alliance with the Romans againſt the king and his confederates.

[r] Plut. in Cleom. & Arat. [s] Plut. ibid.

rates. The main article of this new alliance was, that the conquests should belong to the allies, but the booty and slaves to the Romans. Their calling in thus the Barbarians, for so the Greeks styled all nations except their own, provoked them more against the Ætolians, than all the mischief Philip had done them. Wherefore they resolved in their general assembly to join the king against the Ætolians and their confederates. Thus a new war was kindled in Greece, between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Romans, Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, Eleans, king Attalus, and Scerdilaidas on the other. The Ætolians immediately began hostilities, invading and laying waste the Achæan territories. Whereupon the Achæans dispatched deputies to Philip, who was then in Thrace, imploring his assistance. Philip readily complied with their request; but the Ætolians, being joined by some Romans and the forces which Attalus had brought with him out of Asia, marched out to meet him before his conjunction with the Achæans. Both armies met near Lamia a city of Thessaly. The Ætolians were commanded by Pyrrhias, who had been that year appointed their general, in conjunction with king Attalus. Philip proffered him battle, and he thinking it would be disreputable in him to decline it the very first year of his command, rashly engaged and was entirely defeated. However, to retrieve his reputation, he gathered together the scattered remains of his army, in hopes of performing some worthy action before the end of the campaign: But Philip attacked him the second time, cut most of his men in pieces, and obliged the rest to shut themselves up in Lamia. This double overthrow so disheartened the Ætolians, that they sent embassadors to treat of a peace with Philip and the Achæans; for the Romans, after having put the Ætolians in motion, were retired to Corcyra, fully persuaded, that the king had so much business upon his hands at home, that he could not have time to think of Italy or Hannibal. Philip put off the negotiations of peace till the next assembly of the Achæans, and in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce of thirty days. When the assembly met, the Ætolian embassadors being introduced made such unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Whereupon Philip and the Achæans, being resolved to pursue the war at all events, began to make greater preparations than ever, having so many enemies to oppose at the same time. The king, leaving

New troubles in Greece. Year of the flood 2792. Before Christ 211.

The Ætolians defeated.

leaving four thouſand men with the Achæans to defend their country, went to aſſiſt at the Nemæan games in the city of Argos, and from thence returning into Achaia marched, in conjunction with Cycliadus the Achæan prætor, againſt the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garriſon. After they had plundered the territory, they advanced in battle-array to the very gates of the city, hoping thereby to draw the Ætolians to an engagement. Accordingly they ſallied out, when Philip was greatly ſurprized to find, that the garriſon partly conſiſted of Romans. For Sulpitius, having left Naupactus with fifteen gallies and landed four thouſand men, had entered the city the night before the engagement. The fight was very bloody, and many fell on both ſides. In the heat of the combat Damophantes, general of the Elean horſe, ſpying Philopœmen, who commanded that of the Achæans, advanced againſt him with great ardor and fury. The latter waited for him without ſtirring from his poſt, and having unhorſed him at the firſt encounter, fell upon the enemy's cavalry with ſuch reſolution, that they quickly betook themſelves to flight. But the Romans charging the Macedonians with great vigour, the latter began to give way, which Philip obſerving ſpurred on his horſe, and ruſhed headlong into the midſt of the Romans, where his horſe being wounded threw him. The Macedonians then returned with new vigour to the charge, each party ſignalizing themſelves in a very extraordinary manner, the Romans with a view to take the king priſoner, and the Macedonians to ſave him. The king was carried off in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Romans, and the Macedonians obliged to retire at a greater diſtance from the town. The next day Philip inveſted and took a ſtrong hold of the Eleans, where he found a great booty conſiſting of twenty thouſand head of cattle, beſides four thouſand Eleans whom he ſold for ſlaves. This made amends for his diſappointment at Elis [t]: But in the main time news was brought him, that the Dardanians had made an incurſion into Macedon; whereupon, he immediately ſet out to defend his own country, leaving with the Achæans a body of two thouſand five hundred men. At the ſame time Sulpitius ſailed back with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus and paſſed the winter. During the king's abſence, the

Philopœmen's gallant behaviour.

Achæans

[t] Polyb. l. x. p. 612. & ſeq. Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 29. 33. Plut. in Philop.

Achæans gained a conſiderable victory over the Ætolians and Eleans near the city of Meſſene.

Oreum in Eubœa betrayed to the Romans. Year of the flood 2796. BeforeChriſt 207.

EARLY in the ſpring Sulpitius and Attalus, quitting their winter quarters, ſailed with their fleets to Lemnos, and thence advanced to Oreum a chief city of Eubœa, which was treacherouſly delivered up to them by Plator the Macedonian commander. Attalus laid ſiege to the city of Opus in Achaia, which Philip having notice of advanced with incredible diligence to the relief of his allies, having marched upwards of ſixty miles in one day. The city had ſurrendered a little before his arrival, but Attalus the inſtant he heard of his approach abandoned it, and retired with precipitation to his ſhips [u].

WHILE Philip was thus employed againſt Attalus and the Romans, Machanidas, who had ſucceeded Lycurgus tyrant of Lacedæmon, advanced at the head of a powerful army to the borders of Achaia, with a deſign to lay waſte the country, and by that means oblige Philip to leave the enemy and relieve his allies. He could not have choſe a more improper ſeaſon for ſuch an expedition; for Philopœmen had been that year appointed for the firſt time commander in chief of the Achæan forces. As we ſhall often have occaſion to mention this great warrior, it will not be improper to ſay ſomething here of the extraordinary parts, which rendered him worthy of all thoſe honours, that were afterwards heaped upon him by the Achæan republic. He was born in Megalopolis a city of Arcadia in Peloponneſus, and from his very infancy diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to the profeſſion of arms. He was nobly educated by Caſſander of Mantinea, a man of great probity and uncommon abilities. He was no ſooner able to bear arms, but he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis ſent to make incurſions into Laconia, and in theſe inroads never failed to give ſome remarkable inſtance of his prudence and valour. When there were no troops in the field, he uſed to employ his leiſure in hunting and ſuch other manly exerciſes. Thus he ſpent his time till he attained the thirtieth year of his age, when Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis. We have ſeen what courage and greatneſs of ſoul he diſplayed on that occaſion. He ſignalized himſelf no leſs ſome time after in the

Philopœmen appointed prætor of the Achæans.

His character.

[u] Liv. ibid.

the battle of Selaſia, where Antigonus gained a complete victory over Cleomenes. Antigonus, who had been an eye-witneſs of his prudent and gallant behaviour, made him very advantageous offers to gain him over to his intereſt. But he rejected them with ſcorn, having an utter averſion to a court life, which he compared to that of a ſlave, ſaying, that the courtier was but a ſlave of a better condition. As he could not live idle and unactive, he went over to the iſle of Crete, which was then engaged in war, and ſerved there as a volunteer, till he acquired a complete knowledge of the military art; for the inhabitants of that iſland were in thoſe days accounted excellent warriors, being ſcarce ever at peace among themſelves. Philopœmen, having ſerved ſome years among the troops of that iſland, returned home, and was upon his arrival appointed general of the horſe, in which command he behaved ſo well, that the Achæan horſe, heretofore of no reputation, became in a ſhort time famous all over Greece. He was ſoon after appointed general of all the the Achæan forces, when he applied himſelf in good earneſt to the re-eſtabliſhing of military diſcipline among the troops of the republic, which he found in a very poor condition, and univerſally deſpiſed by their neighbours. Aratus indeed was the firſt that raiſed the Achæan ſtate to that pitch of power and glory to which it arrrived; but the ſucceſs of his enterprizes was not ſo much owing to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence and politics. As he depended on the friendſhip of foreign princes and their powerful ſuccours, he neglected the military diſcipline at home. But the inſtant Philopœmen was created prætor or commander in chief, as he was a great captain, he rouzed the courage of his countrymen, in order to put them in a condition to defend themſelves without the aſſiſtance of, or dependence on, foreign princes. With this view he made great improvements in the diſcipline, changing the manner of their exerciſe and likewiſe their arms, which were both very defective. He had thus for the ſpace of eight months exerciſed his troops every day, making them perform all the military motions and evolutions, and accuſtoming them to manage with dexterity their new arms, when news was brought him, that Machanidas was advancing at the head of a numerous army to invade Achaia. He was glad of this opportunity to try how the troops had profited by his diſcipline, and accordingly taking

He defeats Machanidas tyrant of Sparta. Year of the flood 2797. Before Chriſt 206.

the field, met the enemy in the territories of Mantinea. Machanidas had brought into the field a vaſt quantity of military engines to gall the Achæans during the engagement and diſorder their ranks. To prevent this danger, Philopœmen ordered his light-armed troops to advance a great way before the reſt of the army, which Machanidas obſerving, thought proper to ſend his light-armed foot to make head againſt them and obſerve their motions. Thus the battle began, and each general ſending new ſupplies, the mercenary foot came to a cloſe engagement, being ſo far advanced before the main bodies of their reſpective armies, that they could know only by the duſt they raiſed which party advanced, and which gave ground. By this means the engines, which Machanidas chiefly relied upon, were hindered from doing execution by the interpoſition of his own men. The firſt onſet was very furious, and the ſucceſs a long time doubtful, but at laſt the mercenaries in the tyrant's army prevailed, their numbers and the ſkill they had acquired, by being ſo long inured to a military life, giving them the ſuperiority. The Illyrians in Philopœmen's army being but lately come, and not yet well exerciſed in the uſe of their arms, could not withſtand ſo furious an onſet, and were therefore entirely broke, and obliged to ſave themſelves with the utmoſt precipitation under the walls of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle. Philopœmen was ſo far from being diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of the firſt attack, that turning to thoſe who were about him, The flight of our mercenaries, ſaid he, will give us a complete victory. He obſerved, that Machanidas, inſtead of making uſe of this diſadvantage, and falling that inſtant on the main body, ſuffered himſelf to be hurried away by the fire and impetuoſity of his ſoldiers, in purſuit of thoſe who were flying. He was no ſooner out of ſight, but Philopœmen advanced againſt the Lacedæmonians that were drawn up before him. The two armies were parted by a ditch, dry at that time and therefore eaſily paſſable, eſpecially by the foot. The Lacedæmonians, elated with the ſucceſs of their mercenaries and deſpiſing the Achæans, ventured over the ditch to meet them; but as that put them into ſome diſorder, Philopœmen, taking advantage of their confuſion, charged them with ſuch vigour, that they were drove into the ditch again; which ſo diſordered their ranks, that not being able to make head againſt the Achæans, who purſued them cloſe and in good order, they betook themſelves to flight. Philopœmen, who knew

knew better how to uſe his victory than Machanidas had done, ſuffered only part of his army to purſue the flying enemy; a ſtrong body he kept with himſelf to guard a bridge that lay over the ditch, knowing that Machanidas muſt return that way. Accordingly on his return he made directly to the bridge, but was greatly diſpirited when he found that the enemies were maſters of it, and his own army driven out of the field. However, with a ſtrong body of horſe he attempted to make his way through and join the reſt of his army; but he met with ſo warm a reception from Philopœmen, that his horſe were at the firſt onſet put to the rout. Machanidas himſelf, attended only by two horſemen, rode along the ditch, looking for a convenient place to get over. He was eaſily known by his purple mantle and the coſtly trappings of his horſe. Philopœmen therefore, appointing another to command at the bridge in his room, followed Machanidas at a ſmall diſtance, waiting till he ſhould attempt to croſs the ditch; which he no ſooner did, than Philopœmen ſpurring on his horſe attacked him in the ditch, and there ſlew him with his own hand. His head he ſtruck off, and carried it from rank to rank to encourage his victorious Achæans, who continued the purſuit with great ſlaughter and incredible ardour to the city of Tegea, which they entered together with the fugitives. The Lacedæmonians loſt on this occaſion above eight thouſand men, of which four thouſand were killed on the ſpot, and as many taken priſoners. The loſs of the Achæans was very inconſiderable, and thoſe that fell were moſtly mercenaries [w].

Philopœmen kills Machanidas.

THE Achæans, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, which was entirely owing to the conduct of their general, caſt a brazen ſtatue, repreſenting Philopœmen in the ſame attitude in which he killed the tyrant, and placed it in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

THIS victory over the Lacedæmonians, and the many advantages gained by Philip over the Ætolians, inclined the Ætolian faction to ſue for a peace in good earneſt. King Attalus was returned home to defend his own kingdom againſt Pruſias king of Bithynia, who had invaded it. The Romans had ſo much buſineſs on their hands at home, Aſdrubal being ready to enter Italy and join his brother, that they

A general peace concluded. Year of the flood 2799. Before Chriſt 204.

[w] Polyb. l. xi. p. 629. 631. Plut. in Philop.

they concerned themſelves very little with the affairs of Greece, leaving their friends there to ſhift for themſelves. The Ætolians therefore, finding themſelves thus deſerted by their moſt powerful allies, concluded a peace with Philip and the Achæans upon very diſadvantageous conditions. Scarce was the peace agreed on when P. Sempronius the proconſul arrived with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirty-five gallies, to ſuccour the Ætolians. When he heard how affairs went in Greece, he was very much offended at the Ætolians, for concluding a peace without the conſent of the Roman ſenate, contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty. However, he was eaſily prevailed upon to come into their meaſures, and in the name of his republic ſtrike up a peace with Philip and his allies. For the year following it was agreed, by the mediation of the Epirots and Acarnanians, that the Romans and Philip ſhould be included in the treaty, and thenceforth live in amity. Philip cauſed the king of Bithynia, the Achæans, the Bæotians, the Theſſalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots, to be included in the treaty; the Romans on their ſide named king Attalus, Pleuratus a petty prince of Illyricum, Nabis tyrant of Sparta, the people of Elis, the Meſſenians, and the Athenians. This peace was very acceptable to both parties; to Philip, that he might have leiſure to ſettle the affairs of his own kingdom; to the Romans, that they might carry on the war againſt the Carthaginians with more vigor [x].

THE peace thus concluded was not of long continuance. Philip, having ſettled his affairs at home, and finding that the fortune of the Carthaginians his friends in the weſt declined apace, began to ſtudy how he might enlarge his dominions in the eaſt. Accordingly he invaded at the ſame time the Rhodians, the Athenians, and king Attalus, contrary to the late treaty of peace. Whereupon war was declared againſt him by the Romans, and Sulpitius the conſul appointed to carry it on. The Achæans and Lacedæmonians joined with Philip; the former he gained over to his intereſt by reſtoring to them the cities of Orchomenos, Heræa, and Triphylia, which he had formerly appropriated to himſelf. He likewiſe put the Megalopolitans in poſſeſſion of the city of Aliphera, to which they laid claim, and by theſe means kept them for ſome time in his alliance [y]. The Romans watched all opportunities of engaging ſo powerful a people in their intereſt, and at laſt found a very favourable one

The Achæans join Philip againſt the Romans.

[x] Liv. l. xxix. n. 12. [y] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 5.

one. When the Roman conſul Sulpitius arrived firſt in Greece, one Cycliades was prætor of the Achæans, a man entirely devoted to the Macedonian party, being ſupported in his tyrannical government by the protection of Philip. The Achæans, ſuſpecting that he aimed at an abſolute power, and was concerting meaſures with the Macedonians to bring their republic under ſubjection, as Nabis had lately done at Sparta, expelled him, and put the government into the hands of Ariſtenes, who, on all occaſions, had given ſignal proofs of his affection to the Romans. This opportunity the conſul laid hold of to bring Achaia into an alliance with Rome, but left the execution of the deſign to his brother Quinctius, who immediately ſent a deputation to the Achæans, offering to put them in poſſeſſion of Corinth, which had formerly belonged to them, if they joined with the Romans. This was a powerful attractive. However, as Philip had done them many important ſervices, they were unwilling to diſoblige him. Beſides, they were under no ſmall apprehenſion of Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, who had openly declared for Philip. At the ſame time they were afraid of the Romans, who ſeemed to be an over-match for the Macedonians. Theſe were the diſpoſitions of the Achæans, when they aſſembled at Sicyon to hear the Roman embaſſadors, who came attended with deputies from king Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, on purpoſe to diſpel their fears, and make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions on the minds of ſo wary a people. Philip likewiſe ſent an embaſſador to the aſſembly, named Cleomedon, whoſe intrigues the Romans had reaſon to fear, he being a man of great intereſt in Achaia. The embaſſadors being introduced, L. Calpurnius, who ſpoke for the Romans, was firſt heard; after him the deputies from Attalus and the Rhodians; and then Cleomedon. What the latter ſaid was heard with great attention; but the Athenians, who ſpoke the laſt, effaced in a great meaſure the prejudices which Cleomedon had raiſed. All theſe different ſpeeches divided the Achæans more than ever; inſomuch that they broke up the ſeſſion, which had laſted the whole day, without coming to any reſolution.

The Achæans ſollicited by Quinctius to declare for the Romans.

THE next day the aſſembly met again, the deputies only of the Achæan cities being admitted to give their opinions, and come to ſome final reſolution. An herald, as was the cuſtom, invited thoſe to ſpeak who had a right of voting; but they all continued in a deep ſilence, gazing at one another, and not daring to pronounce in ſo perplexed an affair.

At laſt Ariſtenes, preſident of the aſſembly, broke ſilence, and addreſſed the deputies in this manner: What is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you uſed to diſpute at your banquets, ſometimes contending for Philip againſt the Romans, and ſometimes for the Romans againſt Philip? You were then deciſive, and now in an aſſembly ſummoned for no other purpoſe, after hearing the ſpeeches and reaſons on both ſides, you are mute. If the love of your country cannot extort a word from you, will not your inclination for one or the other party looſe your tongues? eſpecially as you know that it will be too late to ſpeak after the reſolution ſhall be once taken [z].

THESE reproaches, however reaſonable and judicious, could not prevail with any of the members to give their opinion. There was an univerſal ſilence in the aſſembly, till Ariſtenes reſumed the diſcourſe, and in a long harangue repreſented to them the ſituation of their affairs, urging the neceſſity of their joining the Romans, who, he ſaid, were in a condition to force them to the compliance which they had condeſcended to requeſt. But his diſcourſe did not bring the Achæans to an agreement among themſelves. The diſputes grew warm, ſome applauding what Ariſtenes had ſaid, and others oppoſing it with great violence. Even the demiurgi or heads of the deputies were not unanimous. Five of the ten were for decreeing an alliance with the Romans. The other five proteſted againſt it, declaring, that it was againſt law to decree any thing in the aſſembly with relation to their alliance with Philip. And indeed that prince had cauſed a clauſe to be inſerted in his treaty with the Achæans to this effect, that the affair of his alliance ſhould no more be canvaſſed in the general aſſembly. The aſſembly was to ſit but one day longer, and even this ſhort time was ſpent in warm diſputes, the father diſagreeing with the ſon, and the deputies of one and the ſame city being ready to fall upon one another. Memnon of Pellene was ſteady for Philip; and his father, whoſe name was Rhiaſius, no leſs ſanguine for Rome. The father conjured him a long time not to oppoſe the welfare of his country; but finding that his prayers did not avail, he openly proteſted, that he would treat him as an enemy, and put him to death in caſe he did not yield to his opinion. Such menaces, uttered by a father, made ſo deep an impreſſion in the mind of Memnon, that he immediately came over to the party of Rome. At laſt

[z] Liv. l. xxxii. n. 22.

laſt the majority were for the Romans; but before the decree was paſſed, the deputies of Dyme, and Megalopolis, and ſome of the Argians withdrew from the aſſembly; which no one took offence at, becauſe they had particular obligations to Philip. The deputies of the other cities followed the moſt prudent advice, and immediately concluded an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians, but deferred the entire concluſion of that with the Romans, till the return of the embaſſadors they ſent to Rome to obtain the ratification from the ſenate [a].

After long debates the Achæans conclude an alliance with the Romans.

BUT in the mean time the Achæans lent aſſiſtance to the Romans to reduce Corinth. The city was attacked on the ſide of Cenchrea by Quinctius, at the gate of Sicyon by the Achæans, and on the ſide of the port Lechæum by Attalus. They at firſt carried on the attack but very faintly, hoping that a quarrel would ſoon ariſe between the garriſon and the inhabitants. But Androſthenes, who commanded in the place for Philip, had gained the affection of the Corinthians, and being ſupplied with a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men, and a great many Roman deſerters, who expected no quarter if the city ſhould be taken, he obliged the beſiegers to drop the enterprize [b].

Corinth beſieged by the Romans and Achœans.

THEY were no ſooner retired than Philocles, one of king Philip's generals marched his troops into the heart of Achaia, which had lately joined the Romans, and drew near the city of Argos. He was not ignorant that the citizens ſtill retained an affection for the Macedonian party; for they had very lately given a ſignal proof of it. It had long been a cuſtom among the Argians to invoke Jupiter, Apollo, and Hercules, on the firſt day of their aſſembly, and add to the names of theſe gods that of the king of Macedon. But after the Achæans had entered into an alliance with the Romans, the herald, who pronounced the form, thought it his duty to omit Philip's name. This omiſſion diſpleaſed the Argians, who loudly demanded, that the king's name ſhould be joined to thoſe of the tutelary gods of their country. Philocles therefore, depending on this affection for his maſter, advanced his troops near Argos, and in the night poſted them on an eminence which overlooked the city. But the city was defended by a ſtrong garriſon, which the Achæans had placed there under the command of one Æneſidemus, who was greatly attached to the Roman intereſt. To him therefore Philocles ſent a meſſenger, ſummoning

The ſiege raiſed.

The Macedonians poſſeſs themſelves of Argos.

Year of the flood 2806. Before Chriſt 197.

[a] Liv. bid. [b] Liv. ibid. n. 25.

moning him to deliver up the city, which he could not defend againſt the Macedonians without, and the citizens within, the walls, who were all of the ſame mind, and determined to ſhake off the Roman yoke. This ſummons did not move the brave commander, who thought himſelf in a condition to withſtand the menaces of the Macedonian, though his garriſon conſiſted only of five hundred men. But he was not a little ſurpriſed, when he ſaw all the citizens take up arms, and in a tumultuous manner command him to march out of the city. Æneſidemus well knew it was a raſh and fruitleſs attempt to oppoſe the multitude with ſuch an handful of men; he had alſo compaſſion for the brave youth under his command; and therefore having agreed that they ſhould march out unmoleſted, continued himſelf in the city with a ſmall number of his friends and clients. Philocles, ſurprized to ſee the commander remain in his poſt after the ſoldiers were gone, ſent to aſk him, Why he continued in the city, and what he intended to do? To which the brave Achæan anſwered, To die in the place committed to my care; whereupon Philocles ordered his Thracians to diſcharge their arrows at him, which they did accordingly, and he fell dead upon his buckler. Thus, notwithſtanding the alliance which the Achæans had concluded with the Romans, Philip ſtill poſſeſſed two of their ſtrongeſt cities, Corinth and Argos [c].

Argos delivered up to Nabis.

It was of the utmoſt importance for Philip to preſerve the city of Argos; but the difficulty was how to continue maſter of a place in the heart of Achaia, and at ſo great a diſtance from his hereditary dominions. He therefore delivered it up to the famous Nabis, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of Lacedæmon, and was in a condition to defend it; the conditions upon which he delivered it were, that he ſhould poſſeſs it as his own, if Philip loſt his life in the war, but reſtore it, if he were alive at the concluding of a peace. The tyrant willingly complied with theſe conditions, having nothing in view but to plunder the place, and enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of the unfortunate Argians, who, foreſeeing what muſt befal them, refuſed to admit the Lacedæmonians within their walls. But Nabis, by the help of Philocles, was brought into the city in the night, and before the inhabitants were aware, had poſſeſſed himſelf of all the advantageous poſts, and cauſed the gates to be ſhut. Some of the chief magiſtrates made their eſcape in the tumult,

[c] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 25.

mult, and this the tyrant made uſe of as a pretence to begin his depredations. He confiſcated the eſtates of thoſe that had fled; and then, knowing that no body was able to oppoſe him, ſet no bounds to his oppreſſions. He commanded the inhabitants to bring him all their gold, ſilver, and jewels, putting to the rack, and treating like ſlaves, ſuch as he ſuſpected to conceal any part of their riches. He aſſembled the magiſtrates, and at their firſt meeting notified to them two decrees, which he obliged them to paſs; by the firſt, he cancelled all old debts; and by the ſecond ordered a new diviſion to be made of the lands, whereof every citizen ſhould have an equal ſhare. Thus he ſet the rich againſt the poor, and put the whole city in a flame [d].

Nabis joins the Romans.

Nabis was ſenſible he could not keep Argos without a powerful protection, and therefore forgetting on what conditions he held it, embaſſadors were ſent to Flaminius and Attalus inviting them to an interview. The proconſul and Attalus accepted of the invitation, without examining very nicely into the injuſtice and treachery of the tyrant, and a place near Argos was appointed for their conferences. In the interview Flaminius inſiſted upon two conditions; firſt, that Nabis ſhould put an end to the war in Achaia; and ſecondly, that he ſhould furniſh the confederates with his contingent of troops to act againſt Philip. The tyrant agreed to the ſecond article, but would allow only a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty, however, was concluded, and Nabis, who was ſo infamous for cruelty and injuſtice, joined in confederacy with the Romans, which reflected no ſmall diſhonour on their general [e].

The Achæans continued ſteady in the Roman intereſt during the whole courſe of this war, and their prætor Nicoſtratus ſignalized himſelf on the following occaſion. Philip had left one Androſthenes with a body of ſix thouſand men in Corinth, to protect that city and its diſtricts, from the inſults of the Achæans and other Greeks of the Roman faction. Androſthenes, thinking it beneath him to be thus confined within the narrow bounds of the Corinthian territory, marched out at the head of his little army, and overrun great part of Achaia. Nicoſtratus the Achæan prætor had but two thouſand men under his command, and theſe were too few to oppoſe the ſuperior forces of the Macedonian, who advanced to the very walls of Sicyon, to inſult

[d] Liv. ibid. c. 28. [e] Liv. ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. xiii. ſub finem, Plut. in Flamin.

the prætor there in garriſon. As Androſthenes was under no apprehenſion of being attacked by ſo contemptible a foe, his troops were often diſperſed in ſmall bodies, and his army ſcarce ever in one place. This gave Nicoſtratus hopes of being able to ſurprize him. And accordingly he ſent orders to the garriſons of the neighbouring cities to appear at a general rendezvous, on a day appointed, at a little city called Apelaurum in Argolis. His orders were obeyed, and the prætor ſet out from thence at the head of five thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and three hundred horſe. The horſe he detached to obſerve the enemies motions, and by them received advice, that they were encamped on the river Nemea (N), between Corinth and Sicyon, and that the Macedonian having divided his army into three bodies, had detached one into the territory of Sicyon, another into that of Pellene (O), and the third towards Phlius (P). Upon this advice Nicoſtratus placed his mercenaries in a foreſt, through which the Macedonians were to paſs in their return to Corinth; while he led the reſt in two bodies to attack Androſthenes in his camp. The Macedonians were greatly ſurprized when they ſaw the Achæans making directly to their camp. Androſthenes, ordering the trumpets to give the ſignal for aſſembling the troops that were ſtragling about in the villages, drew up the ſmall body he had with him on the banks of the river. But, the parties that were out not returning ſoon enough to join him, he was eaſily defeated. This advantage encouraged Nicoſtratus to fall upon the Macedonians that were laying waſte the territory of Sicyon; there few of them eſcaped, being ſurrounded on all ſides before they knew that the enemy had taken the field. As for thoſe who were ravaging the country about Pellene and Phlius, they were either murdered by the inhabitants, or cut

The Macedonians defeated by the Achæans.

(N) The river Nemea watered part of Peloponneſus, and diſcharged itſelf into the gulph of Corinth. It is now called the Largia.

(O) Pellene, called by Stephanus Pellina, was a city of Achaia Propria, and bordered upon the territory of Sicyon. Geniſtus, calls it Cercoba, and Le Noir gives it the name of Zarachas. The natives now call it Diacopont. It is about ſixty ſurlongs diſtant from the gulph of Corinth.

(P) This city Li y calls Phlaſius (7). We muſt take care not to confound it with another bearing the ſame name in Argolis. The Phlius here ſpoke of was in Achaia.

(7) Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 14.

cut in pieces by the mercenaries, who lay concealed in the foreſt. This action freed Achaia from all fear of the Macedonians, and doubled Philip's concern, who heard of it a few days after the great overthrow which he received in the plain of Cynocephalæ [f].

THESE repeated loſſes obliged Philip at length to accept of a peace, on ſuch conditions as Rome and her allies were pleaſed to impoſe. The main article relating to Greece was, that Philip ſhould evacuate all the places he poſſeſſed in Greece, and withdraw his garriſons, before the celebration of the Iſthmian games (Q). Purſuant to this article, ten commiſſioners were ſent from Rome, to ſettle the affairs of Greece and reſtore each city to the full enjoyment of its former rights and privileges. All Greece received this news with the greateſt tranſports of joy. The Ætolians alone were diſcontented, and inveighed bitterly againſt the Romans, becauſe among the cities that were to be ſet at liberty, no mention was made of Corinth, Chalcis, Oreum, Eretria, and Demetrias, which were all in the hands of the Romans. The Ætolians ſuſpected, that Rome deſigned to appropriate them to herſelf, in which caſe Greece, ſaid they, would indeed change its maſters, but not its condition. The ſuſpicion of the Ætolians was not ill grounded; for the ten commiſſioners, purſuant to the inſtruction of the ſenate, had omitted the names of theſe cities with a deſign to keep them, as they were the keys of Greece, and thereby prevent Antiochus from entering that country. But the proconſul prevailed with them to extend the decree to all the cities in Greece, not one excepted. By this means the Achæans were put in poſſeſſion of Corinth. Nevertheleſs, it was reſolved in the council of the ten commiſſioners, that the citadel of Corinth, and the two cities of Demetrias and Chalcis, ſhould be held by the Romans, as long as they were under any apprehenſions of a war with Antiochus [g].

A peace concluded with Philip. Year of the flood 2807. Before Chriſt 196.

AND

[f] Liv. ibid. [g] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30, 35. Polyb. excerp. Legat. p. 795. 800. Plut. in Flam.

(Q) On the Iſthmus of Corinth ſome games were annually celebrated, and thence called Iſthmian. They are ſaid to have been inſtituted by Theſeus in honour of Neptune. The moſt ſkilful athletæ in Greece came thither to diſpute the prize in running, leaping, wreſtling, &c. This was one of the moſt numerous aſſemblies in Greece.

The Greeks declared free by the Romans.

AND now, the time of the Iſthmian games drawing near, the expectation of what was to be tranſacted there kept every body in ſuſpenſe. The decree of the Roman commiſſioners was not yet divulged, and the future fate of Greece was the topic of all converſations. Some, but very few hoped well; moſt of that numerous aſſembly could not be perſuaded, that the Romans would part with the cities they had taken. The multitude were in this uncertainty, when the appointed day came for beginning the games. The proconſul Flaminius, attended by the ten commiſſioners, took his place; ſilence was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet; and the herald advanced into the middle of the arena, as it were to pronounce the uſual form of words; but the Greeks to their great ſurprize heard him pronounce the following words: "The ſenate and people of Rome, "and Quinctius Flaminius proconſul, after having over-"come Philip and quieted Macedon, declare the Corinthi-"ans, the Phocians, the Locri, all the Eubœans in the "iſland, the Magneſians, the Theſſalians, the Perrhœbi, "the Achæans, and Phthiotes, free from all kind of ſervitude. "All theſe nations ſhall live in an independent ſtate, and "be governed only by their own laws." In this vaſt aſſembly all had not heard equally the voice of the herald, by reaſon of the noiſe and confuſion which immediately aroſe. Such as were at a greater diſtance left their places to aſk thoſe who were nearer what they had heard. At laſt there was an univerſal outcry from all corners of the ſtadium, demanding that the herald ſhould repeat the proclamation. Then the trumpet ſounded again, and the herald, with a more diſtinct and loud voice, proclaimed liberty to all the Greeks without exception. He was heard with the moſt profound ſilence, and not a ſingle word of the decree was loſt. And now, being fully aſſured of their happineſs, they expreſſed their ſatisfaction with ſuch tranſports of joy as are not to be conceived or imagined (R). They all crouded round

(R) Plutarch tells us, that the air was put into ſuch a violent agitation by the acclamations and ſhouts of ſo numerous a body of people, that ſome crows which were accidentally flying over the aſſembly, fell down in the arena (8).

(8) Plut. in Flam.

round Flaminius, calling him the deliverer of Greece, and preſſing to kiſs his hand. The croud was ſo great, and they threw ſo many crowns and garlands upon him, that he would have run the hazard of being ſtifled, had not the vigor of his age, being then in his thirty-third year, and that joy which ſo glorious a day raiſed in his breaſt, enabled him to undergo ſo great a fatigue. At length the games began, but the ſpectators could look at nothing but the protector and reſtorer of their liberties, admiring the diſintereſtedneſs of the Romans in general, and the conduct of the proconſul in particular [h]. But after all, Rome found her account in theſe acts of generoſity; for they gained her the hearts of the Greek nation, and by that means encreaſed her power without enlarging her dominions.

Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acro-Corinth evacuated by the Romans.

AFTER this the proconſul, to complete the work, convened a general aſſembly at Corinth, and there declared, that he would evacuate Demetrias, Chalcis, and Acro-Corinth; which he did accordingly, and then began to prepare for his journey to Rome. The Greeks, with tears in their eyes, aſſured him, that they ſhould ever retain a grateful remembrance of ſo gracious a protector; and to give him before his departure ſome pledge of their affection, they ſought for all the Romans that were reduced to ſlavery on the coaſts of Greece, and delivered them up to him. They amounted to twelve thouſand in number, the greateſt part of them having been taken by Hannibal in Italy and ſold to the Greeks. The Achœans alone bore the charge of their redemption, which came to a hundred talents. With this attendance the proconſul, after having withdrawn the Roman forces from Acro-Corinth, Demetrias, and Chalcis, embarked at Oricum on his return to Italy, leaving Greece to enjoy the happineſs which he had procured it [i].

Nabis left in poſſeſſion of Sparta.

THE only thing that reflected ſome diſhonour on Flaminius and ſtained his reputation was, his leaving the uſurper Nabis in poſſeſſion of Lacedœmon, without ever once mentioning in the treaty of peace the unhappy Ageſipolis, who was the lawful heir, and had fought during the war under the Roman ſtandards. Plutarch accounts for this ſtrange proceeding, and tells us, that Flaminius propoſed only ſuch conditions as he hoped the tyrant would not reject, being impatient to return to Rome, becauſe the reputation

[h] Plut. in Flam.

[i] Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 4. Plut. in Flamin.

tation of Philopœmen began to eclipſe his. They were both in the ſame camp and in the ſame confederacy, and the ſoldiers in their diſcourſes often compared them together, always preferring the Greek general to the Roman. They imputed the proconſul's ſucceſſes to the bravery and intrepidity of his legions; but unanimouſly agreed, that Philopœmen's victories were entirely owing to himſelf. And truly, ſays our author, no one underſtood better than Philopœmen how to draw up an army, ſeize advantageous poſts, ſuit the diſpoſition of his troops to the ground, order evolutions at a proper time, make an attack ſeaſonably, or judge of the critical time for a retreat[k]. Flaminius on the other ſide, though inferior to the Achæan in the art of commanding armies, yet far ſurpaſſed him in all other virtues and qualifications. Nevertheleſs he was very uneaſy to ſee himſelf ſurpaſſed by a Greek, in that character which moſt dazzles the eyes of the multitude; and this made him ſo zealous for putting an end to the war, contrary to the opinion of the moſt judicious among the Greeks, who were for purſuing Nabis to the laſt extremities, knowing, that Greece would never enjoy a laſting peace, ſo long as Nabis enjoyed the crown of Lacedæmon.

WHAT they foreſaw was ſoon brought to paſs: For, not long after the departure of the Romans, Nabis began to raiſe inſurrections in the maritime cities, which he had been obliged to give up by the treaty of peace. As they were garriſoned by the Achæans, he attempted to drive them out, and even laid ſiege to Gythium, an important maritime city, which Flaminius had taken from him. Theſe hoſtilities obliged the Achæans to have recourſe to the Romans, who ſent the great Flaminius again into Greece to enquire into the ſtate of affairs on the ſpot. At his arrival he found Nabis yet engaged in the ſiege of Gythium, and the Achæans aſſembled at their general diet which was held at Sicyon: They had immediately recourſe to him and deſired his advice. The aſſembly were for taking up arms immediately and invading the Lacedæmonian territories; but Flaminius adviſed them to wait till the Roman fleet arrived, which the prætor Bœbius was ordered to bring to their aſſiſtance. Nevertheleſs the aſſembly was ſtill in ſuſpence what part to act, and the leading men were divided among themſelves; ſome were for following the advice of Flaminius, others for falling on the Lacedæmonians without loſs of time; they only waited for the deciſion of

The Achæans declare war againſt Nabis tyrant of Sparta. Year of the flood, 2812. Before Chriſt 191.

[k] Plut. In Flamin. & Philopœm.

of Philopœmen, who was then prætor and preſided in the aſſembly. But that prudent general was not in haſte to give his opinion : " It is a wiſe inſtitution of ours, ſaid he, " that our prætors ſhall not deliver their opinions when the " aſſemblies are deliberating about war. It is your buſi- " neſs to determine what to do, and mine to execute " your orders ; and I will take all poſſible care that you " ſhall not repent of your choice, whether it be for war " or peace ". Theſe words inclined the aſſembly more powerfully to a war, than if he openly declared for it ; and a decree was iſſued, ordering troops to be levied without delay, and leaving the whole management of the war to Philopœmen [l].

THE brave Achæan, being inveſted with this power, was at firſt in doubt what to do; on one hand he thought it would be of great advantage to wait till the arrival of the Roman fleet, according to the advice of Flaminius ; on the other ſide he judged it might be dangerous to ſuffer Nabis to purſue the ſiege of Gythium, and expoſe the Achæan garriſon to the rage of the tyrant. He therefore took a middle way, which was to get ready the Achæan ſhips with a deſign to give the beſieged ſome relief, and ſuſpend the attacks of the enemy, at leaſt towards the ſea. But this deſign required a man of ſome experience in maritime affairs, whereas Philopœmen, tho' not inferior to any land-officer whatſoever, had never been on board a ſhip, but in order to go over to Crete as a paſſenger. However, he took upon him the command of the Achæan fleet, imagining that he ſhould be as ſucceſsful by ſea as he had been by land. But he found to his coſt, how uſeful experience is on all occaſions ; for Nabis, who had fitted out a few ſhips filled with rowers and ſoldiers uſed to ſea-fights, fell upon him, and at the very onſet diſperſed his fleet, took ſome of his ſhips, and ſunk others. Philopœmen himſelf was very near being taken, but, as he had the caution to go on board a light veſſel before the engagement, he made his eſcape, and, though purſued cloſe by the enemy, got ſafe into the port of Patræ [m].

Philopœmen defeated by ſea.

THE ſhame of this ill-concerted expedition did not diſcourage the brave Philopœmen, but only made him act with greater caution and prudence for the future. Nabis, elated with this advantage, thought that no more attempts would

He gains a complete victory over Nabis by land.

[l] Plut in Philop, Liv. lib. xxxv. c. 13.

[m] Plut. & ibid.

would be made to throw any ſuccours in Gythium, and therefore turning the ſiege into a blockade, left only the third part of his forces before the place, and with the reſt guarded the paſſes through which ſuccours might be brought to the beſieged city, eſpecially a port called Pleiæ. In this camp Philopœmen reſolved to attack the Lacedæmonians; and accordingly having gathered together ſome boats, and manned them with Achæans, he ordered them to advance towards Pleiæ, while he himſelf marched along the ſhore to the ſame place. Both the boats and Philopœmen with his army arrived at Pleiæ in the dead of the night, and found the enemy faſt aſleep without any watch, as thinking themſelves in a ſecure place. Upon the firſt ſignal fire-brands and burning matter were thrown from the boats, and the Achæan general at the ſame time ſurrounded the camp to fall on thoſe who made their eſcape. As the Lacedæmonians were not furniſhed with tents, they had made barracks of branches of trees, which taking fire obliged them to fly in great confuſion. But ſuch as eſcaped the flames were cut in pieces by the Achæans, who had ſeized on all the paſſes; ſo that very few got ſafe to the camp before Gythium. Philopœmen having thus retrieved his reputation, which had been ſomewhat leſſened by his maritime expedition, aſſembled the Achæans, in order to conſult with them about the meaſures he ſhould take for the relief of Gythium. It was reſolved in the aſſembly, that he ſhould advance to Lacedæmon, as if he deſigned to lay ſiege to that city. This, they thought, would be the only means to make a powerful diverſion, and force Nabis to raiſe the ſiege. But, in the mean time, the attacks being carried on with great vigour, the place was taken the very day that the Achæan army appeared before Lacedæmon. Nabis therefore, without loſs of time, haſtened to Lacedæmon, and found the Achæans marching through a narrow paſs, their ſeveral bodies being at a conſiderable diſtance from each other. Philopœmen was not a little ſurprized at the ſudden appearance of the enemy, and the narrowneſs of the place doubled his concern. However, without ſhewing any uneaſineſs, he drew up his men in the moſt artful manner poſſible. He poſted his Achæans in the firſt line, and behind them the Cretan auxiliaries. His cavalry he drew up by the ſide of a brook for the convenience of watering their horſes. He placed his baggage on the top of a rock with a detachment to guard it. In this diſpoſition he waited till the enemy

enemy came up, without fearing the conſequences of an engagement. In the mean time night drew on, and both armies remained in the ſame poſture. Philopœmen in the night-time poſted a ſtrong body of his beſt troops in a valley, ordering his horſe to retire till they drew the enemy into the ambuſcade he had laid for them. Early next morning the action began, and the horſe engaged firſt; the Achæan cavalry was commanded by Lycortas, the father of Polybius the hiſtorian. At firſt the diſpute was warm, and advantage equal. But Lycortas, according to the orders he had received, in the heat of the engagement began to give ground, and, retiring in good order drew the enemy into an ambuſcade; and then facing about attacked them in front, while the troops that lay concealed flanked them with incredible fury. The victory was then no more doubtful; the Lacedæmonian cavalry betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and moſt of them would have been cut to pieces, had not the Achæan general who was more afraid of the narrow roads than of the enemy, ſounded a retreat. Nabis, ſuſpecting that Philopœmen deſigned to ſeize the paſſes leading to Lacedæmon and thereby cut off his retreat, marched off with part of his troops to prevent him. This report Philopæmen had cauſed to be ſpread in the Lacedæmonian camp, by one of his own men who fled thither as a deſerter; and accordingly took his advantage of it. For Nabis was no ſooner gone, but he attacked his ſon-in-law Pythagoras who was left to guard the camp, and forcing the trenches poſſeſſed himſelf of the baggage and warlike engines. He left a detachment in the enemies camp, and with the reſt of the army purſued the fugitives with great ſlaughter. The Lacedæmonians being now entirely diſperſed, he divided his army into a great many ſmall bodies, ordering them to lie concealed on the roads that led to the gates of Lacedæmon, being well appriſed, that by the favour of the night ſuch as were rambling in the woods would attempt to enter the city. His deſign ſucceeded, and the Lacedæmonians were either cut in pieces or taken priſoners, as they were in the dead of the night making towards the city. Thus the tyrant loſt the flower of his troops, and Philopœmen, after having laid waſte great part of Laconia, returned home loaded with ſpoils and glory [n].

But

[n] Plut. ibid, Liv. l xxxv. c. 28.

Sparta joined to the Achæan league. Year of the flood 2812. Before Chriſt 191.

BUT what moſt of all raiſed the fame and reputation of Philopœmen was, his joining the powerful city of Lacedæmon to the Achæan commonwealth, by which means the Achæans came to eclipſe all the other ſtates of Greece. This memorable event we have related at length in the foregoing chapter, and therefore ſhall only add here one circumſtance, which in our opinion reflects greater luſtre on Philopœmen than all his warlike exploits. The Lacedæmonians, overjoyed to ſee themſelves delivered from the oppreſſions they had long groaned under, ordered the palace and furniture of Nabis to be ſold, and the ſum accruing from thence, to the amount of a hundred and twenty talents, to be preſented to Philopœmen as a token of their gratitude. Deputies therefore were to be appointed, who ſhould carry the money and deſire Philopœmen in the name of the ſenate to accept of the preſent. And on this occaſion it was, ſays Plutarch, that

A great inſtance of Philopœmen's diſintereſtedneſs.

the virtue of the generous Achæan appeared in its greateſt luſtre; for ſo great was the opinion which the Spartans had of his probity and diſintereſtedneſs, that no one could be found who would take upon him to offer the preſent. Struck with veneration and fear of diſobliging him, they all begged to be excuſed, At laſt they obliged by a public decree one Timolaus, who had formerly been his gueſt to go to Megalopolis, where Philopœmen lived, and offer him the preſent. Timolaus with great reluctance ſet out for Megalopolis, where he was kindly received and entertained by Philopœmen. Here he had an opportunity of obſerving the ſeverity of his whole conduct, the greatneſs of his mind, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, which ſtruck him with ſuch awe, that he did not dare once to mention the preſent he was come to offer him; inſomuch, that, giving ſome other pretence to his journey, he returned home with the preſent. The Lacedæmonians ſent him again, but he could no more prevail upon himſelf now, than the firſt time, to mention the true cauſe of his journey. At laſt going a third time. he ventured with the utmoſt reluctance to acquaint Philopœmen with the offer he had to make to him in the name of the Lacedæmonians. Philopœmen heard him with great calmneſs; but the inſtant he had done ſpeaking he ſet out with him to Sparta, where, after expreſſing the greateſt obligations to the Spartans, he adviſed them to lay out their money in corrupting and purchaſing

chaſing the wicked, and ſuch as divided the citizens; and ſet them at variance with their ſeditious diſcourſes, to the end that, being paid for their ſilence, they might not occaſion ſo many diſtractions in the government. For it is much more adviſeable, ſaid he, to ſtop an enemy's mouth than a friend's; as for me, I ſhall always be your friend, and you ſhall reap the benefit of my friendſhip without expence [o]. Such was the diſintereſtedneſs of this brave Achæan.

THE Achæan republic was now become formidable; the addition of Lacedæmon had greatly encreaſed its power; but, at the ſame time diviſions ariſing among the confederate cities, the Romans began to let them know, that the republic of Achaia was in ſome degree ſubject to that of Rome. Meſſene and Elis, two cities of Achaia, had ſided with Antiochus and refuſed to come to the Achæan diet. Whereupon Diophanes at that time prætor raiſed ſome troops, and advanced at the head of them into the territories of the two rebellious cities, laying waſte the country, in order to bring them to their duty. The inhabitants had recourſe to Flaminius, who then reſided at Chalcis, proteſting, that they had rather ſurrender themſelves up to the Romans, than live ſubject to the Achæans. Flaminius immediately left Chalcis, and haſtening to Megalopolis, ſent orders from thence to Diophanes, enjoining him to deſiſt from hoſtilities and meet him at Megalopolis. The prætor obeyed, and Flaminius, after having gently reproved him for diſturbing the peace, adviſed him to diſband his troops, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he would ſettle the affair of the Meſſenians and Eleans to the ſatisfaction of the Achæans. Accordingly he ſubjected them to the diet, and obliged them to deliver up the Achæan exiles they kept in their cities. This proceeding of Flaminius was greatly applauded by the Achæans, for the Meſſenians earneſtly entreated him to put a Roman garriſon into the city, proteſting that they had rather be ſubject to Rome than to Achaia. But Flaminius in ſo doing had another point in view, which was to perſuade the Achæans to deliver up to him the iſland of Zacynthus (S) which

Meſſene and Elis revolt from the Achæans.

[o] Plut. in Philop.

(S) Zacynthus, now Zante, is a pretty conſiderable iſland in the Ionian ſea. It is ſaid to be twenty-five miles in length, twenty

which they had lately purchaſed. Diophanes could not by any means be prevailed upon to part with it; whereupon Flaminius ordered the aſſembly to be called, and there gave a ſignal proof of his abilities, convincing the Achæans, that the parting with an iſland which they had lately purchaſed would prove very advantageous to their republic. The ſpeech he made on this occaſion is entirely accommodated to the genius of the Greeks. "I look on Achaia, ſaid he, as "a ſort of tortoiſe which nature hath guarded with its "ſhell. If it thruſts out its head or feet ever ſo little be-"yond its armour, it is in danger of being trod upon and "hurt. The frontier cities, which ſurround you, Achæ-"ans, are your ſhell and your natural defence. But as to any "acquiſitions beyond the continent, thoſe are parts of your "ſtate which are expoſed to inſults, and which you can-"not ſecure without being at a greater charge than they "are worth." This ſpeech, which was founded on good ſenſe, convinced the Achæans, that their new purchaſe would prove rather prejudicial than uſeful to their republic, and therefore they all unanimouſly voted, that it ſhould be delivered up to the Romans [q].

New diſputes among the Achæans.

It was not long, ere new diſputes aroſe among the Achæans, which gave the Romans a fair opportunity of exerting their authority even over their allies and thoſe very nations which they had declared free. The general aſſembly of the Achæans had been held time out of mind at Ægium; but Philopœmen, who was then prætor, thought fit to divide the honour and advantages, which thoſe aſſemblies brought to the places where they were held, among all the cities of the Achæan league, and had named Argos for the place of the next diet. But the inhabitants of Ægium oppoſed this regulation, and had recourſe to M. Fulvius Nobilior, who, after having reduced the Ætolians and made himſelf maſter of Cephalenia, reſided in that iſland to decide, as he ſaid, ſuch diſputes as ſhould ariſe between any of the Greek cities or republics. Thus, under the charac-

[q] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 32.

ter

ty in breadth, and ſixty in circuit. It had for a long time belonged to Philip of Macedon, who had given it up to Amynander king of the Athamanes. This prince made the famous Philip of Megalopolis governor of it, and he transferred it to Hierocles of Sicily, who after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ ſold it to the Achæans.

ter of a peace-maker, he was in reality the ſovereign of Greece, and gave laws to the whole country. The iſland of Cephalenia being now in the hands of the Romans, a way was open for the legions into Peloponneſus, which was only divided from it by a ſmall arm of the ſea about twenty-four miles over. Fulvius therefore, upon the firſt notice of this diſpute, croſſed over into Peloponneſus, and the whole matter was referred to his determination. His inclination indeed led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium; but ſeeing that the other party was far more numerous, he withdrew from the aſſembly without declaring his opinion. It was enough for him that the diſpute had been brought to his tribunal [r].

The Lacedæmonians attempt to withdraw themſelves from the Achæan league. Year of the flood 2814. Before Chriſt 189.

THE quarrel that aroſe between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans was of more conſequence. Flaminius had given all the places on the coaſt of Laconia to the Achæans, who kept garriſons in them, even after Lacedæmon had acceded to the Achæan league. This ſome of the leading men among the Lacedæmonians could not brook, and therefore, to deliver themſelves from this ſlavery, they attacked in the night a ſmall city on the coaſt called Las (T), but were repulſed by the inhabitants and the Lacedæmonian exiles, who there enjoyed quiet under the protection of Achaia. This attempt alarmed the exiles, who brought their complaints to the council of the Achæans. Philopœmen, who was an avowed friend and protector of the exiles, for they had been driven out for oppoſing the tyrant, was then prætor. He repreſented to the aſſembly the attempt upon Las as an inſult offered to all Achaia, and cauſed a decree to be enacted, commanding the Lacedæmonians to deliver up the authors of that enterprize, on pain of being treated as enemies. Embaſſadors were ſent to Lacedæmon to give them notice of this decree; but this ſerved only to exaſperate the minds of a proud people. They immediately put to death thirty of thoſe who were known to be in the Achæan intereſt, diſſolved their alliance with Achaia, and ſent embaſſadors to Fulvius the proconſul, entreating him to come and take poſſeſſion of their city. But theſe proceedings, and

[r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28—30.

(T) Las was ſituated on the Laconic gulph ſouth of Sparta, on a ſtony ſoil and in a country full of rocks, whence it borrowed its name; the word λᾶς ſignifying in Greek a ſtone.

the powerful protection which they were imploring, did not deter Philopœmen from declaring war againſt Lacedæmon. However, as the ſeaſon was far advanced, the Achæans contented themſelves with plundering part of the Lacedæmonian territory and haraſſing the inhabitants with frequent incurſions.

At the return of the ſpring, both parties made preparations for war, and hoſtilities were carried ſo far, that they forced Fulvius to leave Cephalenia and come into Peloponneſus. On his arrival he ordered an aſſembly to be convened at Elis, to diſcuſs the pretenſions of Achaia over Lacedæmon. But, after hearing both parties, he was ſo perplexed that he could come to no determination. He did all that lay in his power to reconcile the contending parties, but they were too untractable to come to an accommodation. He therefore adviſed them to ſend embaſſadors to Rome, and while the cauſe was trying there to ſuſpend all hoſtilities. They followed his advice, and deputies were immediately diſpatched to Rome. The Achæans appointed two great men to plead their cauſe, who were of a very different character. Theſe were Diophanes, a man of moderation and of a tractable diſpoſition, and Lycortas the father of Polybius, a man entirely addicted to Philopœmen. Diophanes referred the deciſion of the cauſe to the arbitration of the ſenate. Lycortas maintained the decree of Philopœmen, and urged, that it could not be reverſed without making void the regulations of Flaminius, who had committed the care of the coaſt to the Achæans. The ſenate was unwilling to diſguſt the Achæans, but at the ſame time thought the Lacedæmonians worthy of compaſſion. They returned therefore a dark and ambiguous anſwer, which each party interpreted in their own favour. The Achæans pretended that it gave them full power to inflict on the Lacedæmonians the puniſhment they deſerved. Whereupon Philopœmen, who was continued in his prætorſhip, taking the field, marched to the very walls of Lacedæmon, and there ſummoned the city to deliver up the authors of the attempt upon Las, promiſing that they ſhould not be condemned without a fair trial. Upon this promiſe all thoſe, whom Philopœmen demanded by name, ſet out for the Achæan camp, attended by the chief citizens of Lacedæmon, who looked upon their cauſe as their own. Being arrived at the camp their malecontent countrymen crouded round them, and with an inſulting air began to vent the moſt injurious

injurious expreſſions againſt them. Nay, from words they came to blows, and the Achæan officers had occaſion to exert all their authority to appeaſe the tumult. As the Lacedæmonian exiles continued complaining of their hard treatment, they engaged the Achæan ſoldiers in their quarrel, and all on a ſudden fell upon the Lacedæmonians with ſuch fury, that ſeventeen of them were killed upon the ſpot. Seventy-three were with the greateſt difficulty reſcued out of the hands of the enraged multitude. Philopœmen did not intend to pardon them, but was unwilling it ſhould be ſaid that they had been condemned without a trial. They were therefore the next morning produced before the multitude, who, without ſcarce ſuffering them to anſwer for themſelves, condemned and executed them all. This ſevere proceeding ſtruck all the Lacedæmonians with ſuch terror, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion; and Philopœmen, whoſe main point in view was to humble the Lacedæmonians, treated them as if their city had been taken by ſtorm. He commanded them to demoliſh their walls, diſband all their mercenaries, drive out of their city all the ſlaves whom the tyrants had ſet at liberty, receive the exiles, and laſtly, renounce the laws of Lycurgus, and for the future govern themſelves only by thoſe of Achaia [s].

Lacedæmon reduced by the Achæans.

Hard conditions impoſed upon the city by Philopœmen.

THE Lacedæmonians readily demoliſhed their walls; for Lacedæmon had long ſubſiſted without any other defence but the bravery of its citizens. The recalling of the exiles was what they were moſt averſe to; but Philopœmen and the Achæans were inexorable, and would by all means have the exiles re-inſtated in their antient honours, from which they had been driven by the tyrants, But the moſt fatal blow was the abolition of the laws of the wiſe Lycurgus, which, ſevere as they were, the Lacedæmonians had obſerved for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years [t]. Such was the fate of one of the moſt illuſtrious cities of Greece (U).

THE Lacedæmonians ſent embaſſadors to Rome to complain of this cruel treatment; and Lepidus, who was then conſul, writ a letter to the Achæan confederacy, acquainting them,

The Lacedæmonians carry their complaints to Rome.

[s] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 30——34. [t] Liv. ibid.

(U) This cruel treatment of ſo renowned a city as Sparta reflects no great honour on Philopœmen. Plutarch, who juſtly ranks him among the greateſt commanders of Greece, ſeems in a certain manner to palliate this action, ſince he could not juſtify it. His

them, that the ſenate did not at all approve of ſuch inhuman proceedings. Hereupon the Achæans immediately diſpatched Nicodemus of Elis to Rome to juſtify their conduct. Upon his return he acquainted his republic, that Rome was not pleaſed with the ſubverſion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls, and the putting to death ſo many of the inhabitants; but at the ſame time did not annul the decrees which the aſſembly had enacted. Rome had then affairs of greater importance on her hands, and therefore put off the diſcuſſion of this point to a more proper ſeaſon [u].

The friendſhip of the Achæans courted by the princes of Aſia.

THE Achæan league was at this time in great repute all over the eaſt, and the friendſhip of ſo powerful a ſtate courted by all the princes of Aſia. Ptolemy king of Egypt ſent embaſſadors to renew his antient alliance with the Achæans, and to offer the republic ſix thouſand ſhields and two hundred talents. His offer was accepted, and Lycortas with two others deputed to thank him for the preſent, and renew the alliance. King Eumenes alſo ſent an embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe, offering a hundred and twenty talents, the intereſt of which ſhould be ſettled on the members of the publick council. Embaſſadors came likewiſe from Seleucus king of Syria, offering the republic, in the name of their ſovereign, ten ſhips of war completely equipped, and deſiring to have the antient treaty of alliance confirmed by the aſſembly. All theſe embaſſadors were heard in the diet, and the alliance with Ptolemy and Seleucus renewed; but it was not judged expedient to accept at that juncture of the ſhips which the latter offered. As for Eumenes, Apollonius of Sicyon exhorted in a long ſpeech the Achæans, not only to reject the preſent that was offered by his embaſſadors, but to look upon him as an enemy, ſince he attempted to bribe the members of that venerable aſſembly; which he would not have done, if he had not ſomething in view prejudicial to their true intereſt. His ſpeech was heard with great applauſe, and the renewing of the alliance poſtponed till a farther opportunity [w].

THE

[u] Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 850, 852. [w] Polyb. ibid.

His inſiſting upon the re-eſtabliſhment of the exiles was no way blameable; for moſt of them had been baniſhed by Machanidas, Lycurgus, and Nabis, for attempting to place on the throne Ageſipolis, to whom the kingdom of Sparta of right belonged. But all the other ſteps Philopœmen took on this occaſion betrayed a great deal of paſſion and a revengeful temper, which could not be ſatisfied but by the utter deſtruction of his enemies.

The Romans jealous of their power.

THE Romans, having now got the better of all their enemies in the eaſt, reſumed the cauſe of the Lacedæmonians, with a deſign to humble the Achæans, whoſe great power began to raiſe no ſmall jealouly at Rome. Three commiſſioners were therefore named, of which Q. Cæcilius was the chief, to go firſt into Macedonia, and from thence into Achaia, to examine matters on the ſpot. Theſe having ſettled the affairs of Macedon, purſuant to their commiſſion, haſtened to Peloponneſus. Ariſtenes, who was then prætor, hearing of their arrival, aſſembled all the chiefs of the republic at Argos, and invited Cæcilius with his collegues thither. Cæcilius, being introduced to the council, began his ſpeech by commending the zeal of the Achæans for the welfare of their country, and extolling the wiſdom of their governors. He then added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their behaviour towards the Lacedæmonians had been very much cenſured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to attone ſome way or other for their imprudent conduct on that occaſion. Ariſtenes, who acted under-hand in concert with Cæcilius, did not make any reply. Diophanes of Megalopolis, who was a profeſſed enemy to Philopœmen, made other complaints againſt him; but took no notice of his proceedings at Lacedæmon. Upon this Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon ſpoke in their turns, and their ſpeeches in defence of the late proceedings at Sparta made ſuch an impreſſion on the council, that when Cæcilius withdrew, they came to a reſolution, that nothing ſhould be altered in the decrees that had been enacted, and that this anſwer ſhould be given to the Roman commiſſioners. When Cæcilius heard it, he deſired that the general aſſembly might be convened. But they replied, that he muſt firſt produce a letter from the ſenate of Rome, whereby the Achæans ſhould be deſired to meet. As Cæcilius had no ſuch letter, they told him plainly that they would not aſſemble. This exaſperated the Roman to ſuch a degree, that he left Achaia without making any further enquiries [x].

ON his return to Rome, he acquainted the ſenate with what he had tranſacted in Peloponneſus. Whereupon Apollonidas, whom the Achæans had ſent to plead their cauſe before the ſenate, was introduced. He endeavoured to juſtify the conduct of Philopœmen and his countrymen, with reſpect to the Lacedæmonians, and told them for what reaſon they

[x] Polyb. in legat. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

had refuſed to call, at the inſtance of Cæcilius, a general aſſembly. After the Achæan embaſſador, thoſe from Sparta were admitted. Philopœmen, as we have obſerved above, reſtored the Spartan exiles ; and theſe very exiles were the men, who ſince their return had moſt zealouſly contended for the recovery of the antient ſplendor and liberty of their native country. Two of theſe, Areus and Alcibiades, were, on this occaſion, appointed by the Lacedæmonians to implore the juſtice of the Roman ſenate. They repreſented, with great eloquence and in a very moving manner, the miſerable condition to which Sparta, once miſtreſs of Greece, was reduced ; how its walls were demoliſhed, and the citizens dragged into Achaia, and there ſold for ſlaves (W); how the ſacred laws of Lycurgus, to which Sparta owed her grandeur and glory, were entirely aboliſhed, &c.

THE ſenate, after hearing and weighing the reaſons on both ſides, ordered Appius Claudius and two others, who were ſoon to ſet out for Macedon, to put an end to this diſpute, and referred the contending parties to the judgment which they ſhould give on the ſpot in the aſſembly of the Achæans. In the mean time they required the Achæans to convene their general aſſembly whenever the Roman embaſſadors ſhould deſire it ; ſince the Roman ſenate admitted them as often as they required an audience [y].

SOMETIME before the arrival of the Roman commiſſioners in Peloponneſus, Lycortas, at that time prætor, ſummoned the general aſſembly to examine the affair of the Lacedæmonians, that he might be ready to anſwer the queſtions which the commiſſioners ſhould aſk him, and at the ſame time know how his own countrymen ſtood affected. He repreſented to them ſuch things as they might fear from the Romans, who ſeemed to favour the intereſt of Lacedæmon more than that of Achaia ; he expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return into their own country to the Achæans, had yet been ſo baſe as to ſpeak in the ſenate againſt them, as if they had drove them from their country. He ended his ſpeech with

[y] Polyb. ibid. c. 42. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 33.

(W) Philopœmen ordered thoſe ſlaves, who had been ſett free by the tyrants, to be ſought out and ſold ; and with the money ariſing from the ſale he rebuilt a portico, which the Lacedæmonians had deſtroyed at Megalopolis his native city.

with theſe words: "But after all they are our ſubjects, "and it is rebellion in them to bring a proceſs againſt their "maſters. What puniſhment then have they deſerved?" At theſe words loud cries were heard from all parts of the aſſembly, deſiring the prætor to put the affair to the vote, and, nothing being liſtened to but paſſion, a decree paſſed, condemning Areus, Alcibiades, and all who attended them in their embaſſy, to be put to death. But in the mean time the Roman commiſſioners arrived, and the ſcene was changed. The aſſembly of the Achæans was then ſitting at Clitor, a little city of Arcadia, and as ſoon as Appius appeared there he took the higheſt place, and acted rather as a judge than a private deputy. The harangue with which he began diſcovered his intentions, and made the Achæans fear the worſt. He told them, that the ſenate had been ſtrongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but diſapprove of all the ſteps that had been taken on that occaſion. He inveighed againſt the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of thoſe who had maſſacred the envoys from Lacedæmon, a city venerable for its antiquity, and exclaimed againſt the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had been ſo much admired by all the nations in the world. Lycortas the prætor, who was a friend to Philopœmen on whom the accuſation fell, undertook to defend the common cauſe of the republic and the conduct of a great man whom he loved. His ſpeech, for which we refer our readers to Livy [z], was very appoſite and well becoming the head of a nation. But Appius was little affected with it; without deſcending to particulars, or taking any notice of the arguments Lycortas had produced to juſtify their conduct, he defired them to reſtore to Lacedæmon her antient rights and privileges voluntarily, leſt Rome ſhould force them to it. Theſe words drew ſighs from the whole aſſembly; but fear had got the better of their reſentment. They deſired the commiſſioners to do what they thought fit, but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling themſelves the decree which they had ſwore to obſerve. This ſubmiſſion appeaſed the anger of Appius, who contented himſelf at preſent with only repealing the ſentence that was juſt before pronounced againſt Areus and Alcibiades. With this act of power and authority they put an end to the ſeſſions, and leaving Greece returned to Italy [a].

The Romans eſpouſe the cauſe of the Lacedæmonians.

THE

[z] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 35——37. [a] Liv. ibid.

THE commiſſioners having made their report in the ſenate, it was decreed; that thoſe perſons who had been condemned by the Achæans ſhould be recalled and reſtored; that all ſentences pronounced in the aſſembly of Achaia againſt Lacedæmon ſhould be repealed; and laſtly, that for the future the Lacedæmonians ſhould be deemed members of the Achæan body and treated accordingly. Pauſanias adds an article that is not mentioned by Livy, viz. that the walls which had been demoliſhed ſhould be rebuilt [b]. Q. Marcius was appointed to go into Greece, and ſee this ſentence executed; which he did accordingly, obliging both parties to accept and ſign the decree.

The city of Meſſene withdraws itſelf from the Achæan league.

BUT this ſtorm was ſcarce appeaſed, when a new one aroſe. The city of Meſſene had been a member of the Achæan body ever ſince the war of the confederates, as we have related above. But one Dinocrates, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, drew it off from the league, and was arming the Meſſenians, his conntrymen, in order to defend the city againſt Philopœmen, who was then prætor the eighth time. The brave Achæan no ſooner heard of the revolt, but he made what haſte he could to ſeize the city of Corone (X), before the rebel had made himſelf maſter of it. But as he was ſick and actually kept his bed with a fever when the firſt news was brought him of the diſturbances at Meſſene, Dinocrates got to Corone before him. Then the Achæan general aſſembling the Megalopolitan youth, who had offered to follow him as voluntiers, and making a counter-march, advanced towards Meſſene with a deſign to fall upon the revolters, while Dinocrates was buſy at Corone. But on his march he met with Dinocrates, attacked him, and put him to flight at the firſt onſet. Philopœmen on this occaſion forgot his ſickneſs and the fatigues of the day before; for he had marched from Argos to Megalopolis, which was above ſixty miles, in twelve hours. While the Megalopolitans were purſuing the rebels, a body of above five hundred men,

Philopœmen marches againſt the rebels.

[b] Paus. in Achaic. p. 414.

(X) Coron or Corone was a city of Meſſenia, and is ſtill in being in the province of Belvedere, and known by the ſame name. Plutarch (9) inſtead of Corone puts Colonis, or Colone, which was alſo a city in the territory of Meſſene, as appears from Ptolemy.

(9) Plutarch. in Philip.

men, whom Dinocrates had had the precaution to leave in the open country about Meſſene to defend it, came and joined him. The Meſſenians, being encouraged by this reinforcement, faced about and renewed the action. The Megalopolitans, though led on by Philopœmen and Lycortas, were too weak to make head againſt ſuch a body of freſh men; Philopœmen therefore made it his chief buſineſs to retire in good order, which branch of the military art he underſtood better than any general of his age. To this end he marched into rough and narrow ways, whither the enemy could not without danger follow him; he placed Lycortas and the Megalopolitans in the van, and brought up the rear himſelf, facing about from time to time and keeping the enemy at ſome diſtance. As his troops retreated with too great precipitation, he was left quite alone in a defile and ſurrounded by the enemy. However, they durſt not even then attack him, but keeping at a diſtance drove him with ſhowers of arrows into a narrow place, where he could not turn his horſe. Yet ſtill he ſupported himſelf, though quite worn out with ſickneſs, the fatigues of his march, and old age, being then in the ſeventieth year. He ſpurred on his horſe croſs the rocks, and was very near rejoining the main body of his ſmall army, when his horſe ſtumbled and threw him. By the fall he received a deep wound on the head and lay ſenſeleſs, till the enemies thinking him dead began to ſtrip him. He then opened his eyes and ſeemed to revive, when Dinocrates, who never before had dared to look him in the face, ordered his hands to be tied behind his back, and in that condition carried him to Meſſene. When the Meſſenians received the news of this victory, and heard that Philopœmen was taken priſoner, they all ran to the gates of the city to ſee what they could no otherwiſe believe. Great was the joy of the rebel city, when the news was confirmed by the relation of thoſe very Meſſenians who had taken him. But upon the ſight of the hero of Greece, reduced to captivity, more by an accident than any want of valour, moſt of the ſpectators were ſo much touched with compaſſion, that they could not refrain from tears; they remembered the exploits of this great man, under whom many of them had fought; they remembered the favours they had received at his hands, and how they had been by his means delivered from the oppreſſions of the tyrant Nabis. As many had not been able to ſee him by reaſon of the croud, they

But is defeated.

Philopœmen taken priſoner.

they deſired he might be carried to the theatre and there ſhewn to the multitude. But the magiſtrates, fearing leſt the eſteem and love which the Meſſenians had formerly ſhewn him ſhould revive, did not ſuffer the illuſtrious priſoner to be long exhibited in this manner. They hurried him away on a ſudden to a vault called the treaſury, without doubt, becauſe the public money was formerly kept there. This was a ſubterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without, and was ſtopped by a large ſtone raiſed up and let down by a crane. In this cavern Philopœmen wounded, ſick, and fatigued, ſpent a miſerable night. Early in the morning the ſenate and people met. The latter were for getting favourable terms in exchange for their priſoner, and ſending him back to his own country. But the ſenators, who had been the authors of the revolt, and conſequently were afraid they ſhould find in him an implacable enemy, agreed to put him to death. And accordingly without delay ſent the executioner into the vault, with orders to force the priſoner to drink a doſe of poiſon. The moment the illuſtrious Megalopolitan ſaw him carrying a cup in his hand, he gueſſed what he was bringing him, and raiſing himſelf up with great difficulty, for he was very weak, he aſked the executioner with great tranquillity,

Philopœmen put to death by the Meſſenians. Year of the flood 2820. Before Chriſt 183.

"Whether Lycortas and the Megalopolitan youth had "got into a place of ſafety. Not one of them is killed, "anſwered the executioner, they have all made their eſ-"cape. That is enough, replied Philopœmen, I die "content". He then took the cup of poiſon with great chearfulneſs, and drank the fatal potion with joy. Thus died one of the greateſt heroes that Greece or any other country ever produced. He was no ways inferior in valour, military knowledge, and virtue, to any of the boaſted heroes of Rome. Had Achaia been nearer to an equality with Rome, he would have preſerved his country from the yoke which the Roman republic forced it to bear. Both the Greek and Roman writers put him upon the level with Hannibal and Scipio, who were his contemporaries and happened to die the ſame year. They all allow him to have been not only one of the greateſt commanders, but one of the greatſt ſtateſmen, of his age. To his valour and prudence Achaia owed all her glory, which upon his death began to decline, there being none after him in that republic able to oppoſe her enemies, with the like ſteadineſs and prudence; whence Philopœmen

was

was called the laſt of the Greeks, as Brutus was afterwards ſtiled the laſt of the Romans [c].

WHEN the news of his death was ſpread among the cities of the Achæan league, the rage of the people againſt his aſſaſſins was as great as their grief for the loſs of ſo great a man. The general aſſembly was immediately convened at Megalopolis, and Lycortas, at that time the moſt famous general in Achaia, put in the room of the deceaſed. The new general without loſs of time entered the Meſſenian territory at the head of an army which was ſoon raiſed, all the young men that were fit to bear arms, ſhewing a great eagerneſs to revenge the death of a man to whom their country owed all its ſplendor. Lycortas had been his particular friend, and therefore was determined at all events to bring the authors of his death to condign puniſhment. Thus, both the general and ſoldiery breathing nothing but revenge, they advanced to the very walls of Meſſene, after having laid waſte the whole territory, and ſummoned the rebellious city to ſurrender. The people, in ſpite of the prætor and ſenate, opened the gates to the Achæan troops, and put them in poſſeſſion both of the city and caſtle. This ſubmiſſive behaviour aſſwaged the wrath of Lycortas, who did not think it adviſeable to treat the rebels as their furious revolt ſeemed to deſerve. He only inſiſted upon their delivering up the ring-leaders of the rebellion, and ſuch as were any ways concerned in the death of Philopœmen. They readily complied with his requeſt, and the aſſaſſins loaded with irons were brought before him; but Dinocrates, to prevent a more cruel death, laid violent hands on himſelf; the reſt were afterwards carried to Megalopolis, in order to be ſacrificed at the tomb of the deceaſed hero [d].

Meſſene ſurrenders to the Achæans.

AND now nothing remained, but to pay the funeral honours to the body of Philopœmen, which had been left unburied in the bottom of a dungeon. It was taken from thence with great pomp, burnt according to cuſtom on a funeral pile, and his aſhes depoſited in an urn adorned with feſtoons and fillets. Lycortas, being now to leave the conquered city, did not diſband his troops and ſend them to their reſpective homes as uſual. They all marched out of the city in good order, as it were in funeral triumph. The infantry marched firſt crowned with lawrel to ſhew their victory, but ſheding

Philopœmen's aſhes carried in great pomp to Megalopolis.

[c] Liv. l. xxxix. c. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366, 368. Polyb. in legat. c. 52, 53.

[d] Liv. Plut. Polyb, ubi ſupra.

ſhedding floods of tears for the deceaſed hero. Next came the urn carried by Polybius the hiſtorian, ſon of Lycortas, ſurrounded by the prime nobility of Achaia, and the Meſſenian priſoners bound in chains. The urn was followed by the cavalry in their richeſt apparel and capariſons. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the ſolemn proceſſion; but it was viſible in every one's countenance, that their joy for the victory was damped with real grief on this mournful occaſion. In this manner they advanced towards Megalopolis, Philopœmen's native city, and arriving there paid him the laſt honours, with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. The Meſſenian captives were ſtoned at his tomb, and each city of Achaia gave ſome ſignal proof of the eſteem they had for him while alive, and of the real grief they felt for the loſs of ſo great a hero. Statues were erected to his memory in moſt cities of Greece with noble inſcriptions. The magiſtrates of Megalopolis paſſed a decree, ordering a bull to be yearly ſacrificed at his tomb; during which ſacrifice a panegyric was pronounced, and a company of young children ſung hymns in his praiſe [e] (Y).

When news was brought to Rome, that the Achæans had reſtored the city of Meſſene to the league, their embaſſadors there were addreſſed in quite different terms from thoſe which had been uſed before. The ſenate told them, that they had been careful not to ſuffer either arms or proviſions to be carried from Italy to Meſſene. This plainly ſhews the inſincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to truth in their tranſactions with other nations. For when the Achæans demanded the ſuccours which they were obliged to furniſh them according to the treaty, and deſired, at leaſt, that they would not ſuffer arms or proviſions to be tranſported out of Italy to Meſſene, it was anſwered,

[e] Idem, ibid.

(Y) Several years after when Corinth was taken and deſtroyed by Mummius, a Roman brought articles of impeachment againſt Philopœmen, in order to have the ſtatues and monuments, erected all over Greece to the memory of this great man, thrown down and aboliſhed. He accuſed him of having been an enemy to the Romans, and ſhewn on all occaſions his hatred to the republic. The cauſe was heard in council before Mummius, and the charge refuted with great eloquence and ſolidity by Polybius.

ſwered, that, when any city broke off from the Achæan league, the ſenate did not think themſelves obliged to enter into thoſe diſputes, nor concern themſelves with the claims and pretenſions which each city might have. This was giving, as it were, the ſignal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league to take up arms, and ſeparate as they pleaſed from the alliance. But now they endeavour to perſuade the Achæans that they had prohibited the ſubjects of the republic from lending any kind of aſſiſtance to the Meſſenian rebels, and make a merit with them of what they had not done. The Achæans at this time were maſters of all Peloponneſus, Philip king of Macedon was preparing a-new for war, the Ætolians were diſguſted with Rome and Antiochus ready to paſs over into Greece. No wonder then, that Rome was very cautious of giving any umbrage to the league in ſo critical a juncture.

We have obſerved above, that the Roman ſenate had decreed, among many other articles, that Sparta ſhould be admitted into the Achæan league, and that Marcius had been ſent into Greece to ſee this decree put in execution. However, the Achæan embaſſadors on their return from Rome acquainted the aſſembly, that the Lacedæmonian exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude towards them, were not included in that decree, and conſequently might be driven a-new from the city without diſobliging the ſenate. Upon their report the exiles were again ordered to depart the city, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition made by Diophanes, who undertook to defend their cauſe. Being thus reduced to their former ſtate of miſery, they ſent embaſſadors to Rome imploring the protection of the ſenate. The ſenators were touched with their complaints, and wrote letters to the council of Achaia, deſiring them to give the Lacedæmonian exiles leave to ſettle again in their native country. Theſe letters were delivered to the exiles, and by them on their return to the council of Achaia, which returned no other anſwer, than that the matter ſhould be conſidered after the arrival of the Achæan embaſſadors from Rome. Not long after the embaſſadors returned, and declared before the council, that the ſenate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not out of any regard to them, but to redeem themſelves from their importunities [f].

The Lacedæmonian exiles recur to the Romans.

After the embaſſadors had been heard, Lycortas was of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of the letters which the

[f] Polyb. in Legat. c. 54.

the ſenate had wrote; but Hyperbates, who was then prætor, and Callicrates were of a different opinion. Lycortas, however, carried it, and it was reſolved, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to acquaint the Roman ſenate with the reaſons which had moved them to adhere to their former reſolutions, notwithſtanding their recommendation. Callicrates, Lyſiades, and Aratus, were appointed embaſſadors, and inſtructions given them agreeable to the deliberations that had been made. When they arrived at Rome, Callicrates acted in direct oppoſition to his orders; for being introduced to the ſenate, he exhorted them to exert their authority over his ſtubborn countrymen, telling them, that if the Greeks paid no regard either to their letters or decrees, they ought to blame themſelves for it, ſuch a neglect being entirely owing to their lenity and indolence. "In our commonwealth," ſaid he, "there are two parties, one of which maintains, "that an implicit obedience ſhould be paid to all your orders; the other party pretends, that the laws of the country ſhould prevail over your will; and this ſuits beſt with "the genius of the Achæans, and has a great influence over "the populace. Hence ſuch as blindly comply with your "ordinances are hated by the people, while thoſe who oppoſe them are honoured and applauded. We ſee at this "preſent time the firſt employments of our republic filled "by men, whoſe only merit conſiſts in a pretended zeal "for the laws of their country, in contradiction to the "expreſs orders of this auguſt aſſembly. If you continue "to ſhew ſuch an indifference on this head, all the chief "men will certainly oppoſe you, this being a ſure way to "preferment. But if you ſhew favour to thoſe only who "eſpouſe your intereſt, the leading men in all the repub"lics of Greece will declare for you, and the populace "ſoon follow their example. What I have ſaid is plainly "confirmed by the preſent conduct of my countrymen. "How long is it ſince you deſired them to recal the Lace"dæmonian exiles? Nevertheleſs they are ſo far from com"plying with your requeſt, that they have bound them"ſelves by oath never to reſtore them [g]." Thus the Greeks began to forge their own chains, and ambitious men proſtitute to their private intereſt that liberty which their anceſtors had purchaſed and maintained at the expence of their lives. Callicrates was ſo tranſported with ambition, that

Callicrates betrays his country, to ingratiate himſelf with the Romans

[g] Polyb. in Legat. c. 58.

that he choſe rather to betray and ruin his country, than ſuffer any other to have more authority in it than himſelf.

A ſpeech ſo well calculated to favour the intereſt of Rome could not but he very agreeable to the ſenate. As Callicrates had treacherouſly pointed out the methods by which they might eaſily weaken and cruſh the Greek republics, it was concluded, that they ſhould exert themſelves in heaping favours upon ſuch as maintained the authority of Rome, and humbling thoſe who preſumed to oppoſe it. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that this was the firſt time the fatal reſolution was taken of depreciating thoſe, who in their reſpective countries, had the moſt noble way of thinking, and raiſing ſuch as declared right or wrong for the Romans; a reſolution which in all countries leſſened the number of the true friends of liberty. Henceforth it was a conſtant maxim of the Roman policy, to encreaſe the power and authority of ſuch as favoured their ambitious views, in defiance of the laws and conſtitutions of their reſpective countries, and oppreſs by all poſſible methods thoſe who were ſincere friends to the liberty which they had received from their anceſtors. This ſingle maxim is ſufficient to give us a true idea of the pretended equity and moderation which the Romans diſcovered on ſome occaſions.

The Achæans commanded to reſtore the Lacedæmonian exiles.

FROM this period Rome began to treat the Achæans in a quite different manner from what ſhe had done in former times. Peremptory orders were ſent them to reſtore the Lacedæmonian exiles, and pay a blind obedience to the decrees of the ſenate. Letters were at the ſame time directed to the Ætolians, Bœotians, Acarnanians, and other free ſtates of Greece, enjoining them to ſee the orders of the ſenate put in execution, and exhorting them to employ in their reſpective commonwealths men only of ſuch exalted ſentiments as Callicrates. Thus the Romans requited the eminent ſervices which the Achæans had done them in their wars with Philip and Antiochus, and the inviolable fidelity, with which they had adhered to them, when they were deſpiſed by the other ſtates of Greece(Z). Callicrates on his return

(Z) Polybius aſcribes this violent proceeding of the Romans to the compaſſion which the Spartan exiles raiſed in the breaſts of the ſenators. The Romans, ſays he, are eaſily moved to pity by the

return to Peloponnesus, spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he was elected prætor; in which employment he restored the Lacedæmonian and Messenian exiles, and omitted nothing that could any ways oblige his patrons the Romans.

By these violent methods Rome got numbers of flatterers, but lost many of her best friends; and on the other side Perses, who had succeeded Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, spared no pains to win over to his party such as were dissatisfied with the Romans. That prince, being determined to shake off the yoke which the Romans had laid on him, made it his whole business to draw off the Greek cities and nations from their alliance with Rome. To this end, thinking his presence necessary among nations, who would perhaps sooner hearken to a neighbouring king than a distant republic, he advanced towards Delphos under pretence of discharging a vow, but in reality to make alliances in Greece. With this view he crossed mount Oeta, and surprized the Greeks with his sudden appearance among them. The terror spread into Asia, and alarmed Eumenes in Pergamus. But Perses after consulting the oracle returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. His father had formerly been guilty of great cruelties in all those countries, and therefore the son not only took care to commit no violence on his march, but sent deputies to all the free states, or circular letters, remonstrating, that they ought not to continue the hatred, they might have conceived against the father, to the son who courted their friendship [h].

Perses endeavours to gain over the Achæans. Year of the flood 2825. Before Christ 178.

The Macedonian's chief attention was to gain over the Achæan republic, which had carried its hatred so far against the Macedonians, that they were not suffered upon any pretence to enter Achaia. It was not only hatred, but policy, that had induced them to make such a decree. For though Philip

[h] Liv. l. xli. c. 12.

the complaints of the miserable, and think it their duty to relieve all who fly to them for protection. And this it was that inclined them to espouse the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But we must remember, that this (in other respects impartial) historian wrote this in Rome, and under the eyes of the Romans, after they were absolute lords of Greece (10).

(10) Polyb. legat. c. 58.

Philip had greatly diſobliged them, eſpecially by putting the two Aratus's to death, yet he had proved in many other reſpects very beneficent to them; whence they were with much ado prevailed upon to forſake him; and even after they had entered into an alliance with the Romans, ſome of their leading men ſtill favoured their antient ally. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, for the preſervation of concord among themſelves, to uſe great circumſpection, leſt by his agents he ſhould foment diviſions in the ſtate. Beſides, by hearkening to his meſſages they might give jealouſy to their new allies. On theſe conſiderations the general aſſembly of Achaia had enacted a decree, forbidding any Macedonian, on what pretence ſoever, to enter into Achaia, on pain of being treated as an enemy to the ſtate. This decree cut off all intercourſe and means of reconciliation with the Macedonians, and thereby quaſhed at once the Macedonian faction. But at the ſame time it proved very prejudicial both to the Achæans and Macedonians; for the ſlaves on both ſides uſed to fly to the enemies of their maſters, where they found a ſure aſylum, knowing they ſhould not be followed or claimed after that general prohibition. However, Perſes made the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, by ſending back to the Achæans ſuch of their ſlaves as had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. With this acceptable preſent he ent an obliging letter, exhorting them to take effectual methods for preventing their ſlaves from finding for the future refuge in his dominions. This was courting their friendſhip, and tacitly demanding the re-eſtabliſhment of their antient commerce. One Xenarchus, who was then prætor of Achaia, read the king's letter in a full aſſembly; it was heard with great applauſe, eſpecially by thoſe who had received their ſlaves, and moſt of the leading men were for annulling the decree forbidding all commerce with Macedon. But Callicrates repreſented to them the bad conſequences of repealing the decree in ſo critical a juncture; he told them, that the Romans deſigned to make war upon Perſes, that Perſes had nothing elſe in view by ſending back their ſlaves than to involve them and all Greece in this war, and that to enter into the leaſt engagement with Perſes was to renounce their alliance with Rome, and draw all the weſt upon them. He therefore exhorted them, as they tendered the welfare of their country, to refuſe the dangerous preſents, live as utter ſtrangers to Macedon, and confirm the decree forbidding all manner of commerce with her.

ARCON Xenarchus's brother ſpoke after Callicrates, and endeavoured to prove, that the fear of an imminent war was without foundation, ſince Perſes had renewed his alliance with the Romans, was honoured by them with the title of friend and ally, and had lately entertained their embaſſadors with great demonſtrations of kindneſs; why then might not the Achæans, as well as the Epirots, Ætolians, Theſſalians, and the other nations of Greece, reap the advantages of his neighbourhood? Why might not the Achæans, like the other free ſtates, ceaſe to be enemies to Perſes, without ceaſing to be friends to Rome? He concluded, that it would be time enough to declare againſt the Macedonians when they were come to an open rupture with Rome; but till then they had no reaſon to be more zealous for their friends, than their friends were for themſelves [i].

ARCON's diſcourſe would have determined the aſſembly to comply with the requeſt of Perſes, had not Callicrates obſerved, that the king had not vouchſafed to treat with them otherwiſe than by a ſhort letter. This want of reſpect, as Callicrates ſtiled it, being artfully repreſented, made the aſſembly poſtpone the determination, and refuſe for the preſent the king's offer. As ſoon as Perſes was acquainted with what had paſſed at the diet, he ſent embaſſadors to make the ſame offers. But the advocates of Rome found means to render all their negotiations fruitleſs [k].

The Achæans declare for the Romans. Year of the flood 2834. Before Chriſt 169.

SOME years after, a war breaking out between the Romans and Perſes, great diviſions aroſe in all the cities and free ſtates of Greece, ſome favouring the Macedonians, and others adhering to the Romans. The aſſembly of Achaia was not exempt from theſe diſturbances; but Arcon wiſely prevented the ill conſequences that might attend them, by engaging all the chiefs of Achaia to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Romans. Arcon was not, as we have ſeen above, greatly inclined to the Romans, but rather favoured in his heart the Macedonian faction; however, as he foreſaw that Rome would at laſt prevail, he was no ſooner choſen prætor, but he got the diet to paſs a decree, impowering him to raiſe what forces he pleaſed and march with them to join the Romans. In the ſame aſſembly it was reſolved, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Marcius the Roman conſul, who had already penetrated into Theſſaly, to acquaint him with the

[i] Liv. ubi ſupra. c. 27. [k] Liv. ibid. c. 28.

the reſolution of the republic, and to know, when, and where, the Achæan army ſhould join him. Polybius the hiſtorian being named for this embaſſy, he immediately ſet out for the Roman camp, in order to ſuppreſs the reports that were ſpread, as if Achaia intended to aſſiſt the Macedonians. When he arrived he was received by the conſul with great demonſtrations of kindneſs. The good will of ſo powerful a nation, at a time when ſo many others were wavering in their fidelity, could not but be acceptable to him. He therefore thanked them in the kindeſt terms, and told them, that they might ſpare themſelves the trouble and expence of marching their troops to join him, ſince in the preſent poſture of affairs he did not want any foreign ſuccours. With this anſwer Polybius ſent back his collegues, but remained himſelf in the Roman camp. In the mean time the Achæans acquainted Polybius, that Appius, who commanded the Roman troops in Epirus, had demanded of their republic five thouſand men, which body they were ready to ſend into Epirus, if the conſul approved of it. But Marcius was ſo far from conſenting that any ſuccours ſhould be ſent to Appius, that he immediately diſpatched Polybius home with orders not to ſuffer any troops to be ſent to Appius, nor his republic to be put to ſuch uſeleſs expences. It is difficult, ſays our hiſtorian, to diſcover the real motives that induced Marcius to act in this manner. Was he for ſaving the Achæans the trouble and charges of ſo long a march? or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing, ſince he had not heen able to undertake any thing himſelf? Whatever was his motive, Polybius readily complied with the inclinations of the conſul, and returned home. But when the matter was debated in the council of Achaia, difficulties were ſtarted by Polybius's friends and thoſe of his party. For as he was ſure to incur the diſpleaſure of the conſul, if he did not act agreeable to his charge; ſo on the other hand orders given him by word of mouth, and in private, did not ſeem ſufficient to warrant the conduct of the council in refuſing ſuccours to Appius, who really wanted them. In this caſe therefore they had recourſe to a decree which had been lately publiſhed, in all the cities of Greece, by two commiſſioners ſent for that purpoſe from Rome. The purport of this decree was, to forbid the Roman generals to exact any thing of the nations in confederacy with Rome without an expreſs order from the ſenate, and prohibiting the allies to ſubmit to any ex-

action or even demands of the conſuls, prætors, tribunes, &c. without ſuch an order. The tyranny, which the commanders of the Roman fleets and armies exerciſed over their moſt faithful allies, gave occaſion to this decree. For want of an order from the ſenate, the meſſenger ſent by Appius was diſmiſſed without the ſuccours he demanded. Thus Polybius, made his court to the conſul, and at the ſame time conſulted the intereſt of his country [1].

THE enſuing year Paulus Æmilius, who ſucceeded Marcius in the command of the army in Macedon, being informed, that Perſes was drawing together a mighty army with a deſign to come to a deciſive battle, ſent to ſollicit ſuccours from the allies, eſpecially the Achæans, who upon the firſt ſummons ſent him what troops he wanted, under the conduct of the moſt experienced commanders they had. Theſe diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner at the famous battle of Pydna, which put an end to the Macedonian war, Perſes being entirely defeated, and ſoon after reduced to ſuch ſtreights, that he was obliged to deliver up himſelf and all his children to the conquerors. And now the Romans, having by this victory triumphed over their enemies in the eaſt, began to treat their friends in a quite different manner from what they had uſed while they ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance. Ten commiſſioners were appointed to ſettle the affairs of Macedon and inſpect thoſe of Greece, that is to proſecute and puniſh, without any regard to juſtice and equity, all thoſe who during the war had betrayed any inclination to the Macedonians. Theſe haughty judges ſummoned all the heads of the Greek nations to appear before their tribunal at Amphipolis, in order to compoſe their differences, as they gave out, and reſtore Greece to its antient tranquillity. The Ætolians appeared firſt, in mourning habits and making great lamentations. The ſubject of their complaints was, that two members of their aſſembly, Lyſiſchus and Tiſippus, whom the protection of the Romans, to whoſe intereſt they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had ſurrounded the ſenate with ſoldiers lent them by Bœbius, who commanded in that country for the Romans, and put to death five hundred an fifty of the ſenators for no other crime, but becauſe they were thought to favour Perſes. The commiſſioners after hearing their complaints confined their enquiries to this point alone, whether thoſe who had been thus maſſacred were for the

The haughty behaviour of the Romans after the defeat of Perſes.

Romans

[1] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. c. 77.

Romans or Perſes, and having found that they had ſpoke in the ſenate for Perſes, the council paſſed a decree, by which the murderers were acquitted, and thoſe who had been put to death declared to have ſuffered juſtly. Bœbius alone was blamed, for employing the Roman ſoldiers in an execution whic had no relation to military affairs [m].

THIS ſentence ſpread great terror among thoſe who had ſhewn any affection for Perſes, and encreaſed beyond meaſure the pride and inſolence of the partiſans of Rome. In each city the leading men were divided into three factions. The firſt, and without doubt the moſt numerous, adhered to the Macedonians; the ſecond was devoted to the Romans, and the third in oppoſition to the other two were neither for the Macedonians nor the Romans. The latter, whoſe party was leaſt numerous, as it conſiſted only of prudent men, were afraid, that, whatever party ſhould prevail, their liberties might be in danger, and their concern was to preſerve their country both from the Macedonian and Roman tyranny. Theſe were in great eſteem and beloved in their reſpective cities, and had acted prudently in all the meaſures they had taken. But this was not ſufficient, as we ſhall ſee, to ſcreen them from the vengeance of the Romans. The commiſſioners firſt wreaked their anger on thoſe who had favoured Perſes, for the emiſſaries of Rome flocked to Amphipolis from all the countries of Greece to accuſe them before the council. Theſe treacherous men informed the commiſſioners, that, beſides thoſe who had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Perſes, there were many others, who were no leſs averſe from the Romans in their hearts; adding, that they would never have their authority quietly ſettled in Greece, till they had utterly deſtroyed both the favourers of Perſes and thoſe who had affected to ſtand neuter, and not to fall in with either party. The ten commiſſioners entirely approved what the informers advanced, and made it the rule of their conduct to quaſh in all the Greek cities not only the Macedonian, but the neutral party, and confer honours on thoſe only who preferred the intereſt of Rome to all other regards whatſoever. What juſtice could be expected from an aſſembly that was determined to treat all thoſe as criminals who were not of the Roman party, and confer employments on ſuch only as declared themſelves their accuſers and enemies? We leave the reader to judge from hence of the ſo much boaſted equity of the Romans.

Year of the flood 2836. Before Chriſt 167.

[m] Liv. l. xlv. c. 28, 32.

They were juſt and honeſt when they found their account in juſtice and honeſty, but ever ready to ſacrifice both to their boundleſs ambition.

THE moſt ſanguine of theſe informers were Callicrates and Andronidas, both Achæans, and greatly attached to the Roman party. They laid claim to the chief employments of their republic, or were willing to maintain themſelves in them with the aſſiſtance of the Romans. With this view they informed againſt all thoſe among their countrymen who were in a condition to diſpute the higheſt poſts with them; and their accuſations turned upon this, that their rivals had been friends and partiſans of Perſes before his overthrow. Beſides the Achæans, Callicrates accuſed a great many others, and gave in a long liſt of ſuch as had either declared for the Macedonian, or ſtood up for the defence of their own rights and priviledges in Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia. All theſe were ordered by Paulus Æmilius to follow him to Rome, and there give an account of their conduct. But as to the Achæans, the commiſſioners thought it adviſeable to judge them in their own country, and to ſend two of the chief members of the council into Achaia to try them there; and accordingly C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus were named and ſet out for Achaia. Three reaſons induced them to act in this manner: the firſt was, becauſe they apprehended, that the Achæans, who were very powerful and no leſs jealous of their liberty, would not obey their orders ſhould they be commanded to juſtify themſelves at Rome; the ſecond, becauſe they had not found any of their letters among Perſes's papers; and the third, becauſe it was neceſſary to protect Callicrates and the other informers againſt the inſults of their countrymen [n].

Unwarrantable proceedings of the Romans.

ONE of the two commiſſioners ſent into Achaia, Pauſanias does not ſay which, a man of a moſt vile character, complained in the aſſembly of the Achæans, that many of the chief men of the league had aſſiſted Perſes againſt the Romans, and therefore deſired that all thoſe ſhould be condemned to die, whom he ſhould name after ſentence given. "After ſentence given," cried out the whole aſſembly, "What juſtice is that? Name them firſt, and "let them anſwer for themſelves; which if they cannot do

[n] Juſtin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 416.

" do we engage to condemn them. Since you promiſe " to condemn them, replied the haughty Roman with an " aſſuming air, all your prætors, all who have bore any " office in your republic, or commanded your armies, are " guilty of this crime ". At theſe words Xenon, a perſon of great credit, and highly reſpected by the whole league, ſpoke to this effect : " I have commanded the " army, and have had the honour to have been the chief " magiſtrate of the league ; I proteſt I have never done " any thing contrary to the intereſt of Rome ; and if " any one can charge me with that crime, as it is now " ſtiled, let him appear ; I am ready to clear myſelf, ei- " ther in the aſſembly of the Achæans, or before the Ro- " man ſenate". The Roman took hold of this expreſſion, and ſaid, that ſince Xenon had named the ſenate, he and the reſt could not appeal to a more impartial judge ; then he began to name all thoſe who had been accuſed by Callicrates, as more in the Macedonian than the Roman intereſt, ordering them to appear and plead their cauſe before the ſenate. They were above a thouſand, all men of diſtinguiſhed merit, and who had nothing ſo much at heart as the welfare of their country ; and this was the only crime that could be laid to their charge. This ſentence was a mortal wound to the liberty of Achaia. That unhappy republic was deprived at once of all thoſe who had ſhewn any zeal for the preſervation of her liberty. Such tyrannical proceedings had been unknown there even under Philip and his ſon Alexander ; for neither of theſe princes ever thought of cauſing thoſe who oppoſed them to be ſent into Macedon, but referred their trials to the council of the Amphictyons their natural judges. Upon the arrival of theſe unhappy men at Rome, they were baniſhed into different towns of Italy, and kept there cloſe priſoners, as if they had been already tried and condemned by the aſſembly of the Achæans. When news of theſe tyrannical proceedings was brought into Achaia, the aſſembly ſent embaſſy after embaſſy to acquaint the ſenate, that their baniſhed countrymen had not been tried at home, but referred for their trial to the Roman ſenate ; they begged, that they would give them a hearing, condemn ſuch as they ſhould find guilty, and allow the others to return home. But the republic was inexorable ; ſhe obſtinately inſiſted upon their having been found guilty in Achaia, and ſent to Rome only to hear what puniſhment ſhe

A thouſand Achæans commanded to appear before the Roman ſenate.

ſhe was pleaſed to inflict upon them. Hereupon the Achæans ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſenate, to proteſt that the pretended guilty perſons had never been tried, or even heard, by their aſſembly. Euratas, who was at the head of this embaſſy, being introduced to the ſenate, declared the orders he had received, earneſtly entreating the ſenate in the name of his republic, that they would but once hear the perſons accuſed, and not ſuffer them to periſh without being condemned. "It were to be "wiſhed, ſaid he, that the Roman ſenate, that auguſt "venerable aſſembly which has never been known to "ſwerve in its deciſions from the ſtricteſt rules of equity, "would take the cauſe of theſe unhappy men into their "own hands; but if affairs of greater importance do not "allow them leiſure to examine the matter themſelves, "let them refer it to the aſſembly of the Achæans, who "are ready to puniſh with the utmoſt rigour ſuch as they "ſhall find guilty of any crime that may he laid to their "charge." As this demand was very equitable, the ſenate was greatly puzzled what to anſwer. They did not think it adviſeable to try the cauſe, as knowing that the accuſation was groundleſs. On the other hand, to diſmiſs the exiles and ſuffer them to return to their own country was to diſoblige their partiſans in Greece, who placed all the hopes of their preferment in the ruin of thoſe who had a better title to favour than themſelves. After ſeveral conſultations, the ſenate for want of a better anſwer returned this, "that they did not think it expe- "dient for the welfare of Achaia that theſe men ſhould "return home." Such tyrannical proceedings cauſed an univerſal conſternation in Achaia, all the inhabitants appeared in mourning habits, and lamented the loſs of their countrymen no otherwiſe than if they had been their dearеſt relations. Callicrates and Andronidas became more than ever the objects of the public hatred. They were never mentioned in the aſſemblies but with horror and deteſtation. Even the children fell upon them in the public ſtreets, calling them traitors and enemies to their country. Nay the Achæans carried their rage ſo far, that when the two informers had one day gone into a public bath at Sicyon, no body would waſh with them, or even after them, till the water was let out and the place purified. This general uneaſineſs made Achaia ſtill the more ſuſpected by the Roman ſenate, who kept the priſoners more cloſely confined than ever. Theſe were the

the firſt ſeeds of a war, which we ſhall ſoon ſee break out between Rome and Achaia; the firſt ſparks of that fire which conſumed Corinth [o].

THE Achæans, however, did not give over ſolliciting the ſenate for the releaſe of the exiles. They ſent new deputies to beg their return as a favour, leſt in taking upon them their defence they ſhould ſeem to oppoſe the will of the ſenate. The deputies appeared at Rome in the attire of ſuppliants, and took care not to ſay any thing, in the harangue they made before the ſenate, that could give offence. Their ſpeech was modeſt and extremely reſerved; but the conſcript fathers continued inexorable, declaring, that they would not upon any account whatſoever alter the meaſures they had taken. The Achæans on the other hand would not give over ſolliciting and importuning the ſenate in behalf of their countrymen. They ſent ſeveral embaſſies at different times, and made what intereſt they could among their friends at Rome and elſewhere, to get their petition backed by perſons who were better received than themſelves. But all was to no effect; they could not be prevailed upon even to ſuffer Polybius, who was one of the exiles and kept under cloſe confinement at Rome, to appear before the ſenate and plead the common cauſe. This is the ſo much vaunted equity of the Romans; theſe the civilizers of barbarous nations, the aſſerters of the rights and liberties of mankind.

SEVENTEEN years were already paſt, and the far greater part of the unfortunate exiles dead in their confinement, when the ſenate at laſt was prevailed upon to ſuffer thoſe few who were ſtill alive to return home. Polybius, as we have hinted above, was one of theſe unhappy Achæans; but had been kept at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him and procured him that diſtinction. During his confinement in that city, his merit, wiſdom, and learning, gained him the love and eſteem of the greateſt men in the ſenate. He was particularly dear to the two ſons of Paulus Æmilius; the eldeſt of theſe had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngeſt into that of the Scipios. The latter, who afterwards deſtroyed Carthage and Numantia, at the requeſt of his friends ſollicited Cato the cenſor to ſpeak

[o] Liv. l. xlv. c. 31. Pauſan. in Achaic. p. 417. Polyb. legat. 105.

ſpeak in the ſenate in favour of the Achæans, knowing that his opinion would be of great weight with the members of that aſſembly. Cato, out of complaiſance to young Scipio, promiſed to back the petition of the new deputies that were then come from Achaia to intercede for the exiles. When they were admitted to audience, warm debates aroſe, as uſual, among the ſenators, ſome few being for ſending them home, and the others oppoſing it, when Cato roſe up, and with great gravity ſaid, "that to ſee "the Roman ſenate diſpute with great warmth, whether "ſome poor old Greeks ſhould be buried in Italy or in their "own country, would make one think that they had no-"thing at all to do." This pleaſantry, coming from ſo grave a man as Cato, made the ſenators aſhamed of ſo long a conteſt, and determined them at laſt to ſend back the exiles into Peloponneſus. Polybius was for ſupplicating the ſenate, that they might be reinſtated in all the honours and dignities they had enjoyed before their baniſhment; but before he preſented that requeſt to the ſenate, he thonght proper to hear Cato's opinion, who told him ſmiling: "Polybius, you do not imitate the wiſdom of "Ulyſſes. You are for returning into the cave of the "Cyclops for ſome poor tatters you have left there." Accordingly the exiles returned to their own country, but their number was much diminiſhed; for of the thouſand and upwards that came from Achaia, no more than three hundred returned thither. The reſt had periſhed in Italy with hunger and grief, and ſome had ſuffered like criminals for attempting to make their eſcape [p]. Such inhuman proceedings deſerve no other name but that of the moſt wanton and oppreſſive tyranny. The republic of Achaia was not ſubject to, but upon a level with, that of Rome. Thoſe brave Achæans, who were thus barbarouſly treated, had moſt of them ſerved under the Roman ſtandards, and greatly contributed to that very victory, which rendered the conquerors thus haughty and over-bearing.

The Achæans after ſeventeen years confinement are ſent home.

As for Polybius, he made no uſe of this permiſſion, but remained in Rome, where that very virtue which had brought him into diſtreſs was not only the means of his relief, but of his exaltation to greater dignities than thoſe he loſt. He attended Scipio Æmilianus in all his military expedi-

[p] Pauſan. in Achaic. Plut. in Cat. cenſore. Polyb. in legat. 129, 130.

expeditions, and ſignalized himſelf no leſs in the ſervice of Rome, than he had formerly done in that of Achaia.

THE exiles on their return found Achaia rent into different factions, and the minds of the common people entirely eſtranged from the Romans. They only wanted an opportunity to make Rome repent of the rigorous treatment ſhe had ſhewn to the Achæan priſoners. This averſion was artfully fomented by their chief magiſtrates and the leading men in the republic, who were for the moſt part profeſſed enemies to the Romans. Such an univerſal hatred could not be long kept within the bounds of moderation; it ſoon broke out into an open war, which ended in the entire reduction of Achaia and the diſſolution of the Achæan league.

What gave riſe to the war with the Romans.

To trace this war back to its firſt origin: a certain diſpute ariſing between the Athenians and the inhabitants of Oropus (A), the latter had recourſe to the Achæans. Menalcidas, by birth a Lacedæmonian, was then prætor of Achaia; to him the Oropians applied, agreeing to give him ten talents if he prevailed on the diet, in which he preſided, to eſpouſe their cauſe and aſſiſt them with troops. The Lacedæmonian, who preferred his own private advantage to the good of the public, accepted the propoſal, and, in order to gain his point, promiſed to divide the money with Callicrates, if he could by his intereſt extort from the general aſſembly their conſent to ſend troops to the defence of Oropus. Callicrates, allured with this bait, prevailed on the aſſembly to take the city of Oropus under their protection; and accordingly Menalcidas was immediately diſpatched, with a ſtrong body of choſen troops, to make head againſt the Athenians who had already taken the field. But Menalcidas came too late, the Athenians had already plundered Oropus and retired with an immenſe booty; however, the avaricious prætor demanded the ten talents, as if his aſſiſtance had been effectual; but could not prevail on himſelf to divide them with Callicrates: he firſt put him off with fair promiſes, and at laſt told him in plain words, that he would keep the whole ſum to himſelf.

Callicrates,

(A) The antient geographers mention three cities bearing this name; one, called by Ariſtotle Græca, ſtood in the iſland of Eubœa; another, the native city of Seleucus Nicator, belonged to Macedon; the third, which is the city we are now ſpeaking of, ſtood in Bœotia, near the borders of Attica, forty-four miles north of Athens. It is now a village called by the natives Ropo.

Callicrates, who was as revengeful as the other was deceitful, accuſed him, as ſoon as he was out of his office, of having uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the Roman ſenate to withdraw his country from the Achæan league. The proceſs was carried on with ſuch rigour, that Menalcidas would have been ſentenced to death, if he had not by a preſent of three talents prevailed upon Diæus, who ſucceeded him in the prætorſhip, to acquit him in ſpite of all the evidences that were produced againſt him. This drew on Diæus the hatred of all the nation, as if he likewiſe were inclined to the Lacedæmonians. This was a great ſtain on his reputation, which he endeavoured to wipe off by this bold ſtep. He maintained in the general aſſembly, that the Lacedæmonians were ſubject to the Achæan league even in criminal caſes. Rome had decreed the contrary; but this ſcreened him from the hatred he had incurred by favouring Menalcidas the Lacedæmonian. When news was brought to Lacedæmon, that Diæus was endeavouring to get this new law approved by the general aſſembly, the whole city was in an uproar, for the Roman ſenate had in expreſs terms allowed them to judge their criminals in their own private aſſemblies; they were for ſending deputies to Rome, but Diæus pretended, that only the general aſſembly of the whole nation had a right of ſending embaſſadors thither [q].

New troubles in Peloponneſus.

THESE arbitrary proceedings greatly exaſperated the Lacedæmonians; but, as they were no ways in a condition to make head againſt the whole ſtrength of Achaia, they humbled themſelves ſo far as to ſend deputies to Diæus, who was advancing at the head of a conſiderable army, entreating him not to uſe force till other means of a reconciliation proved fruitleſs. The prætor anſwered the deputies, that he had no quarrel with the Lacedæmonians in general, but only with a few diſturbers of the public peace, whom he named to the number of twenty-four. Upon the return of the deputies the council of Lacedæmon aſſembled, when Ageſiſthenes, a man of great authority, moved, that thoſe who had been named by Diæus ſhould of their own accord abandon their country, as if they had been baniſhed, and carry their complaints to Rome. The motion was applauded by the whole aſſembly, and the perſons that had been named withdrew without delay from their native

[q] Pauſan. in Achaic.

native country. When the council of Lacedæmon heard that they were got out of Laconia, ſentence of death was pronounced againſt them in a full aſſembly, which aſſwaged the anger of Diæus and his Achæans. But when they heard that the exiles, together with Menalcidas, were embarqued for Italy to lay their complaints before the ſenate, Diæus and Callicrates made what haſte they could after them to plead the cauſe of the Achæans againſt the Lacedæmonians. But they did not both reach Rome; Callicrates, who had great intereſt in that city died at Rhodes, whither his affairs had called him. Diæus therefore and Menalcidas only appeared before the ſenate, and by their Greek eloquence diſguiſed the truth with ſuch artifice, that the ſenators could not come to any determination. Commiſſioners were therefore appointed to determine the diſpute on the ſpot. But as they were too dilatory in ſetting out, Menalcidas and Diæus, arriving in Peloponneſus long before them, put all the country in a flame, which they on their arrival could not extinguiſh. Diæus aſſured the Achæan aſſembly, that every thing would be determined by the commiſſioners in their favour. On the other hand, Menalcidas brought the Lacedæmonians word, that in a ſhort time their city and territory would be ſeparated from the Achæan league and declared an independent ſtate. The Achæans hearing this reſoved to take up arms and force the Lacedæmonians to change their language [r].

Metellus endeavours to compoſe them.

Metellus, who was then buſy in ſettling the affairs of Macedon, being informed of the troubles in Peloponneſus, deſired the embaſſadors, which Rome was ſending into Aſia, to take Corinth and Lacedæmon in their way, in order to perſuade the Achæans to ſuſpend all hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners, who had been nominated to compoſe their differences in an amicable manner. Theſe embaſſadors arriving in Achaia found Democritus, who had ſucceeded Diæus in the office of prætor, in full march with a deſign to fall upon the Lacedæmonians. They exhorted him to diſband his men and return home, but the prætor, deſpiſing their advice, advanced to the very walls of Lacedæmon, and there gained a conſiderable advantage over the Lacedæmonians, who, having loſt a thouſand of their men, retired with ſuch precipitation into the city, that if Democritus had warmly purſued them, he might

[r] Pauſan, ubi ſupra. p. 421. 428. Polyb. legat. 143, 144. Id. in excerpt. de virt. & vit. Juſtin, l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor, l. ii. c. 16.

might have entered Lacedæmon with the fugitives. But he was over-haſty in ſounding a retreat, contenting himſelf with the advantage he had gained; which ſo diſpleaſed the general aſſembly, that they fined him in fifty talents, which ſum not being able to raiſe, he was obliged to lay down his office and ſave himſelf by flight out of the Achæan territories. Then Diæus, who had been the author of all the troubles, and was a declared enemy to Lacedæmon, was again elected prætor. Metellus no ſooner heard of his promotion, but he ſent a deputation to him, entreating him to forbear hoſtilities till the arrival of the commiſſioners. Diæus complied with his requeſt, but was not in the mean time idle; for he gained over to the Achæans by ſecret negotiations all the cities that bordered upon Laconia, and having fortified them, kept that country and its capital in a manner blocked up. In this diſtreſs the Lacedæmonians thinking no man ſo proper to extricate them out of theſe difficulties as Menalcidas, who had governed the whole Achæan republic, appointed him commander in chief of their troops. Menalcidas was a man of great valour, but betrayed want of prudence in the very firſt ſtep he took. For, to give ſome reputation to his arms, he immediately took the field, and ſurpriſing the city Jaſos, which was within the borders of Laconia but ſubject to the Achæans, plundered it, and divided the booty among his ſoldiers. This was breaking the truce which had been granted by the Achæans at the inſtance of Metellus, and drawing upon himſelf the reſentment of the Romans. The Lacedæmonians themſelves were well appriſed, that ſuch unwarrantable proceedings might give a bad turn to their cauſe, and therefore would have puniſhed their general with the utmoſt ſeverity, had he not prevented them by laying violent hands on himſelf [s].

Comiſſioners ſent from Rome into Achaia.

NOT long after the death of Menalcidas, the Roman commiſſioners arrived in Peloponneſus. As they were ſent to put an end to a civil war which was kindled in the heart of Achaia, they landed at Corinth, which was looked upon as the capital of the Achæan league. There they ſummoned the aſſembly, which Aurelius Oreſtes, who was at the head of the commiſſioners, opened with a ſpeech calculated rather to create than to compoſe diviſions. Polybius is of opinion, that he exceeded the inſtructions he had brought

[s] Pauſan. Polyb. &c. ibid.

brought from Rome, and changed the menaces of the ſenate into abſolute orders [t] ; for he told them, that Rome had been long endeavouring to eſtabliſh a happy union among the free cities of Greece, but was at laſt convinced, that ſuch an union could never be effected ſo long as their preſent form of government ſubſiſted. " Flaminius, ſaid " he, ſet your cities at liberty, a bleſſing which they might " have enjoyed ſeparately ; but you choſe to form a league " among yourſelves, a league which ſhould depend on a " general aſſembly, and be governed by a prætor choſen " by a plurality of voices. In this you endeavoured to " ſecure your common ſafety ; but your precaution has " only produced troubles and diviſions. Your deputies " do not agree among themſelves ; your aſſemblies make " laws which every particular city will not obſerve. " This obliges you to have recourſe to arms ; and hence " theſe eternal diviſions, hence theſe hoſtilities, which " makes it neceſſary for you to be always under arms, " and to look upon your confederates as enemies. Rome " is concerned to ſee ſo many inteſtine wars kindled " among you, knows the cauſe of theſe evils, and is re- " ſolved to put a ſtop to them. When you are leſs uni- " ted you will be more happy, and will never be com- " pletely ſo till you make the neceſſary ſeparations. At- " tend then to the orders of the ſenate, which I am go- " ing to declare, and put them in execution with readi- " neſs. It is the will and pleaſure of the Roman ſenate " and people, that all the cities which were not formerly " of the Achæan league, that is, Corinth, Lacedæmon, " Argos, Heraclea (B), and Orchomenos (C), be ſepa- " rated from the general alliance, and governed by their " own laws independently of the confederacy [u]".

No ſooner had Aurelius pronounced theſe words, but the Achæan deputies, without giving him time to end his ſpeech The commiſſioners ill uſed and inſulted.

[t] Polyb. legat. 143. [u] Idem. ibid.

Year of the flood, 2856. Year before Chriſt, 147.

(B) This city of Heraclea ſtood in Phthiotis, a province of Theſſaly, near the paſs of Thermopylæ. It was called Heraclea Trachinea, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities bearing the ſame name.

(C) Orchomenos was one of the largeſt cities of Bæotia, and famous for a temple dedicated to the three graces, which was one of the moſt antient and wealthy of Greece.

speech, left the assembly, and calling together the people of Corinth in the market-place, acquainted them with the decree which the commissioners had brought from Rome. The whole city was in an uproar, and the multitude, being enraged to the highest degree, fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they could find in the city, and either stript them or put them to death. Even those who fled to the house of the commissioners for refuge were dragged from thence, and treated like the rest. Aurelius and his collegues in vain cried out, that their republic would revenge the injuries done to the Lacedæmonians; the incensed multitude was deaf to their remonstrances; nay, they would have treated the commissioners themselves in the same manner, had they not saved themselves by a timely flight [w].

The commissioners on their return to Rome not only set the insults they had received at Corinth in the strongest light, but are said to have exaggerated them beyond measure; they represented the tumult, not as a sudden commotion, but as a premeditated plot. The senate was highly incensed at such proceedings, but thought it advisable to use moderation: Carthage was not yet taken, nor the two pretended sons of Perses entirely subdued; they thought it therefore necessary to be very cautious in treating with so powerful a republic, as that of Achaia, in so critical a juncture. Hence they voted only for sending three new commissioners into Achaia, instructing them to complain in a very gentle manner, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsel, lest by their imprudence they should draw upon themselves a war, which it was in their power to avoid by punishing those who had exposed them to it. The commissioners embarked without delay, and after their arrival in Peloponnesus met a deputy sent by the Achæans to acquaint the senate with their proceedings against Orestes; but the commissioners carried him back with them to Ægium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. Sextus Julius, a man of great prudence and moderation, was at the head of this new deputation; when he was introduced to the assembly, he spoke with that air of mildness which was natural to him, seasoning his reproches with the most tender expressions. "We can excuse,

New commissioners sent into Achaia.

[w] Idem ibid.

excuſe," ſaid he, "The firſt commotions of a multitude "led aſtray by a miſtaken zeal for their country; we are "ſenſible that the magiſtrates cannot govern them on ſuch "occaſions. If our embaſſadors have ſuffered any ill "treatment in thoſe blind tranſports, the fault may be "eaſily repaired. The Romans will be appeaſed with "the leaſt ſigns of repentance. All the ſatisfaction "Rome requires of you is, that you leave Lacedæmon in "peace and reſtore tranquillity to Peloponneſus [x]".

THESE moderate remonſtrances, in which Julius deſignedly omitted ſaying one word of ſeparating any cities from the Achæan league, were received with great applauſe by the major part of the aſſembly. But Critolaus and Diæus endeavoured to efface the impreſſions, which Julius's ſpeech had made on the minds of the aſſembly, by inſinuating, that it was dangerous to truſt the ſeeming moderation of the Romans; that Rome only ſuſpended her revenge till Carthage was deſtroyed; that they would ſoon ſee her legions laying waſte Peloponneſus, as they had done Africa, and conſequently, that it was neceſſary, to prevent ſuch hoſtilities, by raiſing up enemies againſt the Romans and utterly deſtroying their friends. Such were the diſcourſes of Critolaus, and Dicœus in their private conventicles among men of their own ſtamp and devoted to their faction. But in public they ſpoke a very different language, and treated the commiſſioners with great civility. Critolaus, who was then prætor, invited them to Tegœa to meet an extraordinary aſſembly, in which the affairs of Lacedæmon ſhould be amicably adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of both parties. Accordingly Julius and his collegues went with the Lacedœmonians to the place appointed, where they waited a long time for the arrival of the deputies: but no Achæan appeared. While the Romans were thus attending in a corner of the province, Critolaus was ſending expreſſes from city to city, forbidding them to ſend their deputies to the congreſs. Julius began to be impatient and expreſs his uneaſineſs, when Critolaus came all along to Tegæa, and to the great ſurprize of the Romans told them, that the diſpute between the Achæans and Lacedæmonians was of too great importance to be decided in a private aſſembly: that it was neceſſary to refer it to the

Critolaus and Diæus ſtir up the people againſt the Romans.

[x] Idem Legat. 144.

general diet, which could not be assembled according to law in less than six months.

JULIUS was highly affronted at such deceitful proceedings; he dismissed the Lacedæmonians, and returning to Rome complained, that the republic had been insulted and her embassadors personally ill used and derided. On the other hand, the prætor gloried in having mortified Rome in her envoys, and took no one step to appease her wrath. He was out of hatred to the Romans desirous of war, but would not commit hostilities the first, for fear of being censured by his own nation. He therefore treated the embassadors in the manner we have related, being well appprized, that contempt would as effectually exasperate that haughty people as open hostilities.

Metellus endeavours in vain to bring Critolaus to reason.

HOWEVER, Rome was not in haste to come to an open rupture; notwithstanding the loud complaints of Julius and his collegues, the senate would not resolve on a war, but contented themselves with referring the affair to Metellus, who was settling the province of Macedon, after having conquered the two false pretenders to that crown. The orders sent him were to treat with Critolaus, as of himself, in order to bring him to reason. Metellus immediately dispatched four Romans of distinguished birth, viz. Cn. Papirius, Ælius Lamia, A. Gabinius, and Q. Fannius into Peloponnesus, enjoining them to lay before the assembly of Achaia the evils which Critolaus and his partizans were by their rash behaviour drawing upon them.

IN the mean time Critolaus ran from city to city, summoning assemblies under colour of communicating to them what had passed in the conferences at Tegæa; but in fact to vent invectives against the Romans, and put an odious construction upon all they had done. In order to encrease his party, he published an edict, forbidding all judges to prosecute or imprison any Achæan for debt, till the dispute between the assembly and Lacedæmon was at an end. By this means he disposed the multitude to receive willingly what orders he thought fit to give them; incapable of making suitable reflections on the future, they fell in with the passions of a madman, who neither foresaw his own misfortunes nor those of his own nation.

His deputies insulted and abused.

DURING these transactions the four deputies sent by Metellus landed at Corinth, where the general assembly

bly was then ſitting. This new embaſſy ought to have been received with reſpect, as it came from a victorious general, whoſe army was encamped in Macedon within reach of Greece. But Critolaus treated them worſe than thoſe who had been ſent from Rome. He would not ſuffer them to appear before the aſſembly, but commanded them to declare their buſineſs to the populace aſſembled in the market-place. To this factious aſſembly, conſiſting of artificers and the refuſe of the people of Corinth, Cn. Papirius ſpoke with, at leaſt, as much moderation as Julius had done before the heads of the nation. His diſcourſe tended to ſhew, that it was the intereſt of Achaia to keep up a good correſpondence with Rome; he took care not to mention the ſeparation of Lacedæmon and the other cities from the Achæan league. This was interpreted by Critolaus as a proof of their fear; and upon this prejudice a great croud of artificers fell upon the embaſſadors, loaded them with reproaches, and drove them with all manner of affronts out of the market-place [y]. All the cities of Achaia were at that time ſeized, we may ſay, with a kind of madneſs, but Corinth was more furious than the reſt. They were perſuaded, that Rome intended to enſlave them and abſolutely deſtroy the Achæan league, which perſuaſion made them deaf to all the remonſtrances of thoſe who diſapproved the wild meaſures of Critolaus.

THE turbulent prætor, finding all things ſucceed to his wiſh, harangued the multitude, in order to inflame them againſt ſuch of the nobility as refuſed to enter into his views. He even named two men of unblameable characters, accuſing them of informing the Roman embaſſadors of all that paſſed in the national aſſemblies. One of theſe by name Strategius immediately gave the prætor the lie, and ſteadily inſiſted on his innocence. But the multitude was for the prætor and Strategius condemned, notwithſtanding he called the gods to witneſs that he had never diſcovered any thing tranſacted in the aſſemblies. This notorious piece of injuſtice convinced Critolaus that he had gained an abſolute aſcendent over the people; whereupon, carrying his fury to the utmoſt extremity, in the ſame aſſembly he cauſed war to be declared with Lacedæmon, and conſequently with the Romans [z].

War declared with the Lacedæmonians and Romans.

UPON the declaration of war the embaſſadors parted; Papirius repaired to Lacedæmon to watch the enemies motions;

[y] Flor. in Epit. Flor. l. 2. c. 16. Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Oroſius, &c.

[z] Polyb. Legat. 144. Pauſan. in Achaic.

tions; Ælius set out for Naupactus, and the other two for the camp in Macedon, to excite Metellus not to delay revenging the affronts offered to Rome in her embassadors. Accordingly Metellus, without waiting for the orders of the senate, put himself at the head of his army, and began his march towards Achaia, with a design to enter it by Thessaly.

The cities of Thebes in Bœotia and Chalcis in Eubœa, having been disobliged by Metellus since his abode in Macedon, joined the Achæans. The inhabitants of Thebes had been condemned by Metellus to make the Phocians satisfaction for the losses the latter had suffered by their frequent incursions, and moreover to deliver up to the inhabitants of Amphissa in Locris (D) the third part of their harvest, for having reaped the corn of their neighbours as if it had been their own. The inhabitants of Chalcis had ravaged part of Eubœa, and Metellus had obliged them to make restitution. Upon these motives the two cities entered into the rash measures of Critolaus, and joined him with their troops. With such feeble aids the Achæan prætor believed himself able to cope with the most powerful state in the world; so far had his rage and hatred against the Romans got the better of his reason. Both Critolaus and Diæus had been of the number of those exiles, whom the Romans had kept so long in Italy in a kind of slavery, and were therefore determined to revenge themselves even at the expence of their country.

Heraclea besieged by the Achæans.

Critolaus, being joined by the troops of Thebes and Chalcis, took the field, and marched against Heraclea, a city of the Achæan league which refused to send its contingent to the prætor. While he was besieging this town, news was brought him that Metellus was drawing near, which struck him with such terror that he immediately broke up the siege and withdrew into Achaia. He might easily have seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and there stopped at least, if not defeated, the Roman army. But his courage failed him all at once, and his retreat had all the appearance of a flight. Metellus pursued him close, and

The siege raised and the Achæans defeated.

at

(D) Amphissa stood on the banks of a little river bearing the same name, and was one of the greatest cities in Locris. Some think it stood where Solona now stands; but Niger thinks, its antient situation agrees better with that of a little village now called Lambino.

at laſt came up with him, and routed him. Hiſtorians have not told us the particulars of this battle, but we may well conclude that it coſt the Achæans dear, for their army was entirely defeated, and above a thouſand of them taken priſoners. Critolaus himſelf loſt his life on this occaſion; for he never appeared afterwards, neither was his body found in the field of battle: ſome ſay, he poiſoned himſelf in ſome remote corner of Greece, others, that he threw himſelf down from mount Oeta into a marſh and was drowned [a].

Diæus ſucceeds Critolaus, and makes great preparations for the war.

It was an eſtabliſhed law among the Achæans, that when their prætor died during his office, his immediate predeceſſor ſhould ſucceed him, and govern the republic till the next general aſſembly, which met at a ſtated time. By this law Diæus took upon him the government of the republic and the command of the ſcattered army. But ſcarce was he inveſted with this dignity, when news was brought him, that a body of above a thouſand Arcadians, who had joined the Achæans and after the battle retired to Elatea in Phocis, had been all to a man cut in pieces by Metellus. This was a melancholy piece of news; however, as he had been the chief author of the war, it behoved him to maintain it; he therefore ſent deputies to all the cities of Achaia, enjoining them to raiſe new troops with all poſſible expedition, and cauſed an edict to be publiſhed, in all the places that were ſubject to the Achæan league, to this purport; That no leſs than twelve thouſand ſlaves, who had been born in the country, ſhould be enliſted; and that, if it was neceſſary, ſome of the ſlaves that had been brought from foreign countries, ſhould be taken into the ſervice to complete that number; that all thoſe who were fit to bear arms, whether in Achaia or Arcadia, ſhould repair to Corinth, and there take the military oaths; that all perſons of ſubſtance, whether men or women, ſhould bring all the gold or ſilver into the public treaſury. This convinced all Achaia of the danger that threatned them; but, as they were embarked in a war with an enemy whom they had ſo highly provoked, they blindly purſued the mad ſcheme. The cities of Elea, Meſſene, and Patræ, were ſo terrified, when they heard

[a] Polyb. Pauſan. ibid.

that a conſular army was coming from Rome, and that a conſul with new legions was to take the place of the prætor Metellus, that the inhabitants gave themſelves up to deſpair, and either abandoned their country, or laid violent hands on themſelves, through fear of falling under the conqueror's power. Theſe cities were expoſed to the firſt attacks of the enemy after their landing, and expected the moſt ſevere treatment. Some had recourſe to the clemency of Metellus, flying to his camp for refuge. There they informed againſt the moſt factious among their countrymen, though no enquiry was yet made after them [b].

Thebes taken by Metellus.

In the mean time the Roman prætor entered Arcadia, and drew near Thebes, which had openly declared for the Achæan league. Pythias, the chief magiſtrate of that city, had ſtirred up all the inhabitants againſt the Romans, and treated with great ſeverity ſuch as were unwilling to enter into his meaſures. It was chiefly with a view to ſeize him that Metellus turned his arms againſt Thebes; but Pythias had retired from his native country with his wife and children before the arrival of the army. Moſt of the citizens had followed his example and abandoned the city, which Metellus entered without oppoſition. The few citizens that remained he treated with great clemency, and ſaved the temples and houſes from being plundered, but ſet a price on Pythias's head. This mixture of mildneſs and ſeverity was very pleaſing to the people, but ſtruck

Megara ſubmits.

the magiſtrates with new terror. From Thebes the Roman general marched to Megara, which important poſt was guarded by one Alcamenes, with a detachment of four thouſand men. But the cowardly governor at the approach of the prætorian army left the place, and retired to Corinth where he joined Diæus. The inhabitants of Megara opened their gates to the Romans, and put them in poſſeſſion of the moſt fruitful territory of Achaia.

Metellus ſends new deputies to to treat of a peace.

And now Metellus, ſeeing moſt of the Achæans ſtruck with terror and inclined to peace, thought that ſuch a favourable opportunity of gaining Diæus and his faction was not to be neglected. He had been informed, that the conſul Mummius was charged with the war in Achaia, and had already ſet out from Rome, with orders from the ſenate to ſettle affairs in Greece by the deſtruction of Corinth. To deprive therefore Mummius of this glory, and at the fame

[b] Polyb. & Pauſan. ibid.

ſame time ſave that noble city, he ſent new deputies to treat of a peace. For this embaſſy he did not chuſe Romans, but three Achæans of great diſtinction and credit in their own country, who had taken ſanctuary in the Roman camp. Theſe were Andronidas, Logius, and Archippus, men well affected to the Romans, but ſtrongly touched with the misfortunes which threatened their country. Up- They are on their arrival at Corinth they found the people in general inclined to peace, but the prætor and his faction more than ever bent upon a war. They were by his order thrown into priſon, after he had produced them before the aſſembly of the people and declared them traitors and enemies to their country. Neither could he be prevailed upon to alter his meaſures, either by the remonſtrances of Philo, an Achæan of great authority, who came on purpoſe from Theſſaly, or by the entreaties of Stratius, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit and his particular friend. In ſpite of all their efforts the mad prætor ſentenced the three deputies to die, and prevailed upon the chief members of the council, who were devoted to his faction, to confirm the unjuſt ſentence; nay, they joined with them in the ſame condemnation one Soſicrates, a venerable ſenator, whoſe only crime was his having voted for treating of a peace with the Romans. Soſicrates was executed a few days after, and no kind of torture ſpared to extort from him ſuch a confeſſion as Diæus wanted; but he maintained to the laſt, that peace was preferable to war, and this inflexible conſtancy made no ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. As for Andronidas and his collegues, the avaricious prætor ſold them their deliverance at a great price. A few days before, Diæus had cauſed one Phillius and his children to be put to death, only becauſe they were ſuſpected of correſponding with Menalcidas at Lacedæmon, and inclining to favour the Roman faction. Thus were the unfortunate Achæans governed by magiſtrates, who had no other rule of conduct but their paſſions, and no other talent for war, but a ſavage fierceneſs, and a blind deſire of revenge [c].

treated as enemies.

An account of the many advantages gained by Metellus being tranſmitted to Rome by one Poſthumius, without the general's knowledge, the conſul Mummius haſtened his departure for Achaia, which had fallen to his lot. Why the ſenate would not ſuffer Metellus to finiſh a war, which he had proſecuted ſo far, is what we find no where recorded. When

[c] Idem ibid.

When the conſul landed the numerous army he brought with him, Metellus was advancing to Corinth, with a deſign to uſe his utmoſt efforts, in order to bring Diæus to accept of a peace before the arrival of the conſular army, and thereby deprive Mummius of the glory of finiſhing the war. But the obſtinate prætor would hearken to no conditions how advantageous ſoever, which gave Metellus great concern, and made him loſe all hopes of ſettling Achaia in peace before the arrival of the conſul.

The conſul Mummius arrives in Greece. Year of the flood, 2857. Before Chriſt 146.

THIS was the poſture of affairs in Achaia, when Mummius appeared before Corinth with a conſular army, conſiſting of three thouſand five hundred horſe, and twenty-three thouſand foot, beſides a body of Cretan archers, and the Pergamean troops ſent by Attalus the ſon of Eumenes. His firſt care was to ſend back Metellus and his forces into Macedon, leſt he ſhould ſhare with him the glory of concluding the war. He then drew near the city, and encamped at the iſthmus of Corinth poſting advanced-guards round the town. But as no enemy appeared, the Achæan army being ſhut up in the city, the Romans ſtraggled about the fields, and neglected their poſts; which the Corinthians obſerving made a vigorous ſally, fell upon the legionaries, and purſued them with great ſlaughter to their camp. This ſmall advantage encouraged the Achæans, and inſpired Diœus with hopes of conquering the conſul, who on his ſide did all that lay in his power to confirm him in his fooliſh perſuaſion; he kept his legions cloſe in the camp, and pretended not to be able to bear the ſight of the enemy. Diœus, now becoming audacious and ſure of victory, aſſembled all thoſe who were able to bear arms and formed them into a phalanx, which with the auxiliaries from Chalcis made up an army equal, if not ſuperior, in number to that of the Romans. They wanted experience and diſcipline; but Diœus thought that deſpair and the importance of their cauſe would ſupply that want. He therefore advanced with his troops and offered the conſul battle, which he declined, in order to draw the Achæans into a valley called Leucopetra, at the extremity of the iſthmus which joined Attica to Peloponneſus. Accordingly the prætor fell into the ſnare, and repaired thither long before the conſul. Diœus was ſo ſure of victory, that he had invited the women and children of Corinth to be ſpectators from the neighbouring hills of the ſlaughter he was going to make of the enemy; he had alſo ordered a great number of waggons to follow the army,

my, which were to be loaded with the ſpoils of the Romans [d].

NEVER was there a more raſh and ill-grounded confidence. The faction of Dicæus had removed from the ſervice and from the public counſels all thoſe who were capable of commanding the troops or directing affairs, and had ſubſtituted in their room others who had no experience in civil or military concerns; the ſoldiers had never before ſeen the face of an enemy, and were quite unacquainted with military diſcipline; and nevertheleſs the raſh prætor promiſed himſelf victory, over a conſular army inured to the greateſt dangers. While the Achæans were thus triumphing in the plains of Leucopetra, and only ſollicitous leſt the conſul ſhould find means to make his eſcape, he unexpectedly appeared with his army drawn up in battalia. He had the day before placed in an ambuſcade a ſtrong body of horſe, with orders to ſally out in the heat of the action, and attack the Achæan phalanx in flank. The Achæans advanced furiouſly, but their cavalry was ſoon put to the rout. The phalanx made a vigorous reſiſtance; but at length, being attacked in front by the legionaries and by the cavalry in flank, it was broke and diſperſed. The ſlaughter then was dreadful; we are told, that the two ſeas, which were divided by the iſthmus of Corinth, were dyed with blood. If Dicæus had retired into Corinth, he might have held it a long time, notwithſtanding the loſs of the battle, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius; for Corinth was at that time one of the ſtrongeſt places in the world, and the conſul's ſole aim was to deſerve a triumph by putting a ſpeedy end to the war. But Dicæus abandoning himſelf to deſpair, rode full ſpeed to Megalopolis his native country, and entering his houſe ſet fire to it, threw his wife into the flames leſt ſhe ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and put an end to his unhappy life by poiſon [e].

The Achæans defeated by Mummius.

AFTER this defeat all things were in the utmoſt confuſion at Corinth. The inhabitants, finding themſelves without council, leaders, or courage, fled to other places for ſafety, leaving the city deſerted. The gates were open, and no body appeared on the walls to defend them. The conſul hearing this could ſcarcely believe it, and fearing ſome ambuſcade, reſtrained the ardour of his ſoldiers, who were

[d] Pauſan. ubi ſupra. Auth. de vir. illuſtr. [e] Pauſan. in Achaic. Zonaras. l. 9. c. 31.

were very eager to enter Corinth, and enrich themſelves with the plunder of ſo wealthy a city. Mummius was thus in ſuſpenſe for the ſpace of three days, at the end of which, after having taken all proper precautions, and narrowly obſerved all places, both within and without the city, he entered it at the head of his troops, and gave it up to the rage and avarice of his ſoldiers. The men, who had not been able to prevail upon themſelves to forſake their native country, were all put to the ſword, and the women and children ſold for ſlaves to the beſt bidder. Then the town was ranſacked by the greedy ſoldiers; and who can reckon up the immenſe treaſures they found? There were more veſſels of all ſorts of metals, more fine pictures, and ſtatues of the greateſt maſters in Corinth, than in any city in the world. All the princes of Europe and Aſia, who had any taſte in painting and ſculpture, furniſhed themſelves here with their richeſt moveables; here were caſt the fineſt ſtatues for temples and palaces, and all the liberal arts brought to their greateſt perfection. Many ineſtimable pieces of the moſt famous painters and ſtatuaries fell into the hands of ſoldiers, who not knowing their value either deſtroyed them, or parted with them for a few drachmas. Polybius was an eye-witneſs of the want of taſte in the Romans of thoſe days. This brave Achæan, upon the firſt news that his countrymen had taken up arms againſt Rome, left Africa, where he was attending Scipio at the ſiege of Carthage, and haſtened to Achaia to do his country what ſervice he could. He was in the Roman army when Corinth was plundered, and had the mortification to ſee the Roman ſoldiers playing at dice on a picture of Ariſtides (E), which was accounted one of the wonders of the world. They ſet no value on that maſter-piece, and therefore willingly parted with it for a more convenient table to play upon. But when the ſpoils of Corinth were put up to ſale, Attalus king of Pergamus offered for it ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, that is near five thouſand pounds of our money. The conſul, ſurprized that the price of a picture ſhould be carried

Mummius enters Corinth, and plunders it.

(E) Ariſtides, who was contemporary with Apelles, flouriſhed at Thebes about the 122d Olympiad. He is ſaid to have been the firſt that attempted to repreſent the paſſions of the ſoul in colours. The piece here ſpoke of was a Bacchus, ſo exquiſitely done, that it was proverbially ſaid of any extraordinary performance; It is as well done as the Bacchus of Ariſtides (11).

(11) Plin. l. 35, c. 4, & 10.

ried ſo high, thought there was ſome magical virtue in it, and therefore interpoſing his authority retained it, notwithſtanding the complaints of Attalus. He was not actuated in ſo doing by his private intereſt, for he did not appropriate it to himſelf, but placed it in the temple of Ceres, where Strabo had the pleaſure of ſeeing it before it was conſumed in the fire which reduced that temple to aſhes [f]. Mummius was a great warrior, but ſeems to have had no taſte for painting or ſculpture; for when he put the pictures and ſtatues he had taken in Corinth on board the tranſports, he told the maſters of the veſſels very ſeriouſly, that if any of them were either loſt or ſpoiled, he would oblige them to find others at their own coſt. As if any other pieces could have ſupplied the loſs of thoſe ineſtimable originals, done by the moſt celebrated maſters in Greece [g]. Were it not to be wiſhed, ſays the hiſtorian who has tranſmitted this fact to poſterity, that this happy ignorance ſtill ſubſiſted? would it not be far preferable to that delicacy of taſte for ſuch rarities which prevails in the preſent age [h]? He ſpoke at a time when the governors of the provinces uſed all manner of frauds and extortions, to enrich themſelves and their families with ſuch valuable moveables.

CORINTH being thus pillaged, nothing remained but to reduce it to aſhes, purſuant to the decree of the ſenate, which the conſul was obliged to put in execution. Fire was ſet to all the corners of the city at the ſame time, and the flames growing more violent as they drew near the centre, at laſt united there, and made one general conflagration, which is ſaid to have produced that famous mixture which art could never imitate. The gold, ſilver, and braſs, which the Corinthians had concealed, were melted and ran down the ſtreets in ſtreams. Some of the greedy ſoldiers in attempting to ſave part of thoſe metals periſhed in the flames. When the fire was extinguiſhed, a new metal was found compoſed of ſeveral different ones (F), and greatly eſteemed in the follow-

Corinth reduced to aſhes.

[f] Strab. l. 8. p. 381. Plin. l. 35. c. 4. & 10. Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 76, 77. [g] Vel. Pat. l. 1. c. 13. [h] Idem ibid.

(F) Pliny tells us, that there were three ſorts of Corinthian braſs, viz. the red, the white, and that which was of the colour of money, according to the different proportions of gold, ſilver, and copper, that were in it (12).

(12) Plin. l. 7. c. 38.

following ages. The walls of the city were demolished and razed to the very foundations. Thus was Corinth destroyed the same year that Carthage was laid in ashes. By the destruction of two such cities the Romans intended to strike terror into the rest of the world, and keep all nations steady in their obedience to Rome. Corinth was destroyed nine hundred and fifty two years after its foundation by Aletes the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. Cicero, who approved of the destruction of Carthage and Numantia, wished that Corinth, where the arts of painting and sculpture seemed to have taken up their habitation, had been spared [i].

It does not appear, that the Achæans had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of their country, or summoned an assembly to deliberate on the measures it was necessary to take. No one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought, that the Achæan league had been buried under the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of this city alarmed and universally dismayed the whole confederacy.

It was now necessary to determine the fate of the Achæans in general. As to the Corinthians and such slaves as had taken up arms against Rome, they were all condemned to slavery, and carefully sought out in all the places whither they had fled. After this the whole nation was ordered to assemble in the open fields, where they were surrounded by the Roman legions; and because they were all afraid of being involved in one common misfortune, proclamation was made, that only the natives of Corinth, and such slaves as had served in the troops, should be made captives and be sold. The consul granted the rest of the inhabitants of Achaia their liberty, and sold the lands of the citizens of Corinth which were in great part purchased by the Sicyonians. Thebes, Chalcis, and some other cities, that had joined the Achæans, were by the consul's orders dismantled. Achaia was condemned to pay the Lacedæmonians two hundred talents for the damages they had suffered during the war. Soon after ten commissioners arrived from Rome to regulate the affairs of Greece in general, and of Achaia in particular, in conjunction with the consul. These abolished popular government in all the

[i] Cic. de Offic. l. 1. c. 35.

the cities, and eſtabliſhed magiſtrates, who were to govern each city according to their reſpective laws under the ſuperintendency of a Roman prætor. Thus the Achæan league was diſſolved, and Greece reduced to a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, becauſe at the taking of Corinth the Achæans were the moſt powerful people of Greece. The whole nation paid an annual tribute to Rome, and the prætor, who was ſent thither every year, was charged with the care of collecting it.

The Achæan league diſſolved, and Achaia reduced to a Roman province.

We have obſerved above, that Polybius on his return into Peloponneſus had the mortification to ſee the city of Corinth reduced to aſhes, and his country become a Roman province. If any thing was capable of mitigating his affliction on ſo mournful an occaſion, it was the opportunity he had of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his maſter in the ſcience of war. A Roman out of ſome private grudge to that great hero accuſed him before Mummius, as if he had been ſtill alive, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and always oppoſing their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. What the accuſer propoſed by this new proſecution was, that all the ſtatues and monuments erected to the memory of Philopœmen in moſt cities of the Achæan league ſhould be deſtroyed, and his glorious feats buried in oblivion. The accuſation was not without foundation; for as that brave Achæan was a true friend to his country, ſo he was an enemy in his heart to the Romans, being well apprized, that nothing but the abſolute ſubjection of Greece could ſatisfy their pride and ambition. However, Polybius boldly took upon him his defence, and repreſented him as the greateſt man Greece had produced in latter times; he owned, that he might perhaps have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the people of Rome conſiderable ſervices on various occaſions. The ten commiſſioners, at whoſe tribunal he pleaded ſo noble a cauſe, moved with his reaſons, but more with the gratitude he ſhewed in defending his maſter, decreed, that the ſtatues of Philopœmen ſhould not be touched, and that his monuments ſhould remain till they were over-turned by the deſtroyer of all things. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good diſpoſition, begged of him the ſtatues of Aratus and Achæus the founder of the nation, which were granted him, though they had been already tranſported out of Peloponneſus into Acarnania. At the ſame time he gave a ſignal proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, which gained him as much eſteem among his countrymen,

trymen, as his defending the memory of Philopœmen. After the deſtruction of Corinth, the effects of thoſe who had been the authors of the inſults offered to the Roman embaſſadors were ſold by auction. When thoſe of Dicœus were put up, the commiſſioners ordered the quæſtor who ſold them, to let Polybius have out of them whatever he pleaſed, without taking any thing from him on that account. But Polybius refuſed the offer, ſaying, that he looked upon it as a very diſhonourable thing to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils of his fellow citizens [k].

THIS action gave the commiſſioners ſuch an idea of his virtue and probity, that, upon their leaving Peloponneſus, they appointed him to viſit all the cities of Greece, and every-where ſettle the new form of government. A very honourable commiſſion, which he diſcharged both to the ſatisfaction of the ſenate of Rome and the people of Achaia, who erected many ſtatutes in honour of their benefactor, and among others one with this inſcription: To the memory of Polybius, whoſe counſels would have ſaved Achaia, if they had been followed; and who comforted her in her diſtreſs [l].

MUMMIUS on his return to Rome was honoured with a triumph, which was embelliſhed with all the fineſt paintings and ſculptures that Greece had ever produced; and as he had made an abſolute conqueſt of Achaia, he ever after bore the ſirname of Achaicus. Thus the Romans deſtroyed every thing that gave them umbrage, and plundered other nations to enrich themſelves; which was making war, notwithſtanding their boaſted politeneſs, after the manner of Barbarians. From this time Achaia was governed, like the other Roman provinces, by a prætor ſent thither annually from Rome, till the reign of Nero, who reſtored all Greece to the enjoyment of its antient liberties, reducing at the ſame time Sardinia to a Roman province, and laying on that wealthy iſland the tribute which Achaia had paid [m]. By this means he favoured the Greeks without impairing the revenues of the empire. But they did not long enjoy the effects of his kindneſs, been ſoon after reduced by Veſpaſian to their former ſtate of ſubjection. This misfortune they brought anew upon themſelves by their domeſtic broils and diſcord, which could no otherwiſe be compoſed, but by depriving them of that liberty, which they

[k] Polyb. in excerpt. p. 190, 192. [l] Pauſan. in Achaic.
[m] Suet. in Nero. Pauſan in Achaic. Plin. l. 4. c. 6. Eutrop. c. 4.

they no longer knew how to enjoy [n]. Under Nerva ſome ſhadow at leaſt of their liberty was reſtored to them; but they were ſtill governed by a Roman prætor, and alſo in Trajan's time, as appears from a letter of Pliny the younger to Maximus, who was ſent to govern Achaia, wherein, after having exhorted him to uſe his power with moderation, he concludes, that it would be barbarous and inhuman to deprive the Achæans of that faint image, that ſhadow which remained of their ancient liberty [o]. In this condition they remained with little alteration till the reign of Conſtantine the great, who in his new partition of the Roman provinces ſubjected Achaia to the Præfectus prætorio for Illyricum. Upon the diviſion of the empire, Achaia with the reſt of Greece fell to the emperors of the eaſt. Under Arcadius and Honorius all thoſe provinces ſuffered greatly by the incurſions of the Goths, who under their king Alaric laid waſte the whole country, reducing the ſtately and magnificent ſtructures, that were then remaining, to heaps of ruins [p]. From that time we find no account of any thing that paſſed among them till the reign of the emperor Emanuel or Manuel, who, in the twelfth century parcelling Peloponneſus out into ſeven principalities, divided it among his ſeven ſons, ſtiling them Deſpotes or Lords of Morea. Its reſemblance to the leaf of a mulberry-tree, called in Greek Morea, and in Latin Morus, gave occaſion to this appellation. In proceſs of time theſe dynaſties were not only beſtowed on the emperors children and the princes of the blood, but alſo on ſuch others as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country. In the thirteenth century, when Conſtantinople was taken by the weſtern princes, the maritime cities of Peloponneſus, with moſt of the iſlands, were allotted to the Venetians. In the fifteenth century Conſtantine Dracoſes, Deſpote of Morea, being raiſed to the imperial throne, divided that province between his two brothers, Demetrius and Thomas, beſtowing Sparta on the former, and Corinth on the latter. Theſe princes falling out and making war upon each other, Mohammed II. took advantage of their diviſions, and, under pretence of aſſiſting the one againſt the other, ſtripped them both of their dominions. Thomas fled

[n] Pauſan. ibid. [o] Plin. l. 8. epiſt. 24. [p] Syneſius epiſt. 235. Claudian, in Ruffin, l. 2.

fled to Rome; but Demetrius, who had implored the assistance of the Barbarians against his brother, was carried captive to Adrianople. The Mohammedans, having thus got footing in Morea, soon drove the Venetians from the cities they possessed on the coast, and made themselves absolute masters of that fruitful province, holding it till they were in their turn driven out by the Venetians, under the conduct of Morosini in 1687. By the treaty of Carlowits in 1699. the Barbarians yielded it up to the republic of Venice; but retook it in 1715. and in their hands it still continues, being governed by a Sangiack, under the Beglerbeg of Greece, who resides at Modon [q].

[q] Vide P. Coronelli descrizion di Morea, Alassandro Locatelli raconto della Veneta guerra in levante.

SECT.

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